



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

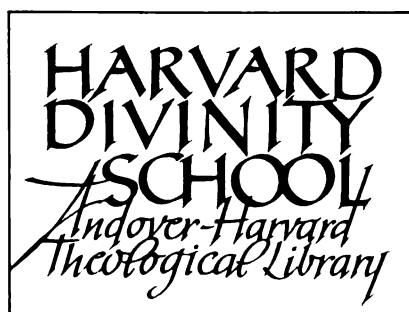
ANDOVER-HARVARD LIBRARY



AH 659K 0

**HARVARD DEPOSITORY  
BRITTLE BOOK**





362  
30

THE  
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

**London**  
**HENRY FROWDE**



**OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE**  
**AMEN CORNER, E.C.**

THE  
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

*Translation*  
F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XXXV

*C.*  
**Oxford**

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1890

[*All rights reserved*]



1881.  
Trinity School.

**Oxford**

**PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS**

**BY HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY**

○

*Milindapañha.*  
THE QUESTIONS

OF

KING MILINDA

TRANSLATED FROM THE PÂLI

BY

*Thomas William*  
T. W. RHYS DAVIDS

○.  
Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1890

[ *All rights reserved* ]



BL

1010

.53

v.35

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	xi
The Sinhalese version of the Milinda . . . . .	xii
Buddhaghosa's four references to it . . . . .	xiv
MSS. and edition of the text . . . . .	xvi
King Milinda the same as Menander . . . . .	xviii
Notices of him in classical writers . . . . .	xix
His coins . . . . .	xx
His birthplace, Kalasi, probably=Karisi . . . . .	xxiii
The author not the same as Nâgârguna . . . . .	xxv
Passages in the Pi/akas referred to silently . . . . .	xxvii
Pâli books, &c., referred to by name . . . . .	xxix
Pi/aka passages quoted . . . . .	xxx
Length of the Pi/akas . . . . .	xxxvi
Results of these comparisons . . . . .	xxxviii
Differences between our author and the Pi/akas . . . . .	xl
Proper names outside the Pi/akas . . . . .	xlili
Differences of language between our author and the Pi/akas . . . . .	xlvi
The Milinda as a work of art . . . . .	xlvi

## TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT.

Book I. The Secular Narrative . . . . .	1
Description of Sâgala . . . . .	2
Previous births of Milinda and Nâgasena . . . . .	4
Milinda's greatness and wisdom and love of disputation . . . . .	6
Birth story of Nâgasena . . . . .	10
His admission as a novice into the Order . . . . .	20
His conversion . . . . .	25
His attainment of Arahatsip . . . . .	29
Milinda confutes Âyupâla . . . . .	30
Nâgasena arrives; his character . . . . .	34
Milinda goes to him . . . . .	36



	PAGE
Book II. The Distinguishing Characteristics of Ethical Qualities . . . . .	40
Individuality and name . . . . .	41
The chariot simile . . . . .	43
The riddle of seniority . . . . .	45
(Interlude) How kings and scholars respectively discuss	46
No soul in the breath . . . . .	48
Aim of Buddhist renunciation . . . . .	49
Re-incarnation . . . . .	50
Wisdom and reasoning distinguished . . . . .	51
'Virtue's the base' . . . . .	53
Faith . . . . .	54
Perseverance . . . . .	57
Mindfulness . . . . .	58
Meditation . . . . .	60
Continued identity and re-individualisation . . . . .	63-77
Wisdom and intelligence distinguished . . . . .	66
Time . . . . .	77
Origin and development of qualities . . . . .	82
Is there a soul? . . . . .	86
Thought and sight . . . . .	89
Contact, sensation, and idea . . . . .	92
Book III. The Removal of Difficulties . . . . .	100
Rich and poor . . . . .	100
Renunciation again . . . . .	101
Nirvâṇa and Karma . . . . .	106
Difficulties of various kinds as to transmigration, individuality, and the Buddha . . . . .	120
Book IV. The Solving of Dilemmas . . . . .	137
Milinda finds dilemmas in the Holy Writ . . . . .	137
And takes the Buddhist vows . . . . .	138
Third meeting between him and Nāgasena . . . . .	140
1st Dilemma. If the Buddha has really quite passed away, what is the good of paying honour to his relics? . . . . .	144
2nd Dilemma. How can the Buddha be omniscient, when it is said that he reflects? . . . . .	154
3rd Dilemma. Why did he admit Devadatta to the Order, if he knew of the schism he would create? . . . . .	162

	PAGE
4th Dilemma. Vessantara's earthquake . . . . .	170
5th Dilemma. King Sivi . . . . .	179
7th Dilemma. Difference in prophecies as to the dura- tion of the faith . . . . .	185
8th Dilemma. The Buddha's sinlessness and his suf- ferings . . . . .	190
9th Dilemma. Why should the Buddha have meditated ?	196
10th Dilemma. Why did the Buddha boast ? . . . .	198
11th Dilemma. How could the Buddha revoke regu- lations he had made ? . . . . .	202
12th Dilemma. Why did the Buddha refuse to answer certain questions ? . . . . .	204
13th Dilemma. Contradictory statements by the Buddha as to fear . . . . .	206
14th Dilemma. How can Pirit cure disease ? . . . .	213
15th Dilemma. How could the evil one turn people against the Buddha ? . . . . .	219
16th Dilemma. Contradiction as to conscious crime . .	224
17th Dilemma. Contradiction as to the Buddha's wish to be the chief . . . . .	225
18th Dilemma. How could a schism have arisen in the Buddha's life ? . . . . .	227
19th Dilemma. Why do members of the Order accept reverence ? . . . . .	232
20th Dilemma. The evil results of preaching . . . .	234
22nd Dilemma. Was not the Buddha once angry with Sudinna ? . . . . .	237
23rd Dilemma. The tree talking . . . . .	241
24th Dilemma. The Buddha's last meal . . . . .	242
25th Dilemma. Adoration of relics . . . . .	246
26th Dilemma. The splinter of rock . . . . .	248
27th Dilemma. Contradictory description of the Samana	251
28th Dilemma. Buddha's boasting . . . . .	253
29th Dilemma. How can the kind punish others ? . .	254
30th Dilemma. Was not the Buddha angry at Kâtumâ ?	257
31st Dilemma. How could Moggallâna have had mira- culous powers seeing that he was murdered ? . .	261
32nd Dilemma. Why should the rules of the Order be kept secret ? . . . . .	264
33rd Dilemma. Contradictions about falsehood . . .	268

---

	PAGE
34th Dilemma. Did not the Omniscient One once doubt?	270
35th Dilemma. Suicide . . . . .	273
36th Dilemma. Love to all beings . . . . .	279
37th Dilemma. Wickedness and prosperity . . . . .	283
38th Dilemma. Women's wiles . . . . .	294
39th Dilemma. Did not the Arahats once show fear? . . . . .	297
40th Dilemma. Did not the Omniscient One once change his mind? . . . . .	301
Appendix. Devadatta in the <i>Gātakas</i> . . . . .	303
Addenda et Corrigenda . . . . .	305
Index of Proper Names . . . . .	307
Index of Subjects . . . . .	311

---

Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the Translations of the Sacred Books of the East . . . . .	317
---	-----

---

## INTRODUCTION.

THE work of which a translation is here, for the first time, presented to the English reading public, has had a strange and interesting history. Written in Northern India, at or a little after the beginning of the Christian era, and either in Sanskrit itself or in some North Indian Prakrit, it has been entirely lost in the land of its origin, and (so far as is at present known) is not extant in any of the homes of the various sects and schools of the Buddhists, except only in Ceylon, and in those countries which have derived their Buddhism from Ceylon. It is true that General Cunningham says<sup>1</sup> that the name of Milinda 'is still famous in all Buddhist countries.' But he is here drawing a very wide conclusion from an isolated fact. For in his note he refers only to Hardy, who is good evidence for Ceylon, but who does not even say that the 'Milinda' was known elsewhere.

Preserved there, and translated at a very early date into Pāli, it has become, in its southern home, a book of standard authority, is put into the hands of those who have begun to doubt the cardinal points of Buddhist doctrine, has been long a popular work in its Pāli form, has been translated into Sinhalese, and occupies a unique position, second only to the Pāli Piṭakas (and perhaps also to the celebrated work of Buddhaghosa, the 'Path of Purity'). From Ceylon it has been transferred, in its Pāli form, to both Burma and Siam, and in those countries also it enjoys so high a repute, that it has been commented on (if not translated). It is not merely the only work composed among the Northern Buddhists which is regarded with reverence by the orthodox Buddhists of the southern

---

<sup>1</sup> In his 'Ancient Geography of India,' p. 186.



schools; it is the only one which has survived at all amongst them. And it is the only prose work composed in ancient India which would be considered, from the modern point of view, as a successful work of art.

The external evidence for these statements is, at present, both very slight and, for the most part, late. There appeared at Colombo in the year of Buddha 2420 (1877 A.D.) a volume of 650 pages, large 8vo.—the most considerable in point of size as yet issued from the *Siṃhalese* press—entitled *MILINDA PRASĀYĀ*. It was published at the expense of five Buddhist gentlemen whose names deserve to be here recorded. They are Karolis Piris, Ābraham Liwerā, Luis Mendis, Nandis Mendis Amara-sekara, and Chārlis Arnolis Mendis Wijaya-ratna Amara-sekara. It is stated in the preface that the account of the celebrated discussion held between Milinda and Nāgasena, about 500 years after the death of the Buddha, was translated into the Māgadhi language by 'teachers of old' (*purwākārīn wisin*);—that that Pāli version was translated into *Siṃhalese*, at the instance and under the patronage of King Kīrtti Sṛī Rāga-siṃha, who came to the throne of Ceylon in the year of Buddha 2290 (1747 A.D.), by a member of the Buddhist Order named Hīnaṭi-kumburē Śumaṅgala, a lineal successor, in the line of teacher and pupil (*anusishya*), of the celebrated Wœli-wita Saranaṅkara, who had been appointed Saṃgha-rāga, or chief of the Order—that 'this priceless book, unsurpassable as a means either for learning the Buddhist doctrine, or for growth in the knowledge of it, or for the suppression of erroneous opinions,' had become corrupt by frequent copying—that, at the instigation of the well-known scholar Mohoṭṭi-watte Gunānanda, these five had had the texts corrected and restored by several learned Bhikkhus (*kīpa namak lawā*), and had had indices and a glossary added, and now published the thus revised and improved edition.

The *Siṃhalese* translation, thus introduced to us, follows the Pāli throughout, except that it here and there adds, in the way of gloss, extracts from one or other of the numerous *Piṭaka* texts referred to, and also that it starts with a pro-

phcey, put into the mouth of the Buddha when on his death-bed, that this discussion would take place about 500 years after his death, and that it inserts further, at the point indicated in my note on p. 3 of the present version, an account of how the *Siṃhalese* translator came to write his version. His own account of the matter adds to the details given above that he wrote the work at the Upo-satha Ārāma of the Mahā Wihāra near Sṛi-wardhana-pura, 'a place famous for the possession of a temple containing the celebrated Tooth Relic, and a monastery which had been the residence of Wœliwita Saranaṅkara, the *Samgha-rāga*, and of the famous scholars and commentators Daramiṭi-pola Dhamma-rakkhita and Madhurasatoṭa Dhammakkhanda.'

As Kirtti Sṛi Rāga-siṃha reigned till 1781<sup>1</sup>, this would only prove that our Pāli work was extant in Ceylon in its present form, and there regarded as of great antiquity and high authority, towards the close of the last century. And no other mention of the work has, as yet, been discovered in any older *Siṃhalese* author. But in the present deplorable state of our ignorance of the varied and ancient literature of Ceylon, the argument *ex silentio* would be simply of no value. Now that the Ceylon Government have introduced into the Legislative Council a bill for the utilisation, in the interests of education, of the endowments of the Buddhist monasteries, it may be hoped that the value of the books written in those monasteries will not be forgotten, and that a sufficient yearly sum will be put aside for the editing and publication of a literature of such great historical value<sup>2</sup>. At present we can only deplore the impossibility of tracing the history of the 'Questions of Milinda' in other works written by the scholarly natives of its southern home.

That it will be mentioned in those works there can be

<sup>1</sup> See Turnour's *Mahavansa*, p. lxviii.

<sup>2</sup> I believe that none of the many vernacular literatures of India can compare for a moment with the *Siṃhalese*, whether judged from the point of view of literary excellence, variety of contents, age, or historical value. And yet a few hundreds a year for ten years would probably suffice, on the system followed by the Pāli Text Society, for the editing and publication of the whole.

but little doubt. For the great Indian writer, who long ago found in that beautiful and peaceful island the best scope for his industrious scholarship, is already known to have mentioned the book no less than four times in his commentaries; and that in such a manner that we may fairly hope to find other references to it when his writings shall have been more completely published. In his commentary on the Book of the Great Decease, VI, 3, Buddhaghosa refers to the quotation of that passage made in the conversation between Milinda and Nāgasena, translated below, at IV, 2, 1<sup>1</sup>. And again, in his commentary on the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* (D. III, 2, 12) he quotes the words of a conversation between Milinda and Nāgasena on the subject he is there discussing. The actual words he uses (they will be found at pp. 275, 276 of the edition of the *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, edited for the Pāli Text Society by Professor Carpenter and myself) are not the same as those of our author at the corresponding passage of Mr. Trenckner's text (pp. 168, 169; IV, 3, 11), but they are the same in substance.

The above two references in Buddhaghosa to our author were pointed out by myself. Dr. Morris has pointed out two others, and in each of those also Buddhaghosa is found to quote words differing from Mr. Trenckner's text. The former of these two was mentioned in a letter to the 'Academy' of the 12th November, 1881. In the *Manoratha Pūraṇī*, his commentary on the *Aṅguttara*, on the passage marked in Dr. Morris's edition as I, 5, 8, Buddhaghosa says:—

'Imasmim pan' atthe Milinda-rāgā dhamma-kathika-Nāgasenaṭṭheraṃ puṭṭhi: "Bhante Nāgasena, ekasmim akkharakkhane pavattita-kittasamkhārā sake rūpino assa kīva mahā-rāsi bhavēyāti?"

And he then gives the answer:—'Vāhasatānaṃ kho mahā-rāga vihināṃ addha-kūlañ ka vāhā vihi sattammanāni dve ka tumbā ekaṭṭharakkhane

<sup>1</sup> This was already pointed out in a note to my translation of the text commented on ('Buddhist Suttas,' vol. xi of the Sacred Books of the East, p. 112).

pavattitassa kīttassa saṅkham pi na upenti kalam  
pi na upenti kala-bhāgam pi na upentīti.'

This passage of the Milinda, referred to by Buddhaghosa, will be found on p. 102 of Mr. Trenckner's edition, translated below at IV, 1, 19. But the question is not found there at all, and the answer, though much the same in the published text, still differs in the concluding words. Mr. Trenckner marks the passage in his text as corrupt, and it may well be that Buddhaghosa has preserved for us an older and better reading.

The other passage quoted by Dr. Morris (in the 'Academy' of the 11th January, 1881) is from the Paṇḍita Sūdanī, Buddhaghosa's still unedited Commentary on the Magghima Nikāya. It is in the comment on the Brahmāyu Suttanta, and as it is not accessible elsewhere I give this passage also in full here. With reference, oddly enough, to the same passage referred to above (pp. 168, 169 of the text, translated below at IV, 3, 11) Buddhaghosa there says:—

'Vuttam etam Nāgasenattherena Milinda-  
raññā puttḥena: "Na mahārāga Bhagavā gūy-  
ham dasseti khāyam Bhagavā dassetīti."'

In this case, as in the other quotation of the same passage, the words quoted are not quite the same as those given in the published text, and on the other hand they agree with, though they are much shorter than, the words as given in the Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī.

It would be premature to attempt to arrive at the reason of this difference between Buddhaghosa's citations and Mr. Trenckner's edition of the text. It may be that Buddhaghosa is consciously summarising, or that he is quoting roughly from memory, or that he is himself translating or summarising from the original work, or that he is quoting from another Pāli version, or that he is quoting from another recension of the text of the existing Pāli version. We must have the full text of all his references to the 'Questions of Milinda' before us, before we try to choose between these, and possibly other, alternative explanations. What is at present certain is that when



Buddhaghosa wrote his great works, that is about 430 A.D., he had before him a book giving the conversations between Milinda and Nāgasena. And more than that. He introduces his comment above referred to on the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* by saying, after simply quoting the words of the text he is explaining: 'What would be the use of any one else saying anything on this? For Nāgasena, the Elder, himself said as follows in reply to Milinda, the king<sup>1</sup>— and he then quotes Nāgasena, and adds not a word of his own. It follows that the greatest of all Buddhist writers known to us by name regarded the 'Questions of Milinda' as a work of so great authority that an opinion put by its author into the mouth of Nāgasena should be taken as decisive. And this is not only the only book, outside the Pāli Piṭakas, which Buddhaghosa defers to in this way, it is the only book, except the previous commentaries, which he is known even to refer to at all. But, on the other hand, he says nothing in these passages to throw any further light on the date, or any light on the authorship, of the work to which he assigns so distinguished, even so unique, a position.

So far as to what is known about our 'Questions of Milinda' in Ceylon. The work also exists, certainly in Pāli, and probably in translations into the local dialects, in Burma and Siam. For Mr. Trenckner mentions (Introduction, p. iv) a copy in the Burmese character of the Pāli text sent to him by Dr. Rost, there is another copy in that character in the Colombo Museum<sup>2</sup>, and Mr. J. G. Scott, of the Burmese Civil Service, has sent to England a Burmese Nissaya of the Milinda (a kind of translation, giving the Pāli text, word for word, followed by the interpretation of those words in Burmese<sup>3</sup>). A manuscript of the Pāli text, brought from Siam, is referred to in the Sinhalese MSS. in the marginal note quoted by Mr. Trenckner at p. vi of the

<sup>1</sup> Kim ettha aṇṇena vattabbaṃ? Vuttam etam Nāgasenattheren' eva Milinda-raṇṇā puttḥena . . . (Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī, loc. cit.).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 51 of the 'Journal of the Pāli Text Society' for 1882.

<sup>3</sup> This Nissaya is now in the possession of his brother, the Bursar of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Introduction to his edition. And there exists in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, a complete MS., in excellent condition, in the Siamese-Pāli character<sup>1</sup>, while there are numerous fragments in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale of one or more MSS. of the text, in the same Kambojan character used in Siam for the writing of Pāli texts<sup>2</sup>.

It may be noticed here that there are seven MSS. of the text written in the Ceylon character known to exist in Europe. Two of them (one a very ancient one) are in the Copenhagen University Library, two in the Bibliothèque Nationale<sup>3</sup>, one in the Cambridge University Library<sup>3</sup>, and two in the India Office Library<sup>4</sup>. Three only of these seven have been used by Mr. Trenckner for his very able and accurate edition of the text, published in 1880.

That is all the external evidence at present available. What can be inferred from the book itself is about as follows. It consists of the discussion of a number of points of Buddhist doctrine treated in the form of conversations between King Milinda and Nāgasena the Elder (Thera). It must be plain to every reader of the following pages that these are not real conversations. What we have before us is really an historical romance, though the didactic aim overshadows the story. Men of straw, often very skilfully put together, are set up for the purpose, not so much of knocking them down again, as of elucidating some points of ethical or psychological belief while doing so. The king himself plays a very subordinate part. The questions raised, or dilemmas stated, are put into his mouth. But the solutions, to give opportunity for which the questions or dilemmas are invented, are the really important part of the work, and these are put into the mouth of Nāgasena. The dialogues are introduced by a carefully constructed

---

<sup>1</sup> By the kindness of the Master and Fellows of the College I have been allowed to collate this MS. in London.

<sup>2</sup> See 'Journal of the Pāli Text Society' for 1882, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> See 'Journal of the Pāli Text Society' for 1883, p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> See 'Journal of the Pāli Text Society' for 1882, p. 119.

preliminary story, in which the reader's interest in them is aroused by anticipation. And the ability of this part of the work is very great. For in spite of the facts that all the praise lavished therein upon both Milinda and Nāgasena is in reality only praise of the book itself, and that the reader knows this very well, yet he will find it almost impossible to escape from the influence of the eloquent words in which importance and dignity are lent to the occasion of their meeting; and of the charm and skill with which the whole fiction is maintained.

The question then arises whether the personages were any more real than the conversations. Milinda is supposed to be the Menander, who appears in the list of the Greek kings of Baktria, since he is described in the book as being a king of the Yonakas reigning at Sāgala (the Euthydemia of the Greeks), and there is no other name in the list which comes so near to Milinda. This identification of the two names is certainly correct. For whether it was our author who deliberately made the change in adapting the Greek name to the Indian dialect in which he wrote, or whether the change is due to a natural phonetic decay, the same causes will have been of influence. Indra or Inda is a not uncommon termination of Indian names, and meaning king is so appropriate to a king, that a foreign king's name ending in -ander would almost inevitably come to end in -inda. Then the sequence of the liquids of m-n-n would tend in an Indian dialect to be altered in some way by dissimilation, and Mr. Trenckner adduces seven instances in Pāli of l taking the place of n, or n of l, in similar circumstances<sup>1</sup>.

There remains only the change of the first E in Menander to I. Now in the Indian part of the inscription, on undoubted coins of Menander, the oldest authorities read Minanda as the king's name<sup>2</sup>, and though that interpretation has now, on the authority of better specimens, been given up, there is no doubt that Milinda runs more easily

<sup>1</sup> 'Pāli Miscellany,' part i, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, Wilson in his 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 283.

from the tongue than Melinda, and Mil may well have seemed as appropriate a commencement for a Milakkha's name as -inda is for the ending of a king's name. So Men-ander became Mil-inda.

It may be added here that other Greek names are mentioned by our author—Devamantiya at I, 42, and the same officer, together with Anantakâya, Mankura, and Sabbadinna, at II, 3. There is a similar effort in these other Pâli forms of Greek words to make them give some approach to a meaning in the Indian dialect: but in each case the new forms remain as really unintelligible to an Indian as Mil-inda would be. Thus Deva-mantiya, which may be formed on Demetrios, looks, at first sight, Indian enough. But if it meant anything, it could only mean 'counsellor of the gods.' And so also both Ananta and Kâya are Indian words. But the compound Ananta-kâya would mean 'having an infinite body,' which is absurd as the name of a courtier. It may possibly be made up to represent Antiochos. What Mankura and Sabbadinna (called simply Dinna at p. 87) may be supposed to be intended for it is difficult to say<sup>1</sup>. But the identification of Milinda with Menander is as certain as that of Kandagutta with Sandrokottos.

Very little is told us, in the Greek or Roman writers, about any of the Greek kings of Baktria. It is a significant fact that it is precisely of Menander-Milinda that they tell us most, though this most is unfortunately not much.

Strabo, in his Geography<sup>2</sup>, mentions Menander as one of the two Baktrian kings who were instrumental in spreading the Greek dominion furthest to the East into India. He crossed the Hypanis (that is the Sutlej) and penetrated as far as the Isamos (probably the Jumna).

Then in the title of the lost forty-first book of Justin's work, Menander and Apollodotus are mentioned as 'Indian kings.'

Finally, Plutarch<sup>3</sup> tells us an anecdote of Menander.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Mr. Trenckner's note at p. 70 of the 'Pâli Miscellany.'

<sup>2</sup> Edit. Müller, xi, 11, 1.

<sup>3</sup> De Repub. Ger., p. 821.

He was, he says, as a ruler noted for justice, and enjoyed such popularity with his subjects, that upon his death, which took place in camp, diverse cities contended for the possession of his ashes. The dispute was only adjusted by the representatives of the cities agreeing that the relics should be divided amongst them, and that they should severally erect monuments (*μνημεῖα*, no doubt *dāgabas* or *sthûpas*) to his memory.

This last statement is very curious as being precisely analogous to the statement in the 'Book of the Great Decease'<sup>1</sup>, as to what occurred after the death of the Buddha himself. But it would be very hazardous to draw any conclusion from this coincidence.

The only remaining ancient evidence about Menander-Milinda (apart from what is said by our author himself), is that of coins. And, as is usually the case, the evidence of the coins will be found to confirm, but to add very little to, what is otherwise known.

As many as twenty-two<sup>2</sup> different coins have been discovered, some of them in very considerable numbers, bearing the name, and eight of them the effigy, of Menander. They have been found over a very wide extent of country, as far west as Kâbul, as far east as Mathurâ, and one of them as far north as Kashmîr. Curiously enough we find a confirmation of this wide currency of Menander-Milinda's coins in the work of the anonymous author of the 'Periplus Maris Erythræi.' He says<sup>3</sup> that Menander's coins, together with those of Apollodotos, were current, many years after his death, at Barygaza, the modern Baroach, on the coast of Gujarat.

The portrait on the coins is very characteristic, with a long face and an intelligent expression, and is sometimes that of a young man, and at other times that of a very old man. It may be inferred therefore that his reign

<sup>1</sup> Mahâparinibbâna Suttanta VI, 58-62, translated in my 'Buddhist Suttas' (vol. xi of the Sacred Books of the East), pp. 133-135.

<sup>2</sup> This number would be greatly increased if the differences of the monograms were allowed for.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter 47 of Müller's edition.

was as long as his power was extensive. All the coins have a legend in Greek letters on one side, and a corresponding legend in Ariano-pāli letters on the other side. On twenty-one out of the twenty-two, the inscriptions, according to the latest interpretations from a comparison of the best examples, are respectively,

BASILEÛS SÔTÊROS MENANDROU  
and

MAHARAGASA TRADATASA MENANDRASA<sup>1</sup>.

Wilson read<sup>2</sup> the last word Minadasa. But when he wrote, in 1840, the alphabet was neither so well known as it is now, nor had such good examples come to hand. So that though the Mi- is plain enough on several coins, it is almost certainly a mere mistake for Me, from which it only differs by the centre vowel stroke being slightly prolonged.

Fifteen of the coins have a figure of Pallas either on one side or the other. A 'victory,' a horse jumping, a dolphin, a head (perhaps of a god), a two-humped camel, an elephant goad, a boar, a wheel, and a palm branch are each found on one side or the other of one of the coins; and an elephant, an owl, and a bull's head each occur twice. These are all the emblems or figures on the coins. None of them are distinctively Buddhist, though the wheel might be claimed as the Buddhist wheel, and the palm branch and the elephant would be quite in place on Buddhist coins. It may be said, therefore, that the bulk of the coins are clearly pagan, and not Buddhist; and that though two or three are doubtful, even they are probably not Buddhist.

One coin, however, a very rare one, differs, as to its inscription, from all the rest that have the legend. It has on one side

BASILEÛS DIKAIΟΥ MENANDROU,  
and on the other,

MAHARAGASA DHARMIKASA<sup>3</sup> MENANDRASA.

<sup>1</sup> See Alfred Von Sallet, 'Die Nachfolger Alexander's des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien,' Berlin, 1879; and Professor Percy Gardiner's 'Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India,' London, 1886.

<sup>2</sup> In his 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 283, London, 1841.

<sup>3</sup> The r is a little doubtful and is written, if at all, after the dh, though intended to be pronounced before the m.

Is any reference intended here to the Buddhist Dharma as distinct from the ordinary righteousness of kings? I think not. The coin is one of those with the figure of Pallas on the side which bears the Greek legend, and five others of the Baktrian Greek kings use a similar legend on their coins. These are Agathocles, Heliokles, Archebios, Strato, and Zoilos. There is also another coin in the series with a legend into which the word Dharma enters, but which has not yet been deciphered with certainty—that bearing in the Greek legend the name of Sy-Hermaios, and supposed to have been struck by Kadphises I. If there is anything Buddhist in this coin of Menander's, then the others also must be Buddhist. But it is much simpler to take the word dharmikasa in the sense of the word used in the corresponding Greek legend, and to translate it simply 'the Righteous,' or, better still, 'the Just.' Only when we call to mind how frequent in the Pāli texts is the description of the ideal king (whether Buddhist or not) as dhammiko dhamma-rāga, we cannot refuse to see the connection between this phrase and the legend of the coins, and to note how at least six of the Greek kings, one of whom is Menander, are sufficiently desirous to meet the views of their Buddhist subjects to fix upon 'Righteousness' or 'Justice' as the characteristic by which they wish to be known. The use of this epithet is very probably the foundation of the tradition preserved by Plutarch, that Menander was, as a ruler, noted for justice; and it is certainly evidence of the Buddhist influences by which he was surrounded. But it is no evidence at all that he actually became a Buddhist.

To sum up.—Menander-Milinda was one of those Greek kings who carried on in Baktria the Greek dominion founded by Alexander the Great. He was certainly one of the most important, probably the most important, of those kings. He carried the Greek arms further into India than any of his predecessors had done, and everything confirms the view given by our author at I, 9 of his justice and his power, of his ability and his wealth. He must have reigned for a considerable time in the latter

part of the second century B.C., probably from about 140 to about 115, or even 110 B.C.<sup>1</sup> His fame extended, as did that of no other Baktrian king, to the West, and he is the only Baktrian Greek king who has been remembered in India. Our author makes him say, incidentally<sup>2</sup>, that he was born at Kalasi in Alasandā (= Alexandria), a name given to an island presumably in the Indus, And, as was referred to above, Plutarch has preserved the tradition that he died in camp, in a campaign against the Indians in the valley of the Ganges.

[It is interesting to point out, in this connection, that the town (gāma) of Kalasi has not been found mentioned elsewhere. Now among the very numerous coins of the Baktrian kings there is one, and only one, giving in the legend, not the name of a king, but the name of a city, the city of Karisi. As this coin was struck about 180 B.C. by Eukratides, who was probably the first of these kings to obtain a settlement on the banks of the Indus, it is possible that the two names, one in the Pāli form (or more probably in the form of the dialect used by our author), the other in the local form, are identical; and that the coin was struck in commemoration of the fact of the Greeks having reached the Indus. If that be so, then that they gave the name Alasanda (Alexandria) to the island on which the town was built, and not to the town itself, seems to show that the town was not founded by them, but was already an important place when they took it.]

Beyond this all is conjecture. When our author says that Milinda was converted to Buddhism<sup>3</sup>, he may be either relating an actual tradition, or he may be inventing for his own purposes. There is nothing inherently impossible, or even improbable, in the story. We know that all the Baktrians, kings and people alike, eventually became

---

<sup>1</sup> See the chronological table in the Introduction to Professor Gardner's work, quoted below.

<sup>2</sup> See the translation below of III, 7, 5.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 420 of the Pāli text.



Buddhist. But the passage occurs in a part of the book which is open to much doubt. We have to place against it the negative evidence that none of Menander's coins show any decisive signs of his conversion. And the passage in question goes much further. It says that he afterwards gave up the kingdom to his son, and having entered the Buddhist Order, attained to Arahatsip. The *Simhalese MSS.* add a marginal note to the effect that the whole of this passage with its context was derived from a MS. brought from Siam. Mr. Trenckner is therefore of opinion<sup>1</sup> that it belongs to a spurious supplement. That may be so, in spite of the fact that it is quite in our author's style, and forms an appropriate close to the book. But it is incredible that an author of the literary skill so evident throughout the work should have closed his book deliberately in the middle of a paragraph, without any closing words to round it off. The *Siamese MS.* may after all have preserved the reading of older and better *MSS.* than those in Ceylon, and the last leaf of the book may have been lost there. There must have been some conclusion, if not in the manner of the paragraph under discussion, then in some other words which we may not be able to trace. But even if our author actually wrote that Menander did become a Bhikkhu and an Arahata, that is very poor evidence of the fact, unless he not only intended what he states to be taken quite literally, but also wrote soon after the events he thus deliberately records.

Now the opinion has been expressed above that we have to deal with a book of didactic ethics and religious controversy cast into the form of historical romance. If this is correct no one would be more astonished than the author himself at the inconsistency of modern critics if they took his historical statements *au grand sérieux*, while they made light of his ethical arguments. It is true that he would scarcely have been guilty of anything that seemed grossly improbable, at the time when he wrote, to the readers whom he addressed. But if, as is most probable, he wrote in North-

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Introduction,' pp. v, vi.

Western India when the memory of the actual facts of Menander's reign was fading away—that is, some generations after his death—he may well have converted him to Buddhism, as the most fitting close to the discussion he records, without intending at all to convey thereby any real historical event.

This brings us to the next point of our argument.

We have seen that the work must have been written some considerable time before Buddhaghosa, and after the death of Menander. Can its date be determined with greater accuracy than this? The story of Nāgasena introduces to us his father Sonuttara, his teachers Rohaṇa, Assagutta of the Vattaniya hermitage, and Dhammarakkhita of the Asoka Ārāma near Pāṭaliputta, and there is also mention of a teacher named Āyupāla dwelling at the Saṅkheyya hermitage near Sāgala. None of these persons and none of these places are read of elsewhere in any Buddhist text, whether Sanskrit or Pāli. For the Asvaguṇa referred to in passing at p. 351 of the Divyāvadāna has nothing in common (except the name) with our Assagutta, the Rohaṇa of Aṅguttara, III, 66, is quite distinct from our Rohaṇa, and there is not the slightest reason for supposing Nāgasena to be another form of the name Nāgārguṇa, found in both the Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist literatures<sup>1</sup>, and in the Jain lists<sup>2</sup>. The famous Buddhist scholar so called was the reputed founder of the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism. Our Nāgasena represents throughout the older teaching. If there is any connection at all between the two names, Nāgasena must have been invented as a contrast to Nāgārguṇa, and not with the least idea of identifying two men whose doctrines are so radically opposed. Even were there any reason to believe this to be the case, it would not help us much, for the date

<sup>1</sup> See the passages quoted by Dr. Wenzel in the 'Journal of the Pāli Text Society' for 1886, pp. 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> See Professor Weber in the 'Handschriftenverzeichnis der königlichen Bibliothek in Berlin,' vol. v, part 2, p. 365.

of Nāgârjuna is quite as much open to dispute as that of the author of the 'Questions of Milinda'.<sup>1</sup>

I ought to mention here that an opinion of a Nāgasena is, according to Burnouf<sup>2</sup>, discussed at length in the *Abhidharma Kosa Vyākhyā*; and that Schiefner<sup>3</sup> quotes from a Tibetan work, the Bu-ston, the statement that a schism took place under a Thera Nāgasena 137 years after the Buddha's death. It would be very interesting if the former were our Nāgasena. And if Schiefner's restoration of the name found in his Tibetan authority be correct, and the authority itself be trustworthy, it is possibly the fading memory of that Nāgasena which induced our author to adopt the name as that of the principal interlocutor in his 'Questions of Milinda.'

Finally, Professor Kern, of Leiden—who believes that Buddha is the sun, and most of his principal disciples stars—believes also not only that our Nāgasena is an historical person, but also that there never was a Buddhist cleric of that name; and that Nāgasena is simply Patañjali, the author of the Yoga philosophy, under another name. If this is not a joke, it is a strange piece of credulity.

The only reason alleged in support of it is that Patañjali has the epithets of Nāgesa and of Phāṇin. That he was a Hindu who believed in the soul-theory of the current animistic creed, while all the opinions put into Nāgasena's mouth are those of a thorough-going Buddhist and non-individualist, is to count as nothing against this chance similarity, not of names, but of the name on one side with an epithet on the other. To identify John Stuart Mill with Dean Milman would be sober sense compared with this proposal.

<sup>1</sup> Compare on this point Dr. Wenzel, *loc. cit.*, with Dr. Burgess in the 'Archaeological Reports for Southern India,' vol. i, pp. 5-9. Dr. Burgess thinks the most probable date of his death is about 200 A. D.

The identification of Nāgârjuna and Nāgasena was made independently by Major Bird in the 'Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society' for October, 1844 (who was followed by the Rev. R. Spence Hardy at p. 517 of his 'Manual of Buddhism,' published in 1860), and by Benfey in his article 'Indien' in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopedia* (who was followed by Burnouf at p. 570 of his 'Introduction,' &c., published in 1844).

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Note to his translation of Tāranātha, p. 298.

But it is deliberately put forward to support an accusation against the Buddhists of having falsely appropriated to themselves every famous man in India<sup>1</sup>. Any mud, it would seem, is good enough to pelt the Buddhists with. Yet who is it, after all, who really makes the 'appropriation,' the Buddhists or Professor Kern himself?

It would seem, therefore, that most of our author's person and place names are probably inventions of his own<sup>2</sup>.

But it is quite different with the books quoted by our author. In several passages he has evidently in his mind certain Pāli texts which deal with similar matters. So far as yet ascertained the texts thus silently referred to, either in the present volume or in the subsequent untranslated portion of the book, are as follows :

Page of this  
volume.

8 . .	Dīgha Nikāya II, 1, 2.
10 . .	„ „ II, 20.
10 . .	„ „ II, 1.
38 . .	„ „ II, 10.
38 . .	„ „ II, 11.
40 . .	Kathā Vatthu I, 1.
41 . .	Aṅguttara I, 15, 4-7.
41 . .	Dīgha Nikāya II, 17.
41 . .	„ „ II, 23.
42 . .	„ „ II, 26.
59 . .	„ „ XVII.
80 . .	Mahāvagga I, 1, 1.
129 . .	Various (see my note).
132 . .	Kullavagga IX, 1, 4.
163 . .	Kullavagga VII, 1, 27.
170 . .	Vessantara Gāṭaka.
179 . .	Sivi Gāṭaka.
204 . .	Magghima Nikāya LXIII.

<sup>1</sup> Kern's 'Buddhismus' (the German translation), vol. ii, p. 443.

<sup>2</sup> As these pages were passing through the press I have found Assagutta of the Vattaniya hermitage, mentioned in the last chapter of the Saddhamma Samgaha, which is passing through the press for the Pāli Text Society. But this is taken no doubt from the Milinda, and is not an independent reference to any such teacher as an historical person. (The Saddhamma Samgaha was written by Dhamma-kitti in Ceylon, probably in the twelfth century.)

Page of this  
volume.

- 212 . . *Gâtaka* (No. 69).  
 256 . . *Sutta Vibhaṅga* (Pâr. 4).  
 257 . . *Kâtuma Sutta* (No. 67).  
 259 . . *Kullavagga* IX, 1, 3.  
 264 . . *Mahāvagga* II, 16, 8.  
 275 . . *Dhamma-kakka-pavattana Sutta*.  
 277 . . *Āṅguttara* II, 1, 1.  
 283 . . The 540th *Gâtaka*.  
 285 . . *Amba Gâtaka* (No. 474).  
 285 . . *Dummedha Gâtaka* (No. 122).  
 286 . . *Tittira Gâtaka* (No. 438).  
 286 . . *Khantivāda Gâtaka* (No. 313).  
 287 . . *Kūla-Nandiya Gâtaka* (No. 222).  
 287 . . *Takkha-sūkara Gâtaka* (No. 492).  
 288 . . *Kariyā-piṭaka* II, 6.  
 288 . . *Sīlava-nāga Gâtaka* (No. 72).  
 288 . . *Sabba-dāḥa Gâtaka* (No. 241).  
 289 . . *Apannaka Gâtaka* (No. 1).  
 289 . . *Nigrodha-miga Gâtaka* (No. 12).  
 290 . . *Nigrodha Gâtaka* (No. 445).  
 290 . . *Mahā-paduma Gâtaka* (No. 472).  
 290 . . *Mahā-patāpa Gâtaka* (No. 358).  
 294 . . *Ummagga Gâtaka* (No. 546).  
 298 . . *Kullavagga* VII, 3, 11.  
 302 . . *Āṅguttara* IV, 13.

Page of the  
Pāli Text.

- 220 . . *Gâtaka*, No. 310 (vol. iii, p. 32).  
 231 . . *Sutta Nipāta* I, 4.  
 236 . . *Gâtaka* (vol. i, p. 56).  
 256 . . „ (vol. iv, p. 232, line 20).  
 277 . . *Vessantara Gâtaka*.  
 289 . . *Gâtaka* (vol. i, p. 57).  
 291 . . *Gâtaka* (Nos. 258, 541, 494, and 243).  
 313 . . *Magghima Nikāya*, No. 75 (p. 502).

In several other passages he refers to a Pāli book, or a chapter in a Pāli book, by name. This is much more valuable for our purposes than the silent, and sometimes doubtful, references in the last list. So far as is yet ascertained, these references are as follows :

Page of this volume.	
1, 2 . .	Vinaya, Sutta, Abhidhamma.
21 . .	The Suttantas.
21 . .	The Abhidhamma.
21 . .	Dhamma <i>Saṃgāsi</i> .
21 . .	Vibhaṅga.
21 . .	Dhātu Kathā.
21 . .	Puggala <i>Paññatti</i> .
21 . .	Kathā Vatthu.
22 . .	Yamaka.
22 . .	<i>Paṭṭhāna</i> .
22 . .	The Abhidhamma Piṭaka.
25 . .	The Abhidhamma.
27 . .	The Abhidhamma.
28 . .	The three Piṭakas.
31 . .	Mahā Samaya Suttanta (No. 20 in the <i>Dīgha</i> ).
31 . .	Mahā Maṅgala Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta II, 4).
32 . .	Sama-kitta-pariyāya Suttanta (unknown).
32 . .	Rāhulovāda Suttanta (No. 147 in the <i>Magghima</i> ).
32 . .	Parābhava Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta I, 6).
34 . .	The three Piṭakas.
56 . .	<i>Samyutta</i> Nikāya (the words quoted are in the Sutta Nipāta).
71, 88 . .	The Abhidhamma.
137 . .	The ninefold Scriptures.
195 . .	Moliya Sīvaka chapter of the <i>Samyutta</i> .
213 . .	Ratana Sutta (in the Sutta Nipāta II, 1).
213 . .	Khandha Parittā (not traced).
213 . .	Mora Parittā ( <i>Gātaka</i> , Nos. 159, 491).
213 . .	Dhagagga Parittā (in the <i>Gātaka</i> Book).
213 . .	Āśāñāya Parittā (in the <i>Dīgha</i> Nikāya).
213 . .	Aṅgulimāla Parittā (not traced).
232 . .	The Pātimokkha.
264-267 . .	Pātimokkha, Vinaya Piṭaka.
Page of the Pāli Text.	
241 . .	Dhamma-dāyāda Sutta of the <i>Magghima</i> Nikāya (vol. i, p. 13).
242 . .	<i>Samyutta</i> Nikāya (vol. i, p. 67).
258 . .	Dakkhiṇā Vibhaṅga of the <i>Magghima</i> Nikāya (No. 142).
281 . .	Kariyā Piṭaka G. 53.

Page of the  
Pāli Text.

- 341 . . Navaṅgam Buddha-vaṅgam.  
 341 . . The Gāṭaka Book.  
 341 . . The Dīgha Nikāya.  
 341 . . The Magghima Nikāya.  
 342 . . The Samyutta Nikāya.  
 342 . . The Khuddaka Nikāya.  
 348 . . The three Piṭakas.  
 349 . . Mahā Rāhulovāda (in the Magghima, No. 147).  
 349 . . Mahā Maṅgala Suttanta (in the Sutta Nipāta II, 4).  
 349 . . Sama-kitta Pariyāya (not traced).  
 349 . . Parābhava Suttanta (in the Sutta Nipāta I, 6).  
 349 . . Purābheda Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta IV, 10).  
 349 . . Kalaha-vivāda Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta IV, 11).  
 349 . . Kūla Vyūha Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta IV, 12).  
 349 . . Mahā Vyūha Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta IV, 13).  
 349 . . Tuvaṭṭaka Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta IV, 14).  
 349 . . Sāriputta Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta IV, 16).  
 350 . . Mahā-samaya Suttanta (in the Dīgha, No. 20).  
 350 . . Sakkha-paṇṇa Suttanta (Dīgha, No. 21).  
 350 . . Tirokudda Suttanta (in the Khuddaka Pāṭha, No. 7).  
 350 . . Ratana Suttanta (in the Sutta Nipāta II, 1).  
 350 . . The Abhidhamma.  
 362 . . Ekuttara Nikāya (= Aṅguttara I, 13, 7).  
 369 . . Dhaniya-sutta of the Sutta Nipāta (I, 2).  
 371 . . Kummūpama Suttanta of the Samyutta Nikāya  
     (not yet printed).  
 372 . . Vidhura Punnaka Gāṭaka.  
 377 . . Sakka Samyutta of the Samyutta Nikāya (not yet  
     printed).  
 378 . . Dhammapada (verse 327).  
 379 . . Samyutta (55, 7).  
 381 . . Sutasoma Gāṭaka (No. 537).  
 384 . . Kaṇha Gāṭaka (No. 440, vol. iv, p. 10).  
 385 . . Sutta Nipāta (I, 12, 1).  
 389 . . Samyutta Nikāya.  
 392 . . Ekuttara Nikāya (= Aṅguttara X, 5, 8).  
 396 . . Lomahamsana Pariyāya.  
 399 . . Samyutta Nikāya (III, 5, 6, vol. i, p. 73).  
 401 . .         "         "         (XVI, 1, 3, vol. ii, p. 194).  
 402 . . Kakkavāka Gāṭaka (No. 451, vol. iv, p. 71).  
 403 . . Kulla Nārada Gāṭaka (not traced).





IV, 1, 67, p. 196.	You.	Not traced.
IV, 1, 67, p. 196.	You.	" "
IV, 1, 71, p. 199.	B.	Dîgha Nikâya XIV, 3, 60.
IV, 1, 71, p. 199.	B.	" " XIV, 3, 63.
IV, 2, 1, p. 202.	B.	Not traced.
IV, 2, 1, p. 202.	B.	Dîgha Nikâya XIV, 6, 3.
IV, 2, 4, p. 204.	B.	" " XIV, 2, 32.
IV, 2, 6, p. 206.	B.	Dhammapada 129.
IV, 2, 6, p. 206.	B.	Not traced.
IV, 2, 15, p. 213.	B.	Dhammapada 127, 8.
IV, 2, 20, p. 214.	You.	Not traced.
IV, 2, 20, p. 214.	You.	" "
IV, 2, 27, p. 224.	You.	" "
IV, 2, 29, p. 225.	B.	Dîgha Nikâya XIV, 2, 32.
IV, 2, 29, p. 225.	B.	Not traced.
IV, 2, 31, p. 227.	You.	" "
IV, 2, 31, p. 227.	You.	" "
IV, 3, 1, p. 229.	B.	Various (see note).
IV, 3, 1, p. 229.	You.	Aggañña Sutta (Dîgha).
IV, 3, 5, p. 234.	You.	Not traced.
IV, 3, 5, p. 234.	You.	" "
IV, 3, 15, p. 238.	Sâriputta.	" "
IV, 3, 15, p. 238.	B.	Pârâgika I, 5, 11.
IV, 3, 19, p. 241.	B*.	Gâtaka III, 24.
IV, 3, 19, p. 241.	B.	Gâtaka IV, 210.
IV, 3, 21, p. 242.	The Theras.	Dîgha Nikâya XIV, 4, 23.
IV, 3, 21, p. 243.	B.	" " XIV, 4, 57.
IV, 3, 24, p. 246.	B.	Not traced.
IV, 3, 24, p. 246.	B.	Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta (D. XVI, 5, 24).
IV, 3, 27, p. 248.	You.	Not traced.
IV, 3, 27, p. 248.	You.	Kullavagga VII, 3, 9.
IV, 3, 31, p. 251.	B.	Not traced.
IV, 3, 31, p. 251.	B.	" "
IV, 3, 33, p. 253.	B.	Brahmagala Sutta (D. I, 1, 5).
IV, 3, 33, p. 253.	B.	Sela Sutta (SN. III, 7, 7).
IV, 3, 35, p. 254.	B*.	The 521st Gâtaka.
IV, 3, 38, p. 257.	B.	Dhaniya Sutta (SN. I, 2, 2).
IV, 4, 1, p. 261.	B.	Aṅguttara I, 14, 1.
IV, 4, 4, p. 264.	B.	Aṅguttara III, 124.
IV, 4, 9, p. 268.	B.	Pâtimokkha (Pâk. 1).
IV, 4, 11, p. 270.	B.	Not traced.
IV, 4, 11, p. 271.	B.	" "

IV, 4, 13, p. 273.	B.	Sutta Vibhaṅga (Pār. 3, 5, 13).
IV, 4, 13, p. 273.	B.	Not traced.
IV, 4, 16, p. 279.	B.	Āṅguttara XI, 2, 5, and the 169th <i>Gāṭaka</i> .
IV, 4, 16, p. 280.	You.	The 540th <i>Gāṭaka</i> .
IV, 4, 17, p. 283.	You.	Not traced.
IV, 4, 42, p. 294.	B*.	The 536th <i>Gāṭaka</i> .
IV, 4, 44, p. 297.	B.	Not traced.
IV, 4, 46, p. 301.	You.	" "
The Pāli Text.		
P. 211, l. 6.	B.	Muni Sutta (SN. I, 12, 3).
211, l. 8.	B.	Kulavagga VI, 1, 5.
213, l. 6.	B.	Dhammapada 168.
213, l. 7.	B.	Magghima Nikāya 77.
215, l. 10.	B.	Not traced.
215, l. 12.	B.	Āṅguttara I, 14, 4.
217, l. 9.	B.	Samyutta Nikāya XXI.
217, l. 11.	B.	Not traced.
219, l. 14.	B.	" "
219, l. 15.	It is said.	<i>Gāṭaka</i> (No. 433).
221, l. 20.	B.	Kāṭhaddanta <i>Gāṭaka</i> (vol. v, p. 49).
221, l. 24.	It is said.	Not traced.
223, l. 16.	B.	Magghima Nikāya (No. 87).
223, l. 18.	It is said.	" " "
225, l. 2.	B.	Sela Sutta (SN. III, 7, 33).
228, l. 2.	B.	Sutta Nipāta I, 4, 6 = III, 4, 26.
230, l. 13.	B*.	Kapi <i>Gāṭaka</i> (vol. iii, p. 354).
232, l. 7.	You.	Not traced.
232, l. 10.	You.	" "
235, l. 2.	B.	Magghima I, p. 177 = Vinaya I, p. 8.
235, l. 4.	B.	Magghima (No. 86).
236, l. 27.	B.	Āṅguttara I, 15, 10.
240, l. 3.	B.	Magghima Nikāya (No. 142).
242, l. 17.	Sāriputta.	Not traced.
242, l. 26.	B.	Samyutta Nikāya 44.
245, l. 1.	B.	Samyutta 6, 14 (vol. i, p. 157) = Thera-gāthā 256, 7 = Di- vyāvadāna, p. 300.
253, l. 1.	You.	Not traced.
255, l. 8.	You.	" "
262.	B.	" "
323.	You.	" "

The Pāli Text. P. 333.		
	B.	Dhammapada 54-56 (taken in part from Aṅguttara III, 79).
366, l. 6.	B.	Samyutta XX, 8, 5.
366, l. 10.	Sāriputta.	Thera-gāthā 985.
367, l. 8.	B.	Not traced (see S. XII, 63, 8).
367, l. 19.	Mahā Kaṭṭhāyana.	Thera-gāthā 501.
368, l. 2.	B.	Samyutta 46, 7.
368, l. 6.	Sāriputta.	Not traced.
368, l. 20.	Kulla Panthaka.	" "
369, l. 5.	B.	Sutta Nipāta I, 2, 12.
369, l. 22.	The Theras who held the Synod (at Rāgagaha).	Not traced.
370, l. 11.	Sāriputta.	Not traced.
371, l. 14.	Upasena.	Thera-gāthā 577.
371, l. 28.	B.	Samyutta I, 17, 2 (vol. i, p. 7).
372, l. 12.	Rāhula.	Not traced.
372, l. 23.	B.	Gātaka (No. 545).
373, l. 13.	Sāriputta.	Not traced.
374, l. 5.	Sāriputta.	" "
374, l. 16.	Sāriputta.	" "
375, l. 15.	B.	Magg'hima (vol. i, p. 33).
376, l. 3.	Anuruddha.	Not traced.
376, l. 17.	Rāhula.	" "
377, l. 14.	B.	Samyutta 55, 7.
378, l. 5.	Sāriputta.	Not traced.
378, l. 17.	B.	Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta (D. XVI, 2, 12).
379, l. 1.	B.	Dhammapada 327.
379, l. 14.	B.	Samyutta 55, 7.
380, l. 1.	Sāriputta.	Not traced.
381, l. 15.	B.	Sutasoma Gātaka (No. 537).
383, l. 3.	Sister Subhaddā.	Not traced.
384, l. 4.	B.	Kaṇha Gātaka (vol. iv, p. 10).
385, l. 1.	B.	(?) Magg'hima Nikāya (No. 62).
385, l. 28.	B.	Sutta Nipāta I, 12, 1.
386, l. 12.	B.	Dhammapada 81.
386, l. 19.	B.	Dhammapada 404 (from SN. III, 9, 35).
386, l. 26.	Subhūti.	Not traced.
387, l. 8.	B.	Dhammapada 28.
387, l. 16.	Sister Subhaddā.	Not traced.
388, l. 14.	B.	Magg'hima Nikāya (vol. i, p. 424).

The Pāli Text.		
P. 389, l. 9.	B.	<i>Samyutta Nikāya</i> XVI, 3.
390, l. 17.	Vaṅṅsa.	Not traced.
391, l. 6.	Subhūti.	" "
391, l. 21.	B.	<i>Dhammapada</i> 350.
392, l. 3.	B.	<i>Anguttara</i> X, 5, 8.
392, l. 10.	B.	Not traced.
393, l. 3.	Vaṅṅsa.	" "
393, l. 25.	B.	" "
394, l. 6.	Upasena.	" "
394, l. 16.	Upasena.	" "
394, l. 28.	Sāriputta.	" "
395, l. 9.	Mahā Kassapa.	" "
395, l. 22.	Upasena.	<i>Thera-gāthā</i> 580.
396, l. 3.	B.	<i>Magghima Nikāya</i> (vol. i, p. 74).
396, l. 20.	Sāriputta.	Not traced.
397, l. 15.	Sāriputta.	" "
398, l. 5.	<i>Pindola</i> .	" "
399, l. 16.	B.	<i>Samyutta Nikāya</i> III, 5, 6 (vol. i, p. 73).
401, l. 10.	B.	<i>Samyutta Nikāya</i> XVI, 1, 3 (vol. ii, p. 194).
402, l. 8.	B.	<i>Kakkavāka Gāṭaka</i> (vol. iv, p. 71; not in III, 520).
402, l. 26.	Brahmā.	<i>Samyutta Nikāya</i> VI, 2, 4 (vol. i, p. 154 = <i>Thera-gāthā</i> 142).
403, l. 13.	B.	<i>Kulla-nārada Gāṭaka</i> (vol. iv, p. 223).
403, l. 27.	B.	<i>Samyutta Nikāya</i> (vol. iii, p. 125).
404, l. 12.	<i>Pindola</i> .	Not traced.
405, l. 3.	B.	<i>Dīgha Nikāya</i> XXX.
405, l. 22.	Anuruddha.	Not traced.
407, l. 1.	Sāriputta.	<i>Thera-gāthā</i> 982, 3.
407, l. 20.	Anuruddha.	Not traced.
408, l. 8.	B.	<i>Dīgha Nikāya</i> XVI, 5, 24.
408, l. 22.	B.	<i>Dhammapada</i> 32.
409, l. 17.	B.	<i>Samyutta Nikāya</i> XIV, 16 (= <i>Thera-gāthā</i> 148, 266).
410, l. 8.	Sāriputta.	Not traced <sup>1</sup> .
411, l. 9.	Sāriputta.	" "
411, l. 29.	B.	<i>Sutta Nipāta</i> II, 6, 10.

<sup>1</sup> That is, not in the *Piṭakas*. The stanza is found in the commentary on the *Dhammapada* (Fausböll, p. 147), and also in Buddhaghosa's *Papañka Sūdanī* (see Trenckner's note)—each time with a variation at the close of the verse.

The Pāli Text.		
P. 412, l. 21.	Mogharāga.	Not traced.
413, l. 6.	Rahula.	" "
414, l. 1.	B.	Sutta Nipāta (not traced <sup>1</sup> ).
414, l. 18.	B.	" " III, 11, 43.
415, l. 14.	B.	Not traced.
416, l. 4.	Sāriputta.	" "
416, l. 29.	Upāli.	" "
417, l. 12.	B.	" "
418, l. 1.	Moggallāna.	" "
419, l. 11.	Sāriputta.	" "

Now the Pāli Piṭakas consist of the following twenty-nine books:

Title.	No. of printed pages 8vo.	
1. The Sutta Vibhaṅga . . .	617*	} THE VINAYA PIṬAKA.
2. The Khandhakas . . .	668*	
a. Mahāvagga . . . 360		
b. Kullavagga . . . 308		
3. The Parivāra . . . . .	226*	
Total . . . . .	1511*	
4. The Dīgha Nikāya . . .	750	} THE SUTTA PIṬAKA. (The four great Nikāyas.)
5. The Magghima Nikāya . . .	1000	
6. The Saṃyutta Nikāya . . .	1250	
7. The Aṅguttara Nikāya . . .	1500	
Total . . . . .	4500	
8. The Khuddaka Pāṭha . . .	10*	} THE KHUDDAKA NIKĀYA. (The repeaters of the Dīgha add these to the Sut- ta Piṭaka. The repeaters of the Magghima add them to the Abhi- dhamma Piṭaka.)
9. The Dhammapadas . . .	40*	
10. The Udānas . . . . .	80*	
11. The Iti-vuttakas . . . . .	100*	
12. The Sutta Nipāta . . . . .	200*	
13. The Vimāna Vatthu . . .	85*	
14. The Peta Vatthu . . . . .	90*	
15. The Thera-Gāthā . . . . .	100*	
16. The Theri-Gāthā . . . . .	35*	
17. The Gātakas . . . . .	70	
18. The Niddesa . . . . .	300	
19. The Paṭisambhidā . . . . .	400	
20. The Apadānas . . . . .	400	
21. The Buddha Vaṇsa . . . . .	60*	
22. The Kariyā Piṭaka . . . . .	30*	
Total . . . . .	2000	

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Trenckner gives no reference, and I have searched through the Sutta Nipāta, which has no index, in vain.

23. The Dhamma Saṅgami . . . . .	260*	}	THE ABHIDHAMMA PIṬAKA.
24. The Vibhaṅga . . . . .	325		
25. The Kathā Vatthu . . . . .	440		
26. The Puggala Paññatti . . . . .	75*		
27. The Dhātu Kathā . . . . .	100		
28. The Yamakas . . . . .	400		
29. The Paṭṭhāna . . . . .	600	}	
Total Abhidhamma . . . . .	2200		
	10,211		

This shows the total extent of the three Piṭakas to be about 10,000 pages 8vo. as printed, or to be printed, by the Pāli Text Society<sup>1</sup>. If our English Bible, in the older authorised version, were to be printed in the same manner and type and on the same size of page, it would occupy about 5,000 pages. So that the Buddhist Bible without its repetitions (some of which are very frequent, and others very long), would only occupy about double the space of the English Bible. This would not have been a literature too large to be familiarly known to our author. What is the conclusion which can fairly be drawn, from a comparison of the last list with those preceding it, as to his knowledge of those books now held, by living Buddhists, to be canonical?

The answer to this question will be of some importance for another reason beyond the help it will afford towards settling the date of the original 'Questions of Milinda.' As is well known, Asoka, in the only one of his edicts, addressed specially to the members of the Buddhist Order of mendicants, selects seven portions of the Buddhist Scriptures, which he mentions by name, and expresses his desire that not only the brethren and sisters of the Order, but also the laity, should constantly learn by heart and reflect upon those seven. Now not one of the seven titles which occur in the edict is identical with any of the twenty-nine in the last list. Whereupon certain Indianists have rejoiced at being able to score a point, as they think, against these

<sup>1</sup> This estimate excludes the space occupied by notes. The books marked with an asterisk in the foregoing list have already been printed.

unbrahmanical Buddhists, and have jumped to the conclusion that the Buddhist canon must be late and spurious; and that the Buddhism of Asoka's time must have been very different from the Buddhism of the Pāli Piṭakas. That would be much the same as if a Japanese scholar, at a time when he knew little or nothing of Christianity, except the names of the books in the Bible, were to have found an open letter of Constantine's in which he urges both the clergy and laity to look upon the Word of God as their only authority, and to constantly repeat and earnestly meditate upon the Psalm of the Shepherd, the words of Lemuel, the Prophecy of the Servant of the Lord, the Sermon on the Mount, the Exaltation of Charity, the Question of Nicodemus, and the story of the Prodigal Son—and that our Oriental critic should jump to the conclusion that the canonical books of the Christians could not have been known in the time of Constantine, and that the Christianity of Constantine was really quite different from, and much more simple than the Christianity of the Bible. As a matter of fact the existence of such a letter would prove very little, either way, as to the date of the books in the Bible as we now have them. If our Japanese scholar were to discover afterwards a Christian work, even much later than the time of Constantine, in which the canonical books of the Christians were both quoted and referred to, he would have much surer ground for a sounder historical criticism. And he would possibly come to see that the seven portions selected for special honour and commendation were not intended as an exhaustive list even of remarkable passages, much less for an exhaustive list of canonical books, but that the number seven was merely chosen in deference to the sacred character attaching to that number in the sacred literature.

Such a book is our Milinda. It is, as we have seen, later than the canonical books of the Pāli Piṭakas, and on the other hand, not only older than the great commentaries, but the only book, outside the canon, regarded in them as an authority which may be implicitly followed. And I venture to think that the most simple working hypothesis

by which to explain the numerous and varied references and quotations it makes, as shown in the preceding lists, from the *Piṭakas* as a whole, and from the various books contained in them, is that the Pāli *Piṭakas* were known, in their entirety, and very nearly, if not quite, as we now have them, to our author. For out of the twenty-nine books of the *Piṭakas*, we find in the lists of works referred to by him the three *Piṭakas* as a whole, the *Vinaya Piṭaka* as a whole, and all of its component books except the *Parivāra* (which was composed in Ceylon), the *Sutta Piṭaka* and each of the four great *Nikāyas*, the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* and each of its seven component books, and the *Khuddaka Nikāya* as a whole and several of its separate books. And when we further recollect the very large number of quotations appearing in my lists as not yet traced in the *Piṭakas*, we see the necessity of being very chary in drawing any argument *ex silentio* with respect to those books not occurring in the lists.

To sum up.—It may be said generally that while the *Sutta Vibhaṅga* and the *Khandhakas*, the four great *Nikāyas*, and the *Abhidhamma* were certainly known to our author, he very likely had no knowledge of the *Parivāra*; and it remains to be seen how far his knowledge of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, which he happens to mention once<sup>1</sup> as a whole by name, did actually extend. At present it is only clear that he knew the *Khuddaka Pāṭha*, the *Dhammapada* collection of sacred verses, the *Sutta Nipāta*, the *Thera* and *Theri-gāthā*, the *Gātakas*, and the *Kariyā Piṭaka*. I hope to return to this question in the Introduction to my second volume, only pointing out here that the doubtful books (those concerning which our author is apparently silent) would occupy about two thousand pages octavo, out of the ten thousand of which the three *Piṭakas* would, if printed, consist: and that those two thousand pages belong, for the most part, precisely to that part of the *Piṭakas* which have not yet been edited, so that there they may very likely, after all, be quoted in one or other

---

<sup>1</sup> Page 342 of the printed text.



---

of the numerous quotations entered as 'not traced' in my lists<sup>1</sup>.

---

Such being the extent, so far as can at present be shown, of our author's knowledge of the three Piṭakas, the question arises as to the degree and accuracy of his knowledge. In the great majority of cases his quotations or references entirely agree with the readings shown by our texts. But there are a few exceptions. And as these are both interesting and instructive, it will be advisable to point them out in detail.

The reference to the Avīki Hell as being outside the earth, if not at variance with, is at least an addition to the teaching of the Piṭakas as to cosmogony<sup>2</sup>. But there is some reason to believe that the passage may be an interpolation, and the difference itself is not only doubtful but also of no particular importance.

The description of the contents of the Puggala Paññatti given in I, 26, does not really agree with the text. The book, in its first section, sets out six different sorts of discrimination or distinction. One paragraph only is devoted to each of the first five discriminations, and the author or authors then proceed, in the rest of the book, to deal with the details of the last of the six. Our author gives the six as the divisions of the book itself.

But I think it is clear that so far as the description is inaccurate, the error is due, not to any difference between the text as he had it and that which we now possess, but simply to our author laying too great a stress upon the opening paragraphs of the book.

In the reference to the Buddha's first sermon, the Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness (in I, 38), our author says that 'eighteen koṭis of Brahma gods, and an innumerable company of other gods, attained to compre-

---

<sup>1</sup> About half of the canonical books, besides a considerable number of the uncanonical works, have already been edited in the last few years, chiefly owing to the Pāli Text Society's labours.

<sup>2</sup> See the passages quoted in my note at p. 9.

hension of the truth.' There is no statement of the kind in the *Piṭaka* account of this event (see my translation in 'Buddhist Suttas,' pp. 146-155). But it is not inconsistent with the Pāli, and is doubtless added from some edifying commentary.

There is a difference of reading between the lines put into Sāriputta's mouth, at II, 2, 4, and those ascribed to Sāriputta in the *Thera Gāthā* (1002, 1003). If the *Milinda* reading is not found in some hitherto unpublished passage, we have here a real case of divergence.

Perhaps the most important apparent variation between our author and the *Piṭaka* texts is the statement put by him, in IV, 4, 9, into the mouth of the Buddha, that a deliberate lie is one of the offences called *Pārāgika*, that is, involving exclusion from the Order. Now in the old Canon Law there are only four *Pārāgika* offences—breach of chastity, theft, murder, and a false claim to extraordinary spiritual powers (see my translation in vol. i, pp. 1-5 of the 'Vinaya Texts'); and falsehood is placed quite distinctly under another category, that of the *Pāṭikkīyas*, offences requiring repentance (see p. 32 of the same translation). If our author was a member of the Order, as he almost certainly was, it would seem almost incredible that he should make an error in a matter of such common knowledge, and of such vital importance, as the number and nature of the *Pārāgikas*. And indeed, in the immediate context, he refers to the *Pāṭikkīya* rule, though not in the exact words used in the text of the *Pātimokkha*. I think that he must have known very well what he was talking about. And that a passage, not yet traced, will be found in the unpublished parts of the *Piṭakas*, in which the Buddha is made to say that falsehood is a *Pārāgika*—just as a Christian might maintain that falsehood is forbidden in the Ten Commandments, and yet be perfectly aware of the exact phraseology of the Ten Words.

In IV, 4, 26, our author identifies the learned pig in the *Takkha-sūkara Gāthaka* with the Bodisat. He differs here from the *Gāthaka* Commentary, in which the Bodisat is identified with the tree-god, who acts as a kind of Greek chorus in the story. And the summaries in IV, 4, 28 of

Ruru Gâtaka, and in IV, 4, 30 of the Sabba-dâttha Gâtaka, do not exactly agree with Professor Fausböll's text<sup>1</sup>. But the commentary is not the text; and it is well known that there are numerous such light variations in the different expansions of the verses, which latter alone form the actual text.

In IV, 4, 44 we find our author giving a version of a well-known incident in the Buddhist Gospel story different from the oldest version of it in the Piṭaka texts. This is another instance of an expansion of the original adopted from some unknown commentator, and does not argue an ignorance of the text as we have it.

I have noticed in the untranslated portion of our author, four or five cases of readings apparently different from the Piṭaka texts he refers to. These I hope to deal with in my next volume. But I may notice here that two stanzas, given on p. 414 of the text, and said on p. 413 to be 'in the Sutta Nipâta,' are not found in Professor Fausböll's edition of that work; and we have there, in all probability, another case of real divergence. But the reading in the Milinda may possibly be found to be incorrect.

The general result of this comparison, when we remember the very large number of passages quoted, will be held, I trust, to confirm the conclusion reached above, that our author knew the Piṭakas practically as we now have them, that is as they have been handed down in Ceylon.

Outside the Piṭakas there are unfortunately no references to actual books. But there are several references to countries and persons which are of importance, in as much as they show a knowledge in our author of places or occurrences not mentioned in the sacred books. It will be most convenient to arrange these passages first in an alphabetical list, and then to make a few remarks on the conclusions the list suggests. They are as follows:—

Name.	Page of the Pâli Text.
Anantakâya (Yonako) . . . . .	29, 30.
Alasando (dîpo) . . . . .	82, 327, 331, 359.
Asoka (dhamma-râgâ) . . . . .	121.

<sup>1</sup> See my notes to the passages quoted.

Name.	Page of the Pāli Text.
Asokârâma (near Patna) . . . . .	16, 17.
Assagutta (âyasmâ) . . . . .	6, 7, 14.
Âyupâla (âyasmâ) . . . . .	19.
Ūhâ (nadî) . . . . .	70.
Kalasi (gâmo) . . . . .	83.
Kasmîra ( <i>raṭṭham</i> ) . . . . .	82, 327, 331.
Kola-paṭṭana (seaport) . . . . .	359.
Gandhâra ( <i>raṭṭham</i> ) . . . . .	327, 331.
Kandagutto (râgâ) . . . . .	292.
Kîna (? China) . . . . .	121, 327, 331, 359.
Takkola (? = Karkota) . . . . .	359.
Tissatthera (lekḥâkariyo) . . . . .	71.
Devamañṭiya (Yonako) . . . . .	22-24, 29, 30.
Dhamma-rakkhita (âyasmâ) . . . . .	16, 18.
Nikumba ( <i>raṭṭham</i> ) . . . . .	327.
Bindumatî (ganikâ) . . . . .	121.
Bhaddasâla (senâpati-putto) . . . . .	292.
Bharukakkha (men of) . . . . .	331.
Mañkura (Yonako) . . . . .	29, 30.
Madhura (nigamo) . . . . .	331.
Yonakâ (the tribe) . . . . .	1, 4, 20, 68.
Rakkhita-tala (in the Himâlayas) . . . . .	6, 7, 12, 18.
Rohana (âyasmâ) . . . . .	7, 10.
Vaṅga (Bengal) . . . . .	359.
Vattaniya (senâsanam) . . . . .	10, 12, 14-16.
Vigamba-vatthu (senâsanam) . . . . .	12.
Vilâta ( <i>raṭṭham</i> ) . . . . .	327, 331.
Saka-yavana (the countries of) . . . . .	327, 331.
Sanḥeyya (parivenam) . . . . .	19, 22.
Sabbadinna or Dinna (Yonako) . . . . .	29, 56.
Sâgala (nagaram) . . . . .	1, 3, 5, 14, 22.
Surattha (nigamo) . . . . .	359, men of, 331.
Suvanna-bhûmi (? Burma) . . . . .	359.
Sonuttara (brâhmano) . . . . .	9.

It will be noticed that the only names of persons, besides those occurring in the story itself, are, in one passage, Asoka and Bindumatî the courtesan, and in another Kandragupta and Bhaddasâla who fought against him. Of places, besides those in the story, we have a considerable number of names referring to the Panjâb, and adjacent countries; and besides these the names only of a few places or countries on

the sea coast. The island Alasanda in the Indus, and the town of Kalasi situated in that island, have been discussed above. The country of the Sakas and Yavanas, Gandhâra, Kashmîr, Bharukakka, Surat, and Madhura, explain themselves. Nikumba and Vilâta were probably in the same neighbourhood, but these names have not been met with elsewhere, and I can suggest no identification of them. The places on the sea coast, to which a merchant ship could sail, mentioned on p. 359, are mostly well known. Kola-pattana must, I think, be some place on the Koromandel coast, and Suvanna-bhûmi be meant for the seaboard of Burma and Siam. The author mentions no places in the interior south of the Ganges.

At four places he gives lists of famous rivers. In three out of the four he simply repeats the list of five—Gaṅgâ, Yamunâ, Akiravatî, Sarabhû, and Mahî—so often enumerated together in the Piṭakas<sup>1</sup>. In the fourth passage (p. 114) he adds five others—the Sindhu, the Sarassatî, the Vetravatî, the Vitamsâ, and the K'andabhâgâ. Of these the first two are well known. Professor Eduard Müller suggests<sup>2</sup> that the Vitamsâ is the same as the Vitastâ (the Hydaspes of the Greeks and the modern Bihat). The Vetravatî is one of the principal affluents of the Jumna; and the K'andrabhâgâ rises in the North-West Himâlayas, and is not unfrequently referred to as the Asiknî of the Vedas, the Akesines of the Greek geographers, the modern Kinâb<sup>3</sup>.

The list is meagre enough. An ethical treatise is scarcely the place to look for much geographical or historical matter. But unless our author deliberately concealed his knowledge, and made all the remarks he put into the mouth of Nâgasena correspond with what that teacher might fairly be expected to have known, the whole list points to the definite conclusion that the writer of the 'Questions of Milinda' resided in the far North-West of

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 70, 87, 380 of the Pâli text.

<sup>2</sup> 'Journal of the Pâli Text Society,' 1888, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> See Lassen, 'Indische Alterthumskunde,' vol. i, p. 43 (first edition, p. 55 of the second edition), and the passages there quoted.

India, or in the Panjâb itself. And this is confirmed by the great improbability of any memory of Menander having survived elsewhere, and more especially in Ceylon, where we should naturally look for our author's residence if he did not live in the region thus suggested.

As my space is here limited, I postpone to the next volume the discussion as to how far the knowledge displayed by our author, the conditions of society with which he shows himself acquainted, and the religious beliefs he gives utterance to, afford evidence of his date. I will only say here that on all these points his work shows clear signs of being later than the Piṣāka texts. And in the present state of our knowledge, or rather of our ignorance, of Pāli, there is very little to be drawn from the language used by our author. In the first place we do not know for certain whether we have the original before us, or a translation from the Sanskrit or from some Northern dialect. And if, as is probably the case, we have a translation, it would be very difficult to say whether any peculiarity we may find in it is really due to the translator, or to the original author. No doubt a translator, finding in his original a word not existing in Pāli, but formed according to rules of derivation obtaining in Pāli, would coin the corresponding Pāli form. And in doing so he might very likely be led into mistake, if his original were Prakrit, by misunderstanding the derivation of the Prakrit word before him. Childers in comparing Buddhist Sanskrit with Pāli, has pointed out several cases where such mistakes have occurred, and has supposed that in every case the Sanskrit translator misunderstood a Pāli word before him<sup>1</sup>. As I have suggested elsewhere it is, to say the least, quite as likely that the Sanskrit Buddhist texts are often founded on older works, not in Pāli, but in some other Prakrit<sup>2</sup>. And it may be possible hereafter to form some opinion as to what that dialect was which the Sanskrit writers must have had be-

<sup>1</sup> See the articles in his 'Pāli Dictionary,' referred to under note 3, p. xi of the Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> See the note on pp. 178, 179 of my 'Buddhist Suttas.'

fore them, to lead them into the particular blunders they have made. In the same way an argument may be drawn from the words found exclusively in Milinda as to the dialect which he spoke, and in which he probably wrote. A list of the words our author uses, and not found in the *Piṭakas*, can only be tentative, as we have not as yet the whole of the *Piṭaka* texts in print. But it will be useful, even now, to give the following imperfect list of such as I have noted in my copy of Childers' 'Dictionary.'

Word.	Page of the Pāli Text.	Note.
Āḷaka . . .	418 . . .	See 'Journal,' 1886, p. 158.
Anekamsikatā . . .	93 . . .	" " " p. 123.
Āṇāpako . . .	147 . . .	Peon, officer.
Anīka//ha . . .	234 . . .	Sentinel.
Anughāyati . . .	343 . . .	Trace by smell.
Anuparivattati . . .	204, 253, 307 . . .	Turn towards.
Antobhaviko . . .	95 . . .	'Journal,' 1886, p. 124.
Āvapana . . .	279 . . .	" " " p. 157.
Asipāsā . . .	191 . . .	A caste so called.
Anupeseti . . .	31, 36 . . .	Send after.
Āsādaniyam . . .	205 . . .	Injury.
Aṭonā <sup>1</sup> . . .	191 . . .	Professional beggars.
Āyūhito . . .	181 . . .	Busy.
Āyūhako . . .	207 . . .	Busy.
{ Bhaddiputtā <sup>2</sup> . . .	191 . . .	} A caste so called.
{ Bhaṭṭiputtā . . .	133 . . .	
Bhavatīha . . .	92, 93, 342 . . .	Introducing verses.
Kāṇḍakanta . . .	118 . . .	A kind of gem.
Kavaka . . .	156, 200 . . .	Wretch.
Dhamadhamāyati . . .	117 . . .	To blow.
Ekāṇiko . . .	402 . . .	On the one true path.
Ghanikā . . .	191 . . .	Musicians.
Gilānako . . .	74 . . .	A sick man, a patient.
Hiriyati . . .	171 . . .	Is made afraid of sin.
Issatthako . . .	419 . . .	Archer.
Galūpikā . . .	407 . . .	Leech.
Kali-devatā . . .	191 . . .	Worshippers of Kali.
Kaṭumika . . .	78, 79 . . .	Reminding.
Kummiga . . .	346 . . .	Animal.

<sup>1</sup> Hīnaṭi-kumburē (p. 252) reads anāṇayo.

<sup>2</sup> The *Sinhalese* has bhaddiputrāyo.

Name.	Page of the Pāli Text.	Note.
Lakanaka . . .	377 . .	Anchor.
Laṅkaka . . .	137, 242, 256, 362 . .	Epithet of the Nikāyas.
Laṅghako . . .	34, 191, 331 . .	Tumbler.
Lekhāniyo . . .	172 . .	Sharp (of medicine).
Mamkata . . .	384 . .	Done by me.
Manthayati . . .	173 . .	Churn.
Māzibhaddā . . .	191 . .	A caste so called.
Naṭṭhāyiko . . .	201 . .	(?) Farmer.
Nārāṭa . . .	105 . .	The weapon so called.
Niyyāmaka . . .	194, 376 . .	Pilot.
Okassa . . .	210 . .	Rudely.
Pabbatā . . .	191 . .	A caste so called.
Pakkhanno . . .	144, 390 . .	Lost, fallen.
Parimaggakā . . .	343 . .	Touchers of.
Parimutti . . .	112 . .	Release.
Pariraṅgita . . .	75 . .	Marked over.
Parisaṇha . . .	198 . .	Subtle.
Pariyoga <sup>1</sup> . . .	118 . .	Cauldron.
Paṭisallīyati . . .	139 . .	To be secluded.
Paṭisīsa . . .	90 . .	Chignon.
Peṇāhikā . . .	402 . .	A bird so called.
Pitaka . . .	18, &c. . .	See my note to p. 28.
Pimsati . . .	43 . .	Compound (a medicine).
Ratani <sup>2</sup> . . .	85 . .	Cubit.
Sakkika . . .	226 . .	True.
Sāmayiko . . .	22 . .	Learned in doctrine.
Supāna . . .	147 . .	Dog.
Tamyathā . . .	1 . .	See Trenckner's 'Pāli Miscellany,' p. 55.
Thāla . . .	62 . .	Gong.
Tipeṭako . . .	90 . .	Who knows the Pitakas.
Ukkhadeti . . .	241 (see 315) . .	Perfume the body.
Ūhana . . .	32 . .	Synthesis.
Ukkalati . . .	143 . .	Revoke.
Upama . . .	41, 44 . .	Cessation.
Viggādharo . . .	153, 200 . .	Magician.
Yogāvāro . . .	43, 400 and foll. . .	See my note on p. 68.
Yogin . . .	2, 400 foll. . .	Ascetic.

<sup>1</sup> This word has been found in the Pitakas (e.g. Magg'hima I, 480) in the sense of 'practice.'

<sup>2</sup> The Pitaka form is ratana.



This list might be considerably extended if words were included which differ from those used in the *Piṭakas* only by the addition of well-known suffixes or prefixes—such, for instance, as *viparivattati*, at p. 117, only found as yet elsewhere in the *Tela Kaṭṭhā Gāthā*, verse 37. But such words are really only a further utilisation of the existing resources of the language, and would afford little or no ground for argument as to the time and place at which our author wrote. I have thought it best, therefore, to omit them, at least at present.

If we turn from isolated words to the evidence of style it will be acknowledged by every reader that the *Milinda* has a marked style of its own, different alike from the formal exactness of most of the *Piṭaka* texts, and from the later manner of any other Pāli or Sanskrit-Buddhist authors as yet published. It is no doubt the charm of its style which has been one of the principal reasons for the great popularity of the book. Even a reader who takes no interest in the points that are raised, or in the method in which the questions are discussed, will be able, I trust, to see, even through the dark veil of a lame and wooden translation, what the merits of the original must be. And to a devout Buddhist, in whose eyes the book he was reading offered a correct solution of the most serious difficulties in religion, of the deepest problems of life,—to whose whole intellectual training and sympathies the way in which the puzzles are put, and solved, so exactly appealed,—to such a reader both the easy grace of the opening dialogue, as of a ship sailing in calm waters, and the real eloquence of occasional passages, more especially of the perorations by which the solutions are sometimes closed, must have been a continual feast. I venture to think that the ‘*Questions of Milinda*’ is undoubtedly the master-piece of Indian prose; and indeed is the best book of its class, from a literary point of view, that had then been produced in any country. Limits of space prevent the discussion of this last proposition, however interesting: and it would be, no doubt, difficult to prove that anything from India was better than the corresponding thing produced by our noble selves, or by those

whose Karma we inherit. But in ancient Indian literature there are only two or three works which can at all compare with it. It ought not to seem odd that these also are Buddhist and Pāli; that is, that they come from the same school. And while the *Dīgha Nikāya* may be held to excel it in stately dignity, the *Visuddhi Magga* in sustained power, and the *Gāṭaka* book in varied humour, the palm will probably be eventually given to the 'Questions of Milinda' as a work of art.

I am aware that this conclusion is entirely at variance with the often repeated depreciation of Buddhist literature. But the fact is that this depreciation rests upon ignorance, and is supported by prejudice. As a critical judgment it will not survive the publication and translation of those great Buddhist works which it overlooks or ignores. Some Sanskrit scholars, familiar with the Brahmin estimate of matters Indian, and filled with a very rational and proper admiration for the many fine qualities which the old Brahmins possessed, may find it hard to recognise the merits of sectarian works written in dialects which violate their most cherished laws of speech. But the historical student of the evolution of thought, and of the rise of literature in India, will more and more look upon the question as a whole, and will estimate at its right value all Indian work, irrespective of dialect or creed.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

TEMPLE,

August, 1889.



THE QUESTIONS  
OF  
KING MILINDA.



# THE QUESTIONS OF KING MILINDA.

---

REVERENCE BE TO THE BLESSED ONE, THE  
ARAHAT, THE SAMMÂ-SAMBUDDHA.

---

## BOOK I.

### THE SECULAR NARRATIVE <sup>1</sup>.

- I. King Milinda, at Sâgala the famous town of yore,  
To Nâgasena, the world famous sage, repaired.  
(So the deep Ganges to the deeper ocean flows.)  
To him, the eloquent, the bearer of the torch  
Of Truth, dispeller of the darkness of men's minds,  
Subtle and knotty questions did he put, many,  
Turning on many points. Then were solutions  
given  
Profound in meaning, gaining access to the heart,  
Sweet to the ear, and passing wonderful and  
strange.  
For Nâgasena's talk plunged to the hidden  
depths  
Of Vinaya and of Abhidhamma (Law and  
Thought)

---

<sup>1</sup> Bâhira-kathâ, literally 'outside talk;' so called in contradistinction to the religious character of the subjects treated of in the remaining books.

Unravelling all the meshes of the Suttas' net,  
Glittering the while with metaphors and reason-  
ing high.

Come then! Apply your minds, and let your  
hearts rejoice,

And hearken to these subtle questionings, all  
grounds

Of doubt well fitted to resolve.

---

2. Thus hath it been handed down by tradition—  
There is in the country of the Yonakas<sup>1</sup> a great  
centre of trade<sup>2</sup>, a city that is called Sâgala, situate  
in a delightful country well watered and hilly,  
abounding in parks and gardens and groves and  
lakes and tanks, a paradise of rivers and mountains  
and woods. Wise architects have laid it out<sup>3</sup>, and  
its people know of no oppression, since all their  
enemies and adversaries have been put down.  
Brave is its defence, with many and various strong  
towers and ramparts, with superb gates and en-  
trance archways; and with the royal citadel in its  
midst, white walled and deeply moated. Well laid  
out are its streets, squares, cross roads, and market  
places<sup>4</sup>. Well displayed are the innumerable sorts  
of costly merchandise [2] with which its shops are  
filled. It is richly adorned with hundreds of alms-

---

<sup>1</sup> That is Ionians, the Pâli word for Baktrian Greeks.

<sup>2</sup> Nânâ-pu/a-bhedanam, literally 'the distributing place of  
parcels of merchandise of many kinds.' Trenckner renders it  
'surrounded with a number of dependent towns,' but surely  
entrepôt is the idea suggested.

<sup>3</sup> Sutavanta-nimmitam; which Trenckner renders 'pious are  
its people.' But I prefer the Sinhalese interpretation.

<sup>4</sup> This list recurs at pp. 34, 330 of the text. See below, p. 53.

halls of various kinds ; and splendid with hundreds of thousands of magnificent mansions, which rise aloft like the mountain peaks of the Himâlayas. Its streets are filled with elephants, horses, carriages, and foot-passengers, frequented by groups of handsome men and beautiful women, and crowded by men of all sorts and conditions, Brahmans, nobles, artificers, and servants. They resound with cries of welcome to the teachers of every creed, and the city is the resort of the leading men of each of the differing sects. Shops are there for the sale of Benares muslin, of Koṭumbara stuffs<sup>1</sup>, and of other cloths of various kinds ; and sweet odours are exhaled from the bazaars, where all sorts of flowers and perfumes are tastefully set out. Jewels are there in plenty, such as men's hearts desire, and guilds of traders in all sorts of finery display their goods in the bazaars that face all quarters of the sky. So full is the city of money, and of gold and silver ware, of copper and stone ware, that it is a very mine of dazzling treasures. And there is laid up there much store of property and corn and things of value in warehouses—foods and drinks of every sort, syrups and sweetmeats of every kind. In wealth it rivals Uttara-kuru, and in glory it is as Âṅakamandâ, the city of the gods<sup>2</sup>.

3. Having said thus much we must now relate the previous birth history of these two persons (Milinda

---

<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting, as there is a doubt about the spelling, that Hînaśi-kumburê reads Koṭumbara, not Kodumbara.

<sup>2</sup> Here follow in Hînaśi-kumburê's version two pages of introductory matter, explaining how he came to undertake his translation.



and Nâgasena) and the various sorts of puzzles<sup>1</sup>. This we shall do under six heads:—

1. Their previous history (Pubba-yoga).
2. The Milinda problems.
3. Questions as to distinguishing characteristics.
4. Puzzles arising out of contradictory statements.
5. Puzzles arising out of ambiguity.
6. Discussions turning on metaphor.

And of these the Milinda problems are in two divisions—questions as to distinctive characteristics, and questions aiming at the dispelling of doubt; and the puzzles arising out of contradictory statements are in two divisions—the long chapter, and the problems in the life of the recluse.

---

#### THEIR PREVIOUS HISTORY (PUBBA-YOGA).

4. By Pubba-yoga is meant their past Karma (their doings in this or previous lives). Long ago, they say, when Kassapa the Buddha was promulgating the faith, there dwelt in one community near the Ganges a great company of members of the Order. There the brethren, true to established rules and duties, rose early in the morning, and taking the long-handled brooms, would sweep out the courtyard and collect the rubbish into a heap, meditating the while on the virtues of the Buddha.

5. One day a brother told a novice to remove the heap of dust. But he, as if he heard not, went about his business; and on being called a second time, and a third, still went his way as if he had not heard. Then the brother, angry with so intractable a novice, dealt him a blow with the broom stick.

---

<sup>1</sup> These six words are added from Hīnaśī-kumburê.

[3] This time, not daring to refuse, he set about the task crying; and as he did so he muttered to himself this first aspiration: 'May I, by reason of this meritorious act of throwing out the rubbish, in each successive condition in which I may be born up to the time when I attain Nirvâna, be powerful and glorious as the midday sun!'

6. When he had finished his work he went to the river side to bathe, and on beholding the mighty billows of the Ganges seething and surging, he uttered this second aspiration: 'May I, in each successive condition in which I may be born till I attain Nirvâna, possess the power of saying the right thing, and saying it instantly, under any circumstance that may arise, carrying all before me like this mighty surge!'

7. Now that brother, after he had put the broom away in the broom closet, had likewise wandered down to the river side to bathe, and as he walked he happened to overhear what the novice had said. Then thinking: 'If this fellow, on the ground of such an act of merit, which after all was instigated by me, can harbour hopes like this, what may not I attain to?' he too made his wish, and it was thus: 'In each successive condition in which I may be born till I attain Nirvâna, may I too be ready in saying the right thing at once, and more especially may I have the power of unravelling and of solving each problem and each puzzling question this young man may put—carrying all before me like this mighty surge!'

8. Then for the whole period between one Buddha and the next these two people wandered from existence to existence among gods and men. And our Buddha saw them too, and just as he did

to the son of Moggall and to Tissa the Elder, so to them also did he foretell their future fate, saying : ' Five hundred years after I have passed away will these two reappear, and the subtle Law and Doctrine taught by me will they two explain, unravelling and disentangling its difficulties by questions put and metaphors adduced.'

9. Of the two the novice became the king of the city of Sâgala in India, Milinda by name, learned, eloquent, wise, and able ; and a faithful observer, and that at the right time, of all the various acts of devotion and ceremony enjoined by his own sacred hymns concerning things past, present, and to come. Many were the arts and sciences he knew—holy tradition and secular law ; the Sâṅkhya, Yoga, Nyâya, and Vaiseshika systems of philosophy ; arithmetic ; music ; medicine ; the four Vedas, the Purâṇas, and the Itihâsas ; astronomy, magic, causation<sup>1</sup>, and spells ; the art of war ; poetry ; conveyancing<sup>2</sup>—in a word, the whole nineteen<sup>3</sup>.

[4] As a disputant he was hard to equal, harder

<sup>1</sup> Hetu, literally 'cause.' Trenckner has 'logic (?)'; Hînañi-kumburê repeats the word.

<sup>2</sup> Muddâ, literally 'seal-ring.' The meaning of the term (which recurs in similar lists at Dîgha I, 1, 25 ; I, 2, 14 ; and below, p. 59 of the text) is quite clear, but the exact details of the 'art' are unknown. I follow Buddhaghosa's comment on those passages. Trenckner leaves the word untranslated, and Hînañi-kumburê says, 'Ængillen cel-wîma,' that is, 'adhering with the finger,' which I do not understand, unless it means the sealing of a document. At IV, 3, 25, the context makes it probable that 'law of property' would be the best rendering.

<sup>3</sup> The number of the Sippas (Arts and Sciences) is usually given as eighteen. In the Gâtaka (p. 58, l. 29, Professor Fausbøll's edition) it is twelve.

still to overcome ; the acknowledged superior of all the founders of the various schools of thought. And as in wisdom so in strength of body, swiftness, and valour there was found none equal to Milinda in all India. He was rich too, mighty in wealth and prosperity, and the number of his armed hosts knew no end.

10. Now one day Milinda the king proceeded forth out of the city to pass in review the innumerable host of his mighty army in its fourfold array (of elephants, cavalry, bowmen, and soldiers on foot). And when the numbering of the forces was over, the king, who was fond of wordy disputation, and eager for discussion with casuists, sophists<sup>1</sup>, and gentry of that sort, looked at the sun (to ascertain the time), and then said to his ministers: 'The day is yet young. What would be the use of getting back to town so early? Is there no learned person, whether wandering teacher<sup>2</sup> or Brahman, the head of some school or order, or the master of some band of pupils (even though he profess faith

---

<sup>1</sup> Lokâyatas and Vitandas. Other Pâli passages, where they are mentioned, are *Kullavagga* V, 3, 2; *Ânguttara* III, 58, 1; *Sumaṅgala Vilâsini*, 96, 247; and below, § 22 (p. 17). See also Weber, 'Bhagavatî', II, 246; Muir, 'Sanskrit Texts,' III, 95; Deussen, 'Das Vedânta-System,' 310.

<sup>2</sup> Samāṇa. There is no expression in English corresponding to this common word in Pâli texts. It means any 'religious' (in the technical meaning of that word) who is not a recluse according to the orthodox Brahman rules. It includes therefore many who were not Buddhists, and also even Brahmans if they had joined the Buddhists or Gains, or any other of the non-conforming bodies. The Samāṇas remained in one place during the rains, and for the rest of the year wandered from place to place, promulgating their particular views. They were not necessarily ascetics in any strict use of that term; though they were usually celibates.

in the Arahāt, the Supreme Buddha), who would be able to talk with me, and resolve my doubts ?'

11. Thereupon the five hundred Yonakas said to Milinda the king : ' There are the six Masters, O king !—Pûrana Kassapa, Makkhali of the cowshed <sup>1</sup>, the Niganttha of the Nâta clan, Sañgaya the son of the Belattha woman, Agita of the garment of hair, and Pakudha Kakkâyana. These are well known as famous founders of schools, followed by bands of disciples and hearers, and highly honoured by the people. Go, great king ! put to them your problems, and have your doubts resolved <sup>2</sup>.'

12. So king Milinda, attended by the five hundred Yonakas, mounted the royal car with its splendid equipage, and went out to the dwelling-place of Pûrana Kassapa, exchanged with him the compliments of friendly greeting, and took his seat courteously apart. And thus sitting he said to

---

<sup>1</sup> So called because he was said to have been born in a cowshed. See the Sumaṅgala, p. 143. All these six teachers were contemporaries of the Buddha, and lived therefore about five hundred years before Milinda.

<sup>2</sup> All this is a mere echo of the opening paragraphs in the Sâmañña-phala (D. 2), where Agâtasattu is described as visiting these six famous sophists. And the plagiarism is all the more inartistic as the old names are retained, and no explanation is given of their being born twice at an interval of five hundred years. One may indeed ask what is a glaring anachronism to our good Buddhist romancer compared with the advantage of introducing the stock-names when he has to talk of heretics ? But the whole book is so full of literary skill, that it is at least strange that its author should have made this blunder ; and there are other reasons for thinking the whole episode an interpolation. (See note on §§ 13, 15.) So that probably our § 15 came originally immediately after § 10, and then (after the episode in §§ 15-36) § 37 takes up the narrative interrupted at the end of § 10.

him: 'Who is it, venerable Kassapa, who rules the world?'

'The Earth, great king, rules the world!'

'But, venerable Kassapa, if it be the Earth that rules the world, how comes it that some men go to the Avîki hell<sup>1</sup>, thus getting outside the sphere of the Earth?' [5]

When he had thus spoken, neither could Pûrana Kassapa swallow the puzzle, nor could he bring it up; crestfallen, driven to silence, and moody<sup>2</sup>, there he sat.

13. Then Milinda the king said to Makkhali of the cowshed<sup>3</sup>: 'Are there, venerable Gosâla, good and evil acts? Is there such a thing as fruit, ultimate result, of good and evil acts?'

'There are no such acts, O king; and no such fruit, or ultimate result. Those who here in the world are nobles, they, O king, when they go to the

<sup>1</sup> Avîki (probably 'the Waveless'). The mention of this particular hell as being outside the earth is noteworthy. One would expect to find the Lokântarika hell so described. Spence Hardy indeed goes so far as to say that the Avîki is seven hundred miles directly under the great Bo Tree at Budh Gâyâ (Manual, p. 26), which would be within the sphere of the earth. But there is nothing in the Pâli texts yet published as to its position. See *Kullavagga* VII, 4, 8; *Ânguttara* III, 56; *Gâtaka* I, 71, 96; *Pañka Gati Dîpana*, 20. There is a list of the hells at *Sutta Nipâta* III, 10, but the Avîki is not one of them. This blunder, improbable in a writer so learned as our author elsewhere shows himself, is another reason for thinking these sections to be an interpolation.

<sup>2</sup> *Pattakkhando pagghâyanto*. See my note on *Kullavagga* IV, 4, 7, and compare *Ânguttara* III, 73, 4.

<sup>3</sup> This, again, is most clumsy, as the rival teachers must have dwelt far apart. And it will be seen that, notwithstanding the parade of the six names at the beginning of this episode, the remaining four are no further mentioned.

other world, will become nobles once more. And those who are Brahmans, or of the middle class, or workpeople, or outcasts here, will in the next world become the same. What then is the use of good or evil acts<sup>1</sup> ?

‘ If, venerable Gosâla, it be as you say then, by parity of reasoning, those who, here in this world, have a hand cut off, must in the next world become persons with a hand cut off, and in like manner those who have had a foot cut off or an ear or their nose ! ’

And at this saying Makkhali was silenced.

14. Then thought Milinda the king within himself<sup>2</sup>: ‘ All India is an empty thing, it is verily like chaff ! There is no one, either recluse or Brahman, capable of discussing things with me, and dispelling my doubts.’ And he said to his ministers: ‘ Beautiful is the night and pleasant ! Who is the recluse or Brahman we can visit to-night to question him, who will be able to converse with us and dispel our doubts<sup>3</sup> ? ’ And at that saying the counsellors remained silent, and stood there gazing upon the face of the king.

15. Now at that time the city of Sâgala had for twelve years been devoid of learned men, whether Brahmans, Samanas, or laymen. But wherever the king heard that such persons dwelt, thither he would

---

<sup>1</sup> This is quite in accord with the opinions attributed to Makkhali Gosâla in the Sâmañña-phala (D. 2, 20), and in the Sumangala Vilâsini on it (see especially p. 166).

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> This is an echo of the words in the corresponding passage of the Sâmañña-phala Sutta (D. 2, 1).

go and put his questions to them<sup>1</sup>. [6] But they all alike, being unable to satisfy the king by their solution of his problems, departed hither and thither, or if they did not leave for some other place, were at all events reduced to silence. And the brethren of the Order went, for the most part, to the Himālaya mountains.

16. Now at that time there dwelt, in the mountain region of the Himālayas, on the Guarded Slope, an innumerable company of Arahats (brethren who, while yet alive, had attained Nirvāṇa). And the venerable Assagutta, by means of his divine power of hearing, heard those words of king Milinda. And he convened an assembly of the Order on the summit of the Yugandhara mountain, and asked the brethren: 'Is there any member of the Order able to hold converse with Milinda the king, and resolve his doubts?'

Then were they all silent. And a second and a third time he put the same question to them, and still none of all the number spake. Then he said to the assembled Order: 'There is, reverend Sirs, in the heaven of the Thirty-three<sup>2</sup>, and east of the Vegayanta palace, a mansion called Ketumatt, wherein dwells the god Mahāsena. He is able to hold converse with Milinda the king, and to resolve his doubts.' And the innumerable company of

---

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is so unnecessary after what has been said in the preceding episode, and at the same time so contradictory to the fact of two teachers at least living in or near the city, that it would really seem probable that it (or perhaps § 14) came originally directly after § 10, the rest being an interpolation, and a clumsy one.

<sup>2</sup> These are the principal gods of the Vedic pantheon.



Arahats vanished from the summit of the Yugandhara mountain, and appeared in the heaven of the Thirty-three.

17. And Sakka, the king of the gods, beheld those brethren of the Order as they were coming from afar. And at the sight of them he went up to the venerable Assagutta, and bowed down before him, and stood reverently aside. And so standing he said to him : 'Great, reverend Sir, is the company of the brethren that has come. What is it that they want ? I am at the service of the Order. What can I do for you ?'

And the venerable Assagutta replied : 'There is, O king, in India, in the city of Sâgala, a king named Milinda. As a disputant he is hard to equal, harder still to overcome, he is the acknowledged superior of all the founders of the various schools of thought. He is in the habit of visiting the members of the Order and harassing them by questions of speculative import.'

Then said Sakka, the king of the gods, to him : 'That same king Milinda, venerable one, left this condition to be born as a man. And there dwells in the mansion Ketumatî a god, Mahâsena by name, who is able to hold converse with him and to resolve his doubts. [7] That god we will beseech to suffer himself to be reborn into the world of men.'

18. So Sakka, the king of the gods, preceded by the Order, entered the Ketumatî mansion; and when he had embraced Mahâsena the god, he said to him : 'The Order of the brethren, Lord, makes this request of you—to be reborn into the world of men.'

'I have no desire, Sir, for the world of men, so overladen with action (Karma). Hard is life as a

man. It is here, Sir, in the world of the gods that, being reborn in ever higher and higher spheres, I hope to pass away!’

And a second and a third time did Sakka, the king of the gods, make the same request, and the reply was still the same. Then the venerable Assagutta addressed Mahâsena the god, and said: ‘On passing in review, Lord, the worlds of gods and men, there is none but thee that we find able to succour the faith by refuting the heretical views of Milinda the king. The whole Order beseeches thee, Lord, saying: “Condescend, O worthy one, to be reborn among men, in order to lend to the religion of the Blessed One thy powerful aid.”’

Then was Mahâsena the god overjoyed and delighted in heart at the thought that he would be able to help the faith by refuting the heresy of Milinda; and he gave them his word, and said: ‘Very well then, venerable ones, I consent to be reborn in the world of men.’

19. Then the brethren, having thus accomplished the task they had taken in hand, vanished from the heaven of the Thirty-three, and reappeared on the Guarded Slope in the Himâlaya mountains. And the venerable Assagutta addressed the Order, and said: ‘Is there, venerable ones, any brother belonging to this company of the Order, who has not appeared in the assembly?’

Thereupon a certain brother said there was, that Rohana had a week previously gone into the mountains, and become buried in meditation, [8] and suggested that a messenger should be sent to him. And at that very moment the venerable Rohana aroused himself from his meditation, and was aware

that the Order was expecting him<sup>1</sup>. And vanishing from the mountain top, he appeared in the presence of the innumerable company of the brethren.

And the venerable Assagutta said to him : ' How now, venerable Rohana ! When the religion of the Buddha is in danger of crumbling away, have you no eyes for the work of the Order ?'

' It was through inadvertence, Sir,' said he.

' Then, venerable Rohana, atone for it.'

' What, Sir, should I do ?'

' There is a Brahman village, venerable Rohana, called Kagangala<sup>2</sup>, at the foot of the Himālaya mountains, and there dwells there a Brahman called Soṇuttara. He will have a son called Nāgasena. Go to that house for alms during seven years and ten months. After the lapse of that time thou shalt draw away the boy from a worldly life, and cause him to enter the Order. When he shall have abandoned the world, then shalt thou be free of the atonement for thy fault.'

' Let it be even as thou sayest,' said the venerable Rohana in assent.

20. Now Mahāsena the god passed away from the world of the gods, and was reborn in the womb of the wife of the Brahman Soṇuttara. And at the moment of his conception three strange, wonderful things took place :—arms and weapons became all

---

<sup>1</sup> *Paṭimāneti*. Childers does not give this meaning to the word. But it is the usual one. Compare *Sumaṅgala*, vol. i, pp. 276, 280; *Vinaya Piṭaka* IV, 212; *Kullavagga* VI, 13, 2; *Gāṭaka* II, 423.

<sup>2</sup> This is a famous place in Buddhist story. It is at the extreme limit, to the East, of the Buddhist Holy Land, the ' Middle Country.' See *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī* on D. 2, 40 (p. 173); *Mahāvagga* V, 13, 12; *Gāṭaka* I, 49.

ablaze, the tender grain became ripe in a moment, and there was a great rain (in the time of drought). And the venerable Rohana went to that house for alms for seven years and ten months from the day of Mahâsena's re-incarnation, but never once did he receive so much as a spoonful of boiled rice, or a ladleful of sour gruel, or a greeting, or a stretching forth of the joined hands, or any sort of salutation. Nay rather it was insults and taunts that fell to his share: and there was no one who so much as said, 'Be so good, Sir, as to go on to the next house<sup>1</sup>.'

But when all that period had gone by he one day happened to have those very words addressed to him. And on that day the Brahman, on his way back from his work in the fields, [9] saw the Elder as he met him on his return, and said: 'Well, hermit, have you been to our place?'

'Yes, Brahman, I have.'

'But did you get anything there?'

'Yes, Brahman, I did.'

And he was displeased at this, and went on home, and asked them: 'Did you give anything to that hermit?'

'We gave him nothing,' was the reply.

21. Thereupon the Brahman, the next day, seated himself right in the doorway, thinking to himself: 'To-day I'll put that hermit to shame for having told a lie.' And the moment that the Elder in due course came up to the house again, he said: 'Yesterday you said you had got something at my house, having

---

<sup>1</sup> This is the ordinary polite formula used by an Indian peasant when he wishes to express his inability (or his disinclination) to give food to a mendicant friar.

all the while got nothing! Is lying allowed to you fellows?’

And the Elder replied: ‘Brahman, for seven years and ten months no one even went so far as to suggest politely that I should pass on. Yesterday this courtesy was extended to me. It was to that that I referred.’

The Brahman thought to himself: ‘If these men, at the mere experience of a little courtesy, acknowledge in a public place, and with thanks, that they have received an alms, what will they not do if they really receive a gift!’ And he was much struck by this, and had an alms bestowed upon the Elder from the rice and curry prepared for his own use, and added furthermore: ‘Every day you shall receive here food of the same kind.’ And having watched the Elder as he visited the place from that day onwards, and noticed how subdued was his demeanour, he became more and more pleased with him, and invited him to take there regularly his midday meal. And the Elder gave, by silence, his consent; and daily from that time forth, when he had finished his meal, and was about to depart, he would pronounce some short passage or other from the words of the Buddha<sup>1</sup>.

22. Now the Brahman’s wife had, after her ten months, brought forth her son; and they called his name Nāgasena. He grew up in due course till he became seven years old, and his father said to the child: ‘Do you want, [10] dear Nāgasena, to study the learning traditional in this Brahmanical house of ours?’

---

<sup>1</sup> This custom is a rule with the mendicant friars. It is their way of ‘returning thanks,’ as we should say. See below, p. 25.

‘What is it called, father?’ said he.

‘The three Vedas are called learning (Sikkhâ), other kinds of knowledge are only arts, my dear.’

‘Yes, I should like to learn them, father,’ said the boy.

Then Sonuttara the Brahman gave to a Brahman teacher a thousand pieces as his teaching fee, and had a divan spread for him aside in an inner chamber, and said to him: ‘Do thou, Brahman, teach this boy the sacred hymns by heart.’

So the teacher made the boy repeat the hymns, urging him to get them by heart. And young Nâgasena, after one repetition of them, had learnt the three Vedas by heart, could intone them correctly, had understood their meaning, could fix the right place of each particular verse<sup>1</sup>, and had grasped the mysteries they contained<sup>2</sup>. All at once there arose in him an intuitive insight into the Vedas, with a knowledge of their lexicography, of their prosody, of their grammar, and of the legends attaching to the characters in them. He became a philologist and grammarian, and skilled alike in casuistry and in the knowledge of the bodily marks that foreshadow the greatness of a man<sup>3</sup>.

23. Then young Nâgasena said to his father: ‘Is

<sup>1</sup> Suvava//hâpitâ, or perhaps its use in ceremonies or sacrifices. The phrase only occurs in this passage. It is literally, ‘The three Vedas were well fixed by the boy.’ Hinañ-kumburê simply repeats the word.

<sup>2</sup> On the exact force of the special terms translated in these clauses, one may further compare the corresponding phrases used of learning the Buddhist texts in *Kullavagga* IV, 14, 17; IX, 5, 1.

<sup>3</sup> The above are the stock phrases for the learning of a scholarly Brahman, and one or two points in the details are uncertain.

there anything more to be learned in this Brahmanical family of ours, or is this all ?'

'There is no more, Nâgasena, my dear. This is all,' was the reply.

And young Nâgasena repeated his lesson to his teacher for the last time, and went out of the house, and in obedience to an impulse arising in his heart as the result of previous Karma, sought a place of solitude, where he gave himself up to meditation. And he reviewed what he had learnt throughout from beginning to end, and found no value in it anywhere at all. And he exclaimed in bitterness of soul : 'Empty forsooth are these Vedas, and as chaff. There is in them neither reality, nor worth, nor essential truth !'

That moment the venerable Rohana, seated at his hermitage at Vattaniya, felt in his mind what was passing in the heart of Nâgasena. And he robed himself, and taking his alms-bowl in his hand, he vanished from Vattaniya and appeared near the Brahman village Kagaṅgala. And young Nâgasena, as he stood again in the doorway, saw him coming in the distance. At the sight of him he became happy and glad, and a sweet hope sprang up in his heart that from him he might learn the essential truth. And he went [11] to him, and said : 'Who art thou, Sir, that thou art thus bald-headed, and wearest yellow robes ?'

'They call me a recluse, my child' (Pabbagita : literally, 'one who has abandoned ;' that is, the worldly life).

'And why do they call thee "one who has abandoned ?"'

'Because a recluse is one who has receded from

the world in order to make the stain of sinful things recede. It is for that reason, my child, that they call me a recluse.'

'Why, Sir, dost thou not wear hair as others do?'

'A recluse shaves off his hair and beard on the recognition of the sixteen impediments therein to the higher life. And what are those sixteen<sup>1</sup>? The impediments of ornamenting it, and decking it out, of putting oil upon it, of shampooing it, of placing garlands round it, of using scents and unguents, and myrobalan seeds, and dyes, and ribbons, and combs, of calling in the barber, of unravelling curls, and of the possibility of vermin. When their hair falls off they are grieved and harassed; yea, they lament sometimes, and cry, and beat their breasts, or fall headlong in a swoon—and entangled by these and such impediments men may forget those parts of wisdom or learning which are delicate and subtle.'

'And why, Sir, are not thy garments, too, as those of other men?'

'Beautiful clothes, my boy, such as are worn by worldly men, are inseparable from the five cravings<sup>2</sup>. But whatsoever dangers lurk in dress he who wears the yellow robes knows nothing of. It is for that reason that my dress is not as other men's.'

'Dost thou know, Lord, what is real knowledge?'

'Yes, lad, the real knowledge I know; and what is the best hymn (mantra) in the world, that too I know.'

'Couldst thou teach it, Lord, to me too?'

---

<sup>1</sup> This odd idea of the 'impediments' in the wearing of hair and beard is in accord both with modern habits of shaving, and also with a good deal of early Christian and mediæval ethics.

<sup>2</sup> The lust of the eye, of the ear, &c.



‘Yes, I could.’

‘Teach me, then.’

‘Just now is not the right time for that; we have come down to the village for alms.’

24. Then young Nâgasena took the alms-bowl the venerable Rohana was carrying, and led him into the house, and with his own hand supplied him with food, hard and soft, as much as he required. And when he saw that he had finished his meal, and withdrawn his hand from the bowl, he said to him: ‘Now, Sir, will you teach me that hymn?’

‘When thou hast become free from impediments, my lad, by taking upon thee, and with thy parents’ consent, the hermit’s dress I wear, then I can teach it thee.’

25. So young [12] Nâgasena went to his father and mother, and said: ‘This recluse says he knows the best hymn in the world, but that he cannot teach it to any one who has not entered the Order as his pupil. I should like to enter the Order and learn that hymn.’

And his parents gave their consent; for they wished him to learn the hymn, even at the cost of retiring from the world; and they thought that when he had learned it he would come back again<sup>1</sup>.

Then the venerable Rohana took Nâgasena to the Vattaniya hermitage, to the Vigamba Vatthu, and having spent the night there, took him on to the Guarded Slope, and there, in the midst of the innumerable company of the Arahats, young Nâgasena was admitted, as a novice, into the Order.

---

<sup>1</sup> Under the rules of the Buddhist Order any one can leave it as soon as he likes.

26. And then, when he had been admitted to the Order, the venerable Nāgasena said to the venerable Rohana: 'I have adopted your dress; now teach me that hymn.'

Then the venerable Rohana thought thus to himself: 'In what ought I first to instruct him, in the Discourses (Suttanta) or in the deeper things of the faith (Abhidhamma)?' and inasmuch as he saw that Nāgasena was intelligent, and could master the Abhidhamma with ease, he gave him his first lesson in that.

And the venerable Nāgasena, after hearing it repeated but once, knew by heart the whole of the Abhidhamma—that is to say, the Dhamma Saṅgani, with its great divisions into good, bad, and indifferent qualities, and its subdivisions into couples and triplets<sup>1</sup>—the Vibhaṅga, with its eighteen chapters, beginning with the book on the constituent elements of beings—the Dhātu Kathā, with its fourteen books, beginning with that on compensation and non-compensation—the Puggala Paññatti, with its six divisions into discrimination of the various constituent elements, discrimination of the various senses and of the properties they apprehend, and so on<sup>2</sup>—the Kathā Vatthu, with its thousand sections, five hundred on as many points

---

<sup>1</sup> Compare, for instance, p. 125 of the edition of this summary of Buddhist ethical psychology, edited for the Pāli Text Society, by Dr. Edward Müller, of Bern (London, 1885).

<sup>2</sup> The six kinds of discrimination (Paññatti) referred to, are those set out in § 1 of the Puggala. The work itself is an ethical tractate dealing only with the last of the six (the discrimination of individuals). See the edition by Dr. Morris, published by the Pāli Text Society (London, 1883).

of our own views, and five hundred on as many points of our opponents' views—the Yamaka, with its ten divisions into complementary propositions as to origins, as to constituent elements, and so on—and the *Paṭṭhāna*, with its twenty-four chapters on the reason of causes, the reason of ideas, and the rest. And he said [13]: 'That will do, Sir. You need not propound it again. That will suffice for my being able to rehearse it.'

27. Then Nāgasena went to the innumerable company of the Arahats, and said: 'I should like to propound the whole of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, without abridgement, arranging it under the three heads of good, bad, and indifferent qualities.' And they gave him leave. And in seven months the venerable Nāgasena recited the seven books of the Abhidhamma in full. And the earth thundered, the gods shouted their applause, the Brahma gods clapped their hands, and there came down a shower from heaven of sweet-scented sandal-wood dust, and of Mandārava flowers! And the innumerable company of the Arahats, then and there at the Guarded Slope, admitted the venerable Nāgasena, then twenty years of age, to full membership in the higher grade of the Order.

28. Now the next day after he had thus been admitted into full membership in the Order, the venerable Nāgasena robed himself at dawn, and taking his bowl, accompanied his teacher on his round for alms to the village below. And as he went this thought arose within him: 'It was, after all, empty-headed and foolish of my teacher to leave the rest of the Buddha's word aside, and teach me the Abhidhamma first!'

And the venerable Rohana became aware in his own mind of what was passing in the mind of Nâgasena, and he said to him: 'That is an unworthy reflection that thou art making, Nâgasena; it is not worthy of thee so to think.'

'How strange and wonderful,' thought Nâgasena, 'that my teacher should be able to tell in his own mind what I am thinking of! I must ask his pardon.' And he said: 'Forgive me, Sir; I will never make such a reflection again.'

[14] 'I cannot forgive you, Nâgasena, simply on that promise,' was the reply. 'But there is a city called Sâgala, where a king rules whose name is Milinda, and he harasses the brethren by putting puzzles to them of heretical tendency. You will have earned your pardon, Nâgasena, when you shall have gone there, and overcome that king in argument, and brought him to take delight in the truth.'

'Not only let king Milinda, holy one, but let all the kings of India come and propound questions to me, and I will break all those puzzles up and solve them, if only you will pardon me!' exclaimed Nâgasena. But when he found it was of no avail, he said: 'Where, Sir, do you advise me to spend the three months of the rains now coming on<sup>1</sup>?'

29. 'There is a brother named Assagutta dwelling at the Vattaniya hermitage. Go, Nâgasena, to him; and in my name bow down to his feet, and say: "My teacher, holy one, salutes you reverently, and asks whether you are in health and ease, in full vigour and comfort. He has sent me here to pass

---

<sup>1</sup> It would be against the rules to go at once, during the rains, to Sâgala. So he would spend that time in preparation.

the three months of the rains under your charge." When he asks you your teacher's name, tell it him. But when he asks you his own name, say: "My teacher, Sir, knows your name."

And Nâgasena bowed down before the venerable Rohana, and passing him on his right hand as he left him, took his bowl and robe, and went on from place to place till he came to the Vattaniya hermitage, begging for his food on the way. And on his arrival he saluted the venerable Assagutta, and said exactly what he had been told to say, [15] and to the last reply Assagutta said: 'Very well then, Nâgasena, put by your bowl and robe.' And the next day Nâgasena swept out the teacher's cell, and put the drinking water and tooth-cleansers ready for him to use. The Elder swept out the cell again, threw away the water and the tooth-cleansers, and fetched others, and said not a word of any kind. So it went on for seven days. On the seventh the Elder again asked him the same questions as before. And on Nâgasena again making the same replies, he gave him leave to pass the rainy season there.

30. Now a certain woman, a distinguished follower of the faith, had for thirty years and more administered to the wants of the venerable Assagutta. And at the end of that rainy season she came one day to him, and asked whether there was any other brother staying with him. And when she was told that there was one, named Nâgasena, she invited the Elder, and Nâgasena with him, to take their midday meal the next day at her house. And the Elder signified, by silence, his consent. The next forenoon the Elder robed himself, and taking his bowl in his hand, went down, accompanied by Nâgasena as his

attendant, to the dwelling-place of that disciple, and there they sat down on the seats prepared for them. And she gave to both of them food, hard and soft, as much as they required, waiting upon them with her own hands. When Assagutta had finished his meal, and the hand was withdrawn from the bowl, he said to Nāgasena: 'Do thou, Nāgasena, give the thanks to this distinguished lady.' And, so saying, he rose from his seat, and went away. [16]

31. And the lady said to Nāgasena: 'I am old, friend Nāgasena. Let the thanksgiving be from the deeper things of the faith.'

And Nāgasena, in pronouncing the thanksgiving discourse<sup>1</sup>, dwelt on the profounder side of the Abhidhamma, not on matters of mere ordinary morality, but on those relating to Arahatsip<sup>2</sup>. And as the lady sat there listening, there arose in her heart the Insight into the Truth<sup>3</sup>, clear and stainless, which perceives that whatsoever has beginning, that has the inherent quality of passing away. And Nāgasena also, when he had concluded that thanksgiving discourse, felt the force of the truths he himself had preached, and he too arrived at insight<sup>4</sup>—he too

<sup>1</sup> See the note above, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Suññatā*, used here in the sense of *Nirvāṇa*. Compare *Āṅguttara* II, 5, 6; *Gāṭaka* III, 191; *Kullavagga* XII, 2, 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Dhamma-kakkhu*. This perception of the impermanency of all things and all beings is called 'the Eye for the Truth,' and is the sign of the entrance upon the path to Arahatsip, i. e. *Nirvāṇa*. It is the same among Buddhists as conversion is among the Christians. Compare *Acts* xxvi, 18 ('Open their eyes, and turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God') and other similar passages.

<sup>4</sup> *Vipassanā*. Childers says this is an attribute of Arahatsip; and Trenckner translates it 'superior intelligence.' But Arahats

entered, as he sat there, upon the stream (that is to say, upon the first stage of the Excellent Way to Arahatsip).

32. Then the venerable Assagutta, as he was sitting in his arbour, was aware that they both had attained to insight, and he exclaimed: 'Well done! well done, Nāgasena! by one arrow shot you have hit two noble quarries!' And at the same time thousands of the gods shouted their approval.

Now the venerable Nāgasena arose and returned to Assagutta, and saluting him, took a seat reverently apart. And Assagutta said to him: 'Do thou now go, Nāgasena, to Pāṭaliputta. There, in the Asoka Park, dwells the venerable Dhamma-rakkhita. Under him you should learn the words of the Buddha.'

'How far is it, Sir, from here to Pāṭaliputta.'

'A hundred leagues<sup>1</sup>, Nāgasena.'

'Great, Sir, is the distance. It will be difficult to get food on the way. How shall I get there?'

'Only go straight on, Nāgasena. You shall get food on the way, rice from which the black grains have been picked out, with curries and gravies of various sorts.'

'Very well, Sir!' said Nāgasena, and bowing

---

only have it, because they have all the powers possessed by those in the previous stages of the path, and it is only superior as being above and beyond the intelligence of the worldly wise, or even of the mere moralist. It is less than the 'Divine Eye,' and Nāgasena was not yet an Arahāt. Compare the passages quoted by Childers under *Dhamma-kakkhu* and *Dibba-kakkhu*, and also *Mahāvagga* I, 6, 33; *Gātaka* I, 140; *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, 237, 278.

<sup>1</sup> *Yoganas*: that is, leagues of seven miles each. See my 'Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon,' p. 16, in Thomas's 'Numismata Orientalia,' vol. i.

down before his teacher, and passing him on the right side as he went, he took his bowl and his robe and departed for Pâ/aliputta.

33. [17] At that time a merchant of Pâ/aliputta was on his way back to that city with five hundred waggons. And when he saw the venerable Nâgasena coming in the distance, he stopped the waggons, and saluted Nâgasena, and asked him: 'Whither art thou going, father?'

'To Pâ/aliputta, householder.'

'That is well, father. We too are going thither. It will be more convenient for thee to go with us.'

And the merchant, pleased with Nâgasena's manners, provided him with food, hard and soft, as much as he required, waiting upon him with his own hands. And when the meal was over, he took a low seat, and sat down reverently apart. So seated, he said to the venerable Nâgasena: 'What, father, is your name?'

'I am called Nâgasena, householder.'

'Dost thou know, father, what are the words of Buddha?'

'I know the Abhidhamma.'

'We are most fortunate, father; this is indeed an advantage. I am a student of the Abhidhamma, and so art thou. Repeat to me, father, some passages from it.'

Then the venerable Nâgasena preached to him from the Abhidhamma, and by degrees as he did so there arose in Nâgasena's heart the Insight into the Truth, clear and stainless, which perceives that whatsoever has in itself the necessity of beginning, that too has also the inherent quality of passing away.

34. And the Pâ/aliputta merchant sent on his



waggon in advance, and followed himself after them. And at a place where the road divided, not far from Pāṭaliputta, he stopped, and said to Nāgasena: 'This is the turning to the Asoka Park. Now I have here a rare piece of woollen stuff, sixteen cubits by eight. [18] Do me the favour of accepting it.' And Nāgasena did so. And the merchant, pleased and glad, with joyful heart, and full of content and happiness, saluted the venerable Nāgasena, and keeping him on his right hand as he passed round him, went on his way.

35. But Nāgasena went on to the Asoka Park to Dhamma-rakkhita. And after saluting him, and telling him on what errand he had come, he learnt by heart, from the mouth of the venerable Dhamma-rakkhita, the whole of the three baskets<sup>1</sup> of the Buddha's word in three months, and after a single recital, so far as the letter (that is, knowing the words by heart) was concerned. And in three months more he mastered the spirit (that is, the deeper meaning of the sense of the words).

But at the end of that time the venerable Dham-

---

<sup>1</sup> Piṭakas. This expression is not used in the sacred books of the canon itself. When it first came into use is unknown. This is the earliest passage in which it has hitherto been found in the technical sense of a division of the Scriptures. It was in full use at the time of Buddhaghosa (see the *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, pp. 15, 16, 17, 18, &c., and the *Samanta Pāsādikā*, printed in Oldenberg's 'Vinaya Piṭaka,' vol. iii, p. 293). The tertium quid of the comparison is not the basket or the box as a receptacle for preservation, but as a means of handing on (as Eastern navvies removing earth put it into baskets and pass these latter on from hand to hand). So the expression 'three baskets' means not 'the three collections,' but 'the three bodies of oral tradition as handed down from teacher to teacher.' See Trenckner's decisive argument in his 'Pāli Miscellanies,' pp. 67-69.

ma-rakkhita addressed him, and said : ' Just, Nâgasena, as a herdsman tends the cows, but others enjoy their produce, so thou too carriest in thy head the whole three baskets of the Buddha's word, and still art not yet a partaker of the fruit of Samāñaship.'

' Though that be so, holy one, say no more,' was the reply. And on that very day, at night, he attained to Arahatship and with it to the fourfold power of that Wisdom possessed by all Arahats (that is to say : the realisation of the sense, and the appreciation of the deep religious teaching contained in the word, the power of intuitive judgment, and the power of correct and ready exposition)<sup>1</sup>. And at the moment of his penetrating the truth all the gods shouted their approval, and the earth thundered, and the Brahma gods clapped their hands, and there fell from heaven a shower of sweet-scented sandal dust and of Mandârava flowers.

36. Now at that time the innumerable company of the Arahats at the Guarded Slope in the Himâlaya mountains sent a message to him to come, for they were anxious to see him. And when he heard the message the venerable Nâgasena vanished from the Asoka Park and appeared before them. And they said : ' Nâgasena, that king Milinda is in the habit of harassing the brethren by knotty questions and by argumentations this way and that. Do thou, Nâgasena, go and [19] master him.'

' Not only let king Milinda, holy ones, but let all the kings of India, come and propound questions to

---

<sup>1</sup> The four Pañisambhidâs, which form the subject of one of the books of the Sutta Piñaka.

me. I will break all those puzzles up and solve them. You may go fearlessly to Sâgala.'

Then all the Elders went to the city of Sâgala, lighting it up with their yellow robes like lamps, and bringing down upon it the breezes from the heights where the sages dwell<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup>37. At that time the venerable Âyupâla was living at the Saṅkheyya hermitage. And king Milinda said to his counsellors: 'Beautiful is the night and pleasant! Who is the wandering teacher or Brahman we can visit to night to question him who will be able to converse with us and to resolve our doubts?'

And the five hundred Yonakas replied: 'There is the Elder, Lord, named Âyupâla, versed in the three baskets, and in all the traditional lore. He is living now at the Saṅkheyya hermitage. To him you might go, O king, and put your questions to him.'

'Very well, then. Let the venerable one be informed that we are coming.'

<sup>1</sup> *Isi-vâtam parivâtam (nagaram) akamsu*. The meaning of this phrase, which has not been found elsewhere, is doubtful. Trenckner renders 'making it respire the odour of saints.' The literal translation would be 'making it blown round about by *Rîshi*-wind.' Perhaps it may be meant to convey the idea of 'scented with the sweet breath of the wise.' But in any case the connotation is intended to be a pleasant one. Calling to mind the analogous phrase *viganavâtam ârâmam*, 'a hermitage with breezes from the desert.' (*Mahâvagga* I, 22, 17 = *Kullavagga* VI, 4, 8.) I venture to suggest the rendering adopted above. *Hînaṣikumburê* (p. 24) has *Rîshiwarayaṅge gamanâgamanayem ganita wa kîvara wâtayem pratiwâtaya kalâhuya*. 'They set its air in commotion produced by the waving of the robes of the coming and going *Rîshis*.'

<sup>2</sup> We here take up the original episode of Milinda as interrupted at § 15 (or if there is an interpolation at § 10).

Then the royal astrologer sent a message to Âyupâla to the effect that king Milinda desired to call upon him. And the venerable one said : ' Let him come.'

So Milinda the king, attended by the five hundred Yonakas, mounted his royal chariot and proceeded to the Saṅkheyya hermitage, to the place where Âyupâla dwelt, and exchanged with him the greetings and compliments of friendship and courtesy, and took his seat respectfully apart. And then he said to him :

38. ' Of what use, venerable Âyupâla, is the renunciation of the world carried out by the members of your Order, and in what do you place the *sum-mum bonum* ?'

' Our renunciation, O king,' replied the Elder, ' is for the sake of being able to live in righteousness, and in spiritual calm.'

' Is there, Sir, any layman who lives so ?'

' Yes, great king, there are such laymen. At the time when the Blessed One set rolling the royal chariot wheel of the kingdom of righteousness at Benares, at the Deer Park, [20] eighteen koṭis of the Brahma gods, and an innumerable company of other gods, attained to comprehension of the truth<sup>1</sup>. And not one of those beings, all of whom were laymen, had renounced the world. And again when the Blessed One delivered the Mahâ Samaya discourse<sup>2</sup>, and the discourse on the 'Greatest Blessing'<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> See my 'Buddhist Suttas,' pp. 153-155. There is nothing about the eighteen koṭis in the Piṭaka text referred to.

<sup>2</sup> No. 20 in the Dīgha Nikāya.

<sup>3</sup> In the Mahâ Maṅgala, translated in my 'Buddhism,' pp. 125-127.

and the Exposition of Quietism<sup>1</sup>, and the Exhortation to Râhula<sup>2</sup>, the multitude of gods who attained to comprehension of the truth cannot be numbered. And not one of those beings, all of whom were laymen, had renounced the world<sup>3</sup>.

‘Then, most venerable Âyupâla, your renunciation is of no use. It must be in consequence of sins committed in some former birth, that the Buddhist Samasas renounce the world, and even subject themselves to the restraints of one or other of the thirteen aids to purity<sup>4</sup>! Those who remain on one seat till they have finished their repast were, forsooth, in some former birth, thieves who robbed other men of their food. It is in consequence of the Karma of having so deprived others of food that they have now only such food as they can get at one sitting; and are not allowed to eat from time to time as they want. It is no virtue on their part, no meritorious abstinence, no righteousness of life. And they who live in the open air were, forsooth, in

---

<sup>1</sup> Sama-kitta-pariyâya Suttanta. It is not certain which Sutta is here referred to. Trenckner identifies it with a short Sutta in the Aṅguttara (II, 4, 5). It is true that the ten short Suttas in A. II, 4 are (in the Burmese MSS. only) called collectively Sama-kitta Vagga. But the separate Suttas have no separate titles; the title of the Vagga is not found in the Sinhalese MSS., and is probably later than the text; and it is not, after all, identical with the title here given.

<sup>2</sup> There are several Suttas of this name in the Pâli Piṭakas. The one referred to here (and also, it may be added, in the Asoka Edicts) is probably the shorter one (*Kûla Râhulovâda Sutta*) found both in the *Magghima* (No. 147) and in the *Samyutta* (XXXIV, 120). See Trenckner's note on this passage.

<sup>3</sup> This way of looking at gods as laymen, still ‘in the world,’ is thoroughly Buddhist.

<sup>4</sup> The dhutaṅgas, enumerated by Childers sub voce.

some former birth, dacoits who plundered whole villages. It is in consequence of the Karma of having destroyed other people's homes, that they live now without a home, and are not allowed the use of huts. It is no virtue on their part, no meritorious abstinence, no righteousness of life. And those who never lie down, they, forsooth, in some former birth, were highwaymen who seized travellers, and bound them, and left them sitting there. It is in consequence of the Karma of that habit that they have become *Nesaggikā* in this life (men who always sit) and get no beds to lie on. It is no virtue on their part, no meritorious abstinence, no righteousness of life !'

39. And when he had thus spoken the venerable Āyupāla was silenced, and had not a word to say in reply. Then the five hundred Yonakas said to the king: 'The Elder, O king, is learned, but is also diffident. It is for that reason that he makes no rejoinder. But the king on seeing how silent Āyupāla had become, clapped his hands [21] and cried out: 'All India is an empty thing, it is verily like chaff! There is no one, either *Samana* or Brahman, capable of discussing things with me and dispelling my doubts <sup>1</sup>!'

As he looked, however, at the assembly and saw how fearless and self-possessed the Yonakas appeared, he thought within himself: 'For a certainty there must be, methinks, some other learned brother capable of disputing with me, or those Yonakas would not be thus confident.' And he said to them:

---

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 10, § 14.

‘Is there, my good men, any other learned brother to discuss things with me and dispel my doubts?’

40. Now at that time the venerable Nāgasena, after making his alms-tour through the villages, towns, and cities, had in due course arrived at Sāgala, attended by a band of Samanas, as the leader of a company of the Order; the head of a body of disciples; the teacher of a school; famous and renowned, and highly esteemed by the people. And he was learned, clever, wise, sagacious, and able; a skilful expounder, of subdued manners, but full of courage; well versed in tradition, master of the three Baskets (Piṭakas), and erudite in Vedic lore<sup>1</sup>. He was in possession of the highest (Buddhist) insight, a master of all that had been handed down in the schools, and of the various discriminations<sup>2</sup> by which the most abstruse points can be explained. He knew by heart the ninefold divisions of the doctrine of the Buddha to perfection<sup>3</sup>, and was equally skilled in discerning both the spirit and the letter of the Word. Endowed with instantaneous and varied power of repartee, and wealth of language, and beauty of eloquence, he was difficult to equal, and still more difficult to excel, difficult to answer, to repel, or to refute. He was imperturbable as the depths of the sea, immovable as the king of mountains; victorious in the struggle with evil, a dispeller

---

<sup>1</sup> This is always explained as wise in the Buddhist Vedas, that is, the three Piṭakas.

<sup>2</sup> Paṭisambhidās: see above, the note on p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Pārami-ppatto. This is an unusual use of Pārami, but it occurs again below, p. 36, in a similar connection, and there can be no doubt of its meaning. Trenckner translates it ‘better than any one else.’

of darkness and diffuser of light; mighty in eloquence, a confounder of the followers of other masters, and a crusher-out of the adherents of rival doctrines (*malleus hereticorum*). Honoured and revered by the brethren and sisters of the Order, and its lay adherents of either sex, and by kings and their high officials, he was in the abundant receipt of all the requisites of a member of the Order—robes and bowl and lodging, and whatever is needful for the sick—receiving the highest veneration no less than material gifts. To the wise and discerning who came to him with listening ear he displayed the ninefold jewel of the Conqueror's word, he pointed out to them the path of righteousness, bore aloft for them the torch of truth, set up for them the sacred pillar of the truth<sup>1</sup>, and celebrated for their benefit the sacrifice of the truth. For them he waved the banner, raised the standard, blew the trumpet, and beat the drum of truth. And with his mighty lion's voice, [22] like Indra's thunder but sweet the while, he poured out upon them a plenteous shower, heavy with drops of mercy, and brilliant with the coruscations of the lightning flashes of his knowledge, of the nectar waters of the teaching of the *Nirvâna* of the truth—thus satisfying to the full a thirsty world.

41. There then, at the *Saṅkheyya* hermitage, did the venerable Nâgasena, with a numerous company of the brethren, dwell<sup>2</sup>. Therefore is it said :

<sup>1</sup> *Dhamma-yûpam*; with allusion to the sacred sacrificial post, which plays so great a part in Brahman ritual.

<sup>2</sup> Literally 'with eighty thousand:' but this merely means to say, with a large (undefined) number. See the use of the phrase in the *Nâlapâna Gâtaka* (Fausböll, No. 20).



‘ Learned, with varied eloquence, sagacious, bold,  
 Master of views, in exposition sound,  
 The brethren—wise themselves in holy writ,  
 Repeaters of the fivefold sacred word—  
 Put Nâgasena as their leader and their chief.  
 Him, Nâgasena of clear mind and wisdom deep,  
 Who knew which was the right Path, which the  
     false,  
 And had himself attained Nirvâṇa’s placid heights!

Attended by the wise, by holders to the Truth,  
 He had gone from town to town, and come to  
     Sâgala ;  
 And now he dwelt there in Saṅkheyya’s grove,  
 Appearing, among men, like the lion of the hills.’

42. And Devamantiya said to king Milinda :  
 ‘ Wait a little, great king, wait a little ! There is an  
 Elder named Nâgasena, learned, able, and wise, of  
 subdued manners, yet full of courage, versed in the  
 traditions, a master of language, and ready in reply,  
 one who understands alike the spirit and the letter  
 of the law, and can expound its difficulties and  
 refute objections to perfection<sup>1</sup>. He is staying at  
 present at the Saṅkheyya hermitage. You should go,  
 great king, and put your questions to him. He is able  
 to discuss things with you, and dispel your doubts.’

Then when Milinda the king heard the name  
 Nâgasena, thus suddenly introduced, he was seized  
 with fear, and with anxiety, and the hairs of his  
 body stood on end<sup>2</sup>. But he asked Devamantiya :  
 ‘ Is that really so ?’

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 34, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> The name itself, which means ‘ Chief of Nâga Snakes,’ is

And Devamantiya replied : ' He is capable, Sire, of discussing things with the guardians of the world—with Indra, Yama, Varuna, Kuvera, Pragâpati, Suyâma, [23] and Santushita—and even with the great Brahma himself, the progenitor of mankind, how much more then with a mere human being !'

' Do you then, Devamantiya,' said the king, ' send a messenger to say I am coming.'

And he did so. And Nâgasena sent word back that he might come. And the king, attended by the five hundred Yonakas, mounted his royal chariot, and proceeded with a great retinue to the Saṅkheyya hermitage, and to the place where Nâgasena dwelt.

43. At that time the venerable Nâgasena was seated with the innumerable company of the brethren of the Order, in the open hall in front of the hermitage<sup>1</sup>. So king Milinda saw the assembly from afar, and he said to Devamantiya : ' Whose, Devamantiya, is this so mighty retinue ?'

' These are they who follow the venerable Nâgasena,' was the reply.

Then at the sight there came over king Milinda

terrible enough, especially as the Nâgas were looked upon as supernatural beings. But it is no doubt also intended that the king had heard of his fame.

<sup>1</sup> *Mandala-mâla*, that is a hall consisting only of a roof, supported by pillars which are connected by a dwarf wall two or three feet in height. The roof projects beyond the pillars, so that the space within is well shaded. It is a kind of open air drawing-room attached to most hermitages, and may be so small that it can be rightly rendered arbour (see above, p. 25), or sufficiently large to accommodate a considerable number. Usually of wood, sometimes of stone, it is always graceful in appearance and pleasant to use. It is mentioned in the corresponding passage of the *Sâmañña Phala* (D. II, 10).

a feeling of fear and of anxiety, and the hairs of his body stood on end<sup>1</sup>. But nevertheless, though he felt like an elephant hemmed in by rhinoceroses, like a serpent surrounded by the Garuḍas (the snake-eating mythical birds), like a jackal surrounded by boa-constrictors, or a bear by buffaloes, like a frog pursued by a serpent, or a deer by a panther, like a snake in the hands of a snake charmer, or a rat played with by a cat, or a devil charmed by an exorcist, like the moon when it is seized by Râhu, like a snake caught in a basket, or a bird in a cage, or a fish in a net, like a man who has lost his way in a dense forest haunted by wild beasts, like a Yakkha (ogre) who has sinned against Vessavana (the king of ogres and fairies), or like a god whose term of life as a god has reached its end—though confused and terrified, anxious, and beside himself in an agony of fear like that—yet at the thought that he must at least avoid humiliation in the sight of the people, he took courage, and said to Dēvamantiya: ‘You need not [24] trouble to point out to me which is Nâgasena. I shall pick him out unaided.’

‘Certainly, Sire, recognise him yourself,’ said he<sup>2</sup>.

44. Now Nâgasena was junior in seniority (reckoned from the date of his full membership in the

---

<sup>1</sup> This again, like the passage at p. 8, is an echo of the *Sâmañña Phala*. (See D. 2, 10 of our forthcoming edition, or p. 116 of Grimblot.)

<sup>2</sup> In the corresponding passage of the *Sâmañña Phala Givaka* points out the Buddha to *Agâtasattu* (§ 11, Grimblot, p. 117). This would be in the memory of all his readers, and our author alters the story in this case to show how superior Milinda was to the royal interlocutor in the older dialogue.

Order) to the half of that great company seated in front of him, and senior to the half seated behind him. And as he looked over the whole of the assembly, in front, and down the centre, and behind, king Milinda detected Nâgasena seated in the middle, and, like a shaggy lion who knows no fear or frenzy, entirely devoid of nervous agitation, and free from shyness and trepidation. And as soon as he saw him, he knew by his mien that that was Nâgasena, and he pointed him out to Devamantiya.

‘Yes, great king,’ said he, ‘that is Nâgasena. Well hast thou, Sire, recognised the sage.’

Whereupon the king rejoiced that he had recognised Nâgasena without having had him pointed out to him. But nevertheless, at the sight of him, the king was seized with nervous excitement and trepidation and fear. Therefore is it said :

‘At the sight of Nâgasena, wise and pure,  
Subdued in all that is the best subjection,  
Milinda uttered this foreboding word—  
“Many the talkers I have visited,  
Many the conversations I have had,  
But never yet, till now, to-day, has fear,  
So strange, so terrible, o’erpowered my heart.  
Verily now defeat must be my lot,  
And victory his, so troubled is my mind.”’

---

Here ends the introductory secular narrative  
(Bâhira-kathâ)<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 1. This book closes in Hînaśi-kumburê’s Sinhalese version with the title ‘Pûrwa Yoga yayi;’ and is of course identical with the Pubba-yoga referred to above, p. 4, as the first division of the work.

## BOOK II.

## LAKKHANA PAÑHA.

THE DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF ETHICAL  
QUALITIES.

## CHAPTER 1.

1. [25] Now Milinda the king went up to where the venerable Nāgasena was, and addressed him with the greetings and compliments of friendship and courtesy, and took his seat respectfully apart. And Nāgasena reciprocated his courtesy, so that the heart of the king was propitiated.

And Milinda began by asking, 'How is your Reverence known, and what, Sir, is your name?'

'I am known as Nāgasena, O king, and it is by that name that my brethren in the faith address me. But although parents, O king, give such a name as Nāgasena, or Sūrasena, or Vīrasena, or Sīhasena, yet this, Sire,—Nāgasena and so on—is only a generally understood term, a designation in common use. For there is no permanent individuality (no soul) involved in the matter<sup>2</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> There is a free translation of the *Siṃhalese* version of the following dialogues (down to the end of our § 4) in Spence Hardy's 'Manual of Buddhism,' pp. 424-429. But it is very unreliable as a reproduction of either the *Siṃhalese* or the Pāli, and slurs over the doubtful passages.

<sup>2</sup> Na puggalo upalabbhati. This thesis, that 'there is no individual,' is discussed at the opening of the *Kathā Vatthu* (leaf ka of my MS.) Put into modern philosophical phraseology it amounts to saying that there is no permanent subject underlying the temporary phenomena visible in a man's individuality. But

Then Milinda called upon the Yonakas and the brethren to witness: 'This Nâgasena says there is no permanent individuality (no soul) implied in his name. Is it now even possible to approve him in that?' And turning to Nâgasena, he said: 'If, most reverend Nâgasena, there be no permanent individuality (no soul) involved in the matter, who is it, pray, who gives to you members of the Order your robes and food and lodging and necessities for the sick? Who is it who enjoys such things when given? Who is it who lives a life of righteousness? Who is it who devotes himself to meditation? Who is it who attains to the goal of the Excellent Way, to the Nirvâna of Arahatsip? And who is it who destroys living creatures? who is it who takes what is not his own? who is it who lives an evil life of worldly lusts, who speaks lies, who drinks strong drink, who (in a word) commits any one of the five sins which work out their bitter fruit even in this life<sup>1</sup>? If that be so there is neither merit nor demerit; there is neither doer nor causer of good or evil deeds<sup>2</sup>; there is neither fruit nor result of good or evil Karma<sup>3</sup>. [26]—If, most reverend Nâgasena, we are to think that were a man

---

I doubt whether, even in our author's time, the conception 'subject' was common ground, or that the word *puggala* had acquired that special connotation.

<sup>1</sup> *Paññânantariya-kammam* karoti. See my note on *Kullavagga* VII, 3, 9 ('Vinaya Texts,' vol. iii, p. 246, in the Sacred Books of the East).

<sup>2</sup> This is no doubt said in these words with allusion to the opinion ascribed in the *Sâmañña Phala* (D. II, 17) to *Pûrana Kassapa*.

<sup>3</sup> This is the opinion ascribed in identical words in the *Sâmañña Phala* (D. II, 23) to *Agita* of the garment of hair.

to kill you there would be no murder <sup>1</sup>, then it follows that there are no real masters or teachers in your Order, and that your ordinations are void.—You tell me that your brethren in the Order are in the habit of addressing you as Nâgasena. Now what is that Nâgasena? Do you mean to say that the hair is Nâgasena?’

‘I don’t say that, great king.’

‘Or the hairs on the body, perhaps?’

‘Certainly not.’

‘Or is it the nails, the teeth, the skin, the flesh, the nerves, the bones, the marrow, the kidneys, the heart, the liver, the abdomen, the spleen, the lungs, the larger intestines, the lower intestines, the stomach, the fæces, the bile, the phlegm, the pus, the blood, the sweat, the fat, the tears, the serum, the saliva, the mucus, the oil that lubricates the joints, the urine, or the brain, or any or all of these, that is Nâgasena <sup>2</sup>?’

And to each of these he answered no.

‘Is it the outward form then (Rûpa) that is Nâgasena, or the sensations (Vedanâ), or the ideas (Saññâ), or the confections (the constituent elements of character, Samkhârâ), or the consciousness (Viññâna), that is Nâgasena <sup>3</sup>?’

And to each of these also he answered no.

<sup>1</sup> This is practically the same opinion as is ascribed in the *Sâmañña Phala* (D. II, 26) to Pakudha Kakââyana.

<sup>2</sup> This list of the thirty-two forms (*âkâras*) of organic matter in the human body occurs already in the *Khuddaka Pâthâ*, § 3. It is the standard list always used in similar connections; and is, no doubt, supposed to be exhaustive. There are sixteen (half as many) *âkâras* of the mind according to *Dîpavamsa* I, 42.

<sup>3</sup> These are the five *Skandhas*, which include in them the whole bodily and mental constituents of any being. See p. 80.

‘Then is it all these Skandhas combined that are Nâgasena?’

‘No! great king.’

‘But is there anything outside the five Skandhas that is Nâgasena?’

And still he answered no.

‘Then thus, ask as I may, I can discover no Nâgasena. Nâgasena is a mere empty sound. Who then is the Nâgasena that we see before us? It is a falsehood that your reverence has spoken, an untruth!’

And the venerable Nâgasena said to Milinda the king: ‘You, Sire, have been brought up in great luxury, as befits your noble birth. If you were to walk this dry weather on the hot and sandy ground, trampling under foot the gritty, gravelly grains of the hard sand, your feet would hurt you. And as your body would be in pain, your mind would be disturbed, and you would experience a sense of bodily suffering. How then did you come, on foot, or in a chariot?’

‘I did not come, Sir, on foot [27]. I came in a carriage.’

‘Then if you came, Sire, in a carriage, explain to me what that is. Is it the pole that is the chariot?’

‘I did not say that.’

‘Is it the axle that is the chariot?’

‘Certainly not.’

‘Is it the wheels, or the framework, or the ropes, or the yoke, or the spokes of the wheels, or the goad, that are the chariot?’

And to all these he still answered no.

‘Then is it all these parts of it that are the chariot?’



‘No, Sir.’

‘But is there anything outside them that is the chariot?’

And still he answered no.

‘Then thus, ask as I may, I can discover no chariot. Chariot is a mere empty sound. What then is the chariot you say you came in? It is a falsehood that your Majesty has spoken, an untruth! There is no such thing as a chariot! You are king over all India, a mighty monarch. Of whom then are you afraid that you speak untruth? And he called upon the Yonakas and the brethren to witness, saying: ‘Milinda the king here has said that he came by carriage. But when asked in that case to explain what the carriage was, he is unable to establish what he averred. Is it, forsooth, possible to approve him in that?’

When he had thus spoken the five hundred Yonakas shouted their applause, and said to the king: ‘Now let your Majesty get out of that if you can?’

And Milinda the king replied to Nāgasena, and said: ‘I have spoken no untruth, reverend Sir. It is on account of its having all these things—the pole, and the axle, the wheels, and the framework, the ropes, the yoke, the spokes, and the goad—that it comes under the generally understood term, the designation in common use, of “chariot.”’

‘Very good! Your Majesty has rightly grasped the meaning of “chariot.” And just even so it is on account of all those things you questioned me about—[28] the thirty-two kinds of organic matter in a human body, and the five constituent elements of being—that I come under the generally understood term, the designation in common use, of “Nāgasena.”

For it was said, Sire, by our Sister Vagirâ in the presence of the Blessed One :

“Just as it is by the condition precedent of the co-existence of its various parts that the word ‘chariot’ is used, just so is it that when the Skandhas are there we talk of a ‘being<sup>1</sup>.’”

‘Most wonderful, Nâgasena, and most strange. Well has the puzzle put to you, most difficult though it was, been solved. Were the Buddha himself here he would approve your answer. Well done, well done, Nâgasena!’

---

2. ‘How many years seniority have you, Nâgasena?’

‘Seven, your Majesty.’

‘But how can you say it is your “seven?” Is it you who are “seven,” or the number that is “seven?”’

Now that moment the figure of the king, decked in all the finery of his royal ornaments, cast its shadow on the ground, and was reflected in a vessel of water. And Nâgasena asked him: ‘Your figure, O king, is now shadowed upon the ground, and reflected in the water, how now, are you the king, or is the reflection the king?’

‘I am the king, Nâgasena, but the shadow comes into existence because of me.’

‘Just even so, O king, the number of the years is seven, I am not seven. But it is because of me, O king, that the number seven has come into existence; and it is mine in the same sense as the shadow is yours<sup>2</sup>.’

---

<sup>1</sup> From the *Samyutta Nikâya* V, 10, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Hardy (p. 427, § 4 of the first edition) has quite missed the point of this crux.

‘Most wonderful again, and strange, Nāgasena. Well has the question put to you, most difficult though it was, been solved!’

3. The king said : ‘Reverend Sir, will you discuss with me again?’

‘If your Majesty will discuss as a scholar (*pandit*), well; but if you will discuss as a king, no.’

‘How is it then that scholars discuss?’

‘When scholars talk a matter over one with another then is there a winding up<sup>1</sup>, an unravelling; one or other is convicted of error<sup>2</sup>, and he then acknowledges his mistake; [29] distinctions are drawn, and contra-distinctions<sup>3</sup>; and yet thereby they are not angered. Thus do scholars, O king, discuss.’

‘And how do kings discuss?’

‘When a king, your Majesty, discusses a matter, and he advances a point, if any one differ from him on that point, he is apt to fine him, saying: “Inflict such and such a punishment upon that fellow!” Thus, your Majesty, do kings discuss<sup>4</sup>.’

‘Very well. It is as a scholar, not as a king, that I will discuss. Let your reverence talk unrestrainedly, as you would with a brother, or a novice, or a lay disciple, or even with a servant. Be not afraid!’

<sup>1</sup> *Âveśhanam*; not in Childers, but see *Gâtaka* II, 9; IV, 383, 384; and Morris in the ‘Journal of the Pāli Text Society,’ 1887.

<sup>2</sup> *Niggâho kariyati*, as for instance below, p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> *Paṭiviseso*; not in Childers, but see again *Gâtaka* II, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Hardy, loc. cit. § 5, puts all this into the mouths of ‘the priests.’

'Very good, your Majesty,' said Nâgasena, with thankfulness.

'Nâgasena, I have a question to ask you;' said the king.

'Pray ask it, Sire.'

'I have asked it, your Reverence.'

'That is answered already.'

'What have you answered?'

'To what, then, does your Majesty refer?'

But Milinda the king thought: 'This Bhikkhu is a great scholar. He is quite capable of discussing things with me. And I shall have a number of points on which to question him, and before I can ask them all, the sun will set. It would be better to carry on the discussion at home to-morrow.' And he said to Devamantiya: 'You may let his reverence know that the discussion with the king shall be resumed to-morrow at the palace.' And so saying, he took leave of Nâgasena, and mounted his horse, and went away, muttering as he went, 'Nâgasena, Nâgasena!'

And Devamantiya delivered his message to Nâgasena, who accepted the proposal with gladness. And early the next morning Devamantiya and Anantakâya and Mankura and Sabbadinna went to the king, and said: 'Is his reverence, Nâgasena, to come, [30] Sire, to-day?'

'Yes, he is to come.'

'With how many of the brethren is he to come?'

'With as many as he likes.'

And Sabbadinna said: 'Let him come with ten.' But the king repeated what he had said. And on Sabbadinna reiterating his suggestion, the king rejoined: 'All this preparation has been made, and I say:

"Let him come with as many as he likes," yet Sabbadinna says: "Let him come with ten." Does he suppose we are not capable of feeding so many? Then Sabbadinna was ashamed.

---

4. And Devamantiya and Anantakâya and Man-kura went to Nâgasena and told him what the king had said. And the venerable Nâgasena robed himself in the forenoon, and taking his bowl in his hand, went to Sâgala with the whole company of the brethren. And Anantakâya, as he walked beside Nâgasena, said:

'When, your reverence, I say, "Nâgasena," what is that Nâgasena?'

The Elder replied: 'What do you think Nâgasena is?'

'The soul, the inner breath which comes and goes, that I suppose to be Nâgasena.'

'But if that breath having gone forth should not return, or having returned should not go forth, would the man be alive?'

'Certainly [31] not, Sir.'

'But those trumpeters, when they blow their trumpets, does their breath return again to them?'

'No, Sir, it does not.'

'Or those pipers, when they blow their pipes or horns, does their breath return again to them?'

'No, Sir.'

'Then why don't they die?'

'I am not capable of arguing with such a reasoner. Pray tell me, Sir, how the matter stands.'

'There is no soul in the breath. These inhalations and exhalations are merely constituent powers

of the bodily frame,' said the Elder. And he talked to him from the Abhidhamma <sup>1</sup> to such effect that <sup>1</sup> Anantakâya confessed himself as a supporter of the Order.

---

5. And the venerable Nâgasena went to the king, and sat down on the seat prepared for him. And the king provided Nâgasena and his following with food, both hard and soft, as much as they required : and presented each brother with a suit of garments, and Nâgasena himself with a set of three robes. And then he said to him : ' Be pleased to keep your seat here, and with you ten of the brethren. Let the rest depart.'

And when he saw that Nâgasena had finished his meal, he took a lower seat, and sat beside him, and said : ' What shall we discuss ?'

' We want to arrive at truth. Let our discussion be about the truth.'

And the king said : ' What is the object, Sir, of your <sup>2</sup> renunciation, and what the summum bonum at which you aim ?'

' Why do you ask ? Our renunciation is to the end that this sorrow may perish away, and that no further sorrow may arise ; the complete passing away, without cleaving to the world, is our highest aim.'

' How now, Sir ! Is it for such high reasons that all members of it have joined the Order ?'

[32] ' Certainly not, Sire. Some for those reasons,

---

<sup>1-1</sup> I venture to think it is incorrect to put a full stop, as Mr. Trenckner has done, after akâsi.

<sup>2</sup> Plural. ' You members of the Buddhist Order.' The question is further elaborated below, III, 1, 3, and above, I, 38.

but some have left the world in terror at the tyranny of kings. Some have joined us to be safe from being robbed, some harassed by debt, and some perhaps to gain a livelihood.'

'But for what object, Sir, did you yourself join.'

'I was received into the Order when I was a mere boy, I knew not then the ultimate aim. But I thought: "They are wise scholars, these Buddhist Samāṇas, they will be able to teach me." And by them I have been taught; and now do I both know and understand what is at once the reason for, and the advantage of renunciation.'

'Well put, Nāgasena!'

6. The king said: 'Nāgasena, is there any one who after death is not reindividualised?'

'Some are so, and some not.'

'Who are they?'

'A sinful being is reindividualised, a sinless one is not.'

'Will you be reindividualised?'

'If when I die, I die with craving for existence in my heart, yes; but if not, no<sup>1</sup>.'

'Very good, Nāgasena!'

7. The king said: 'Nāgasena, he who escapes reindividualisation is it by reasoning that he escapes it?'

'Both by reasoning<sup>2</sup>, your Majesty, and by wisdom<sup>3</sup>, and by other good qualities.'

'But are not reasoning and wisdom surely much the same?'

'Certainly not. Reasoning is one thing, wisdom

<sup>1</sup> Repeated below, with an illustration, Chap. 2, § 7, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Yoniso manasikāra.      <sup>3</sup> Paññā. See pp. 59, 64, 128.

another. Sheep and goats, oxen and buffaloes, camels and asses have reasoning, but wisdom they have not.'

'Well put, Nāgasena!'

---

8. The king said: 'What is the characteristic mark of reasoning, and what of wisdom?'

'Reasoning has always comprehension as its mark; but wisdom has cutting off<sup>1</sup>.'

'But how is comprehension the characteristic of reasoning, and cutting off of wisdom? Give me an illustration.'

'You remember the barley reapers?'

'Yes, certainly.' [33]

'How do they reap the barley?'

'With the left hand they grasp the barley into a bunch, and taking the sickle into the right hand, they cut it off with that.'

'Just even so, O king, does the recluse by his thinking grasp his mind, and by his wisdom cut off his failings. In this way is it that comprehension is the characteristic of reasoning, but cutting off of wisdom.'

'Well put, Nāgasena!'

---

9. The king said: 'When you said just now, "And by other good qualities," to which did you refer?'

---

<sup>1</sup> In the long list of the distinguishing characteristics of ethical qualities given by Buddhaghosa in the *Sumaṅgala*, p. 63, *pagānana* is the mark of *paññindriya*, *aviggāya akampiyam* of *paññabala*, and *tad-uttariyam* of *paññā* simply. He gives no 'mark' of *yoniso manasikāra*.



‘Good conduct, great king, and faith, and perseverance, and mindfulness, and meditation<sup>1</sup>.

‘And what is the characteristic mark of good conduct?’

‘It has as its characteristic that it is the basis of all good qualities. The five moral powers<sup>2</sup>—faith, perseverance, mindfulness, meditation, and wisdom—; the seven conditions of Arahatsip<sup>3</sup>—self-possession, investigation of the Dhamma, perseverance, joy, calm, meditation, and equanimity—; the Path; readiness of memory (unbroken self-possession)<sup>4</sup>; the four kinds of right exertion<sup>5</sup>; the four constituent bases of extraordinary powers<sup>6</sup>; the four stages of ecstasy<sup>7</sup>; the eight forms of spiritual emancipation<sup>8</sup>; the four modes of self-concentration<sup>9</sup>; and the eight states of intense contemplation<sup>10</sup> have each and all of them good conduct (the observance of outward morality) as their basis. And to him who builds upon that foundation, O king, all these good conditions will not decrease<sup>11</sup>.’

‘Give me an illustration.’

‘Just, O king, as all those forms of animal and vegetable life which grow, develope, and mature, do so with the earth as their basis; just so does the recluse, who is devoted in effort, develope in himself the five moral powers, and so on, by means of virtue, on the basis of virtue.’

‘Give me a further illustration.’

<sup>1</sup> *Sīlam*, *saddhâ*, *viriyam*, *sati*, *samâdhi*.

<sup>2</sup> *Indriya-balâni*.    <sup>3</sup> *Bogghaṅgâ*.    <sup>4</sup> *Satipaṭṭhâna*.

<sup>5</sup> *Sammappadhâna*.    <sup>6</sup> *Iddhipâda*.    <sup>7</sup> *Ghâna*.

<sup>8</sup> *Vimokhâ*.    <sup>9</sup> *Samâdhi*.    <sup>10</sup> *Samâpatti*.

<sup>11</sup> The above-mentioned meritorious conditions are those the sum of which make Arahatsip.

‘Just, O king, as all the occupations which involve bodily exertion are carried on in ultimate dependence upon the earth, just so does the recluse develope in himself the five moral powers, and so on, by means of virtue, on the basis of virtue.’ [34]

‘Give me a still better illustration.’

‘Just, O king, as the architect of a city, when he wants to build one, first clears the site of the town, and then proceeds to get rid of all the stumps and thorny brakes, and thus makes it level, and only then does he lay out the streets and squares, and cross-roads and market places, and so build the city; just so does the recluse develope in himself the five moral powers, and so on, by means of virtue, on the basis of virtue.’

‘Can you give me one more simile?’

‘Just, O king, as an acrobat<sup>1</sup>, when he wants to exhibit his skill, first digs over the ground, and proceeds to get rid of all the stones and fragments of broken pottery, and thus to make it smooth, and only then, on soft earth, shows his tricks; just even so does the recluse develope in himself the five moral powers, and so on, by means of virtue, on the basis of virtue. For it has been said, Sire, by the Blessed One :

“Virtue’s the base on which the man who’s wise  
 Can train his heart, and make his wisdom grow.  
 Thus shall the strenuous Bhikkhu, undeceived,  
 Unravel all the tangled skein of life<sup>2</sup>.”

<sup>1</sup> *Laṅghako*, not in Childers; but compare *Gâtaka* I, 431, and below, pp. 191, 331 of the text.

<sup>2</sup> This verse occurs twice in the *Samyutta* (I, 3, 3, and VII, 1, 6).

“This is the base—like the great earth to men—  
And this the root of all increase in goodness,  
The starting-point of all the Buddhas’ teaching,  
Virtue, to wit, on which true bliss depends<sup>1</sup>.”

‘Well said, Nāgasena!’

10<sup>2</sup>. The king said, ‘Venerable Nāgasena, what is the characteristic mark of faith?’

‘Tranquillisation, O king, and aspiration<sup>3</sup>.’

‘And how is tranquillisation the mark of faith?’

‘As faith, O king, springs up in the heart it breaks through the five hindrances—lust, malice, mental sloth, spiritual pride, and doubt—and the heart, free from these hindrances, [35] becomes clear, serene, untroubled.’

‘Give me an illustration.’

‘Just, O king, as a suzerain king, when on the march with his fourfold army, might cross over a small stream, and the water, disturbed by the elephants and cavalry, the chariots and the bowmen, might become fouled, turbid<sup>4</sup>, and muddy. And

<sup>1</sup> *Vara-pâtimokkhiyo*, a poetical expression found only in this passage, and of the exact connotation of which I am uncertain. It is not in Childers; and *Hīnaśi-kumburê* gives no assistance. The whole line may mean, ‘The scheme of a virtuous life as laid down in the most excellent *Pâtimokkha*.’ See the use of *Samyutta-Nikāya-vare* below, p. 36 of the text. On the whole section compare M. P. S. I, 12.

<sup>2</sup> This section is summarised in Hardy’s ‘Manual of Buddhism,’ pp. 411, 412 (1st edition).

<sup>3</sup> *Sampasâdana* and *sampakkhandana*. Buddhaghosa, loc. cit., does not give faith in his list, but he gives the power of faith (*saddhâ-bala*), and as its ‘mark’ ‘that it cannot be shaken by incredulity.’

<sup>4</sup> *Luṭita*, not in Childers; but compare *Aṅguttara* I, 55, and ‘Book of the Great Decease,’ IV, 26-32.

when he was on the other side the monarch might give command to his attendants, saying: "Bring some water, my good men. I would fain drink." Now suppose the monarch had a water-clearing gem<sup>1</sup>, and those men, in obedience to the order, were to throw the jewel into the water; then at once all the mud would precipitate itself, and the sandy atoms of shell and bits of water-plants would disappear, and the water would become clear, transparent, and serene, and they would then bring some of it to the monarch to drink. The water is the heart; the royal servants are the recluse; the mud, the sandy atoms, and the bits of water-plants are evil dispositions; and the water-cleansing gem is faith.'

'And how is aspiration the mark of faith?'

'In as much as the recluse, on perceiving how the hearts of others have been set free, aspires to enter as it were by a leap upon the fruit of the first stage, or of the second, or of the third in the Excellent Way, or to gain Arahatsip itself, and thus applies himself to the attainment of what he has not reached, to the experience of what he has not yet felt, to the realisation of what he has not yet realised,—therefore is it that aspiration is the mark of faith.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Just, O king, as if a mighty storm [36] were to break upon a mountain top and pour out rain, the water would flow down according to the levels, and after filling up the crevices and chasms and gullies

---

<sup>1</sup> Udakappasâdako mañi. Doubtless a magic gem is meant: with allusion particularly to the Wondrous Gem (the Mañi-ratana) of the mythical King of Glory (see my 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 256).

of the hill, would empty itself into the brook below, so that the stream would rush along, overflowing both its banks. Now suppose a crowd of people, one after the other, were to come up, and being ignorant of the real breadth or depth of the water, were to stand fearful and hesitating on the brink. And suppose a certain man should arrive, who knowing exactly his own strength and power should gird himself firmly and, with a spring, land himself on the other side. Then the rest of the people, seeing him safe on the other side, would likewise cross. That is the kind of way in which the recluse, by faith<sup>1</sup>, aspires to leap, as it were by a bound, into higher things. For this has been said, O king, by the Blessed One in the *Samyutta Nikâya* :

“By faith he crosses over the stream,  
By earnestness the sea of life ;  
By steadfastness all grief he stills,  
By wisdom is he purified<sup>2</sup>.”

‘Well put, Nâgasena !’

<sup>1</sup> In the Buddha, in the sufficiency of the Excellent Way he taught, and in the capacity of man to walk along it. It is spoken of slightly (compared with Arahatsip) in *Mahâvagga V*, 1, 21—in the *Mahâparinibbâna Sutta VI*, 9 (of Ânanda, who has faith, compared with the brethren, who have entered one or other of the stages of the Excellent Way)—and in *Ânguttara III*, 21 (in comparison with intuitive insight and intellectual perception). For this last comparison see further the *Puggala Paññatti III*, 3. From these passages a fair idea of the Buddhist view of faith could be formed. Although the Buddhist faith and the Christian faith are in things contradictory, the two conditions of heart are strikingly similar both in origin and in consequence.

<sup>2</sup> This verse is not yet reached in the Pâli Text Society's edition of the *Samyutta*, but it is found also in the *Sutta Nipâta-I*, 10, 4.

II<sup>1</sup>. The king said: 'What, Nâgasena, is the characteristic mark of perseverance?'

'The rendering of support, O king, is the mark of perseverance<sup>2</sup>. All those good qualities which it supports do not fall away.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Just as a man, if a house were falling, would make a prop for it of another post, and the house so supported would not fall; just so, O king, is the rendering of support the mark of perseverance, and all those good qualities which it supports do not fall away.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'Just as when a large army has broken up a small one, then the king of the latter would call to mind every possible ally and reinforce his small army<sup>3</sup>, and by that means the small army might in its turn break up the large one; just so, O king, is the rendering of support the mark of perseverance, and all those good qualities which it supports do not fall away [37]. For it has been said by the Blessed One: "The persevering hearer of the noble truth, O Bhikkhus, puts away evil and cultivates goodness, puts away that which is wrong and developes in himself that which is right, and thus does he keep himself pure."'

<sup>1</sup> This section is summarised by Hardy, loc. cit. p. 409.

<sup>2</sup> Buddhaghosa, loc. cit., says that *paggaha* (tension) is the mark of *viriyindriya*.

<sup>3</sup> *Aññamaññam* *anusâreyya* *anupeseyya*. This is the way in which Hīnañ-kumburê understands this doubtful passage. Hardy has bungled the whole simile. Both the words are new, and I am not sure that the first does not after all come from the root *sar*, to follow.

‘Well put, Nāgasena !’

12. The king said : ‘What, Nāgasena, is the characteristic mark of mindfulness<sup>1</sup>?’

‘Repetition, O king, and keeping up<sup>2</sup>.’

‘And how is repetition the mark of mindfulness?’

‘As mindfulness, O king, springs up in his heart he repeats over the good and evil, right and wrong, slight and important, dark and light qualities, and those that resemble them, saying to himself : “These are the four modes of keeping oneself ready and mindful, these the four modes of spiritual effort, these the four bases of extraordinary powers, these the five organs of the moral sense, these the five mental powers, these the seven bases of Arahātship, these the eight divisions of the Excellent Way, this is serenity and this insight, this is wisdom and this emancipation<sup>3</sup>.” Thus does the recluse follow after

<sup>1</sup> Sati, summarised in Hardy’s ‘Manual,’ p. 412.

<sup>2</sup> *Api/āpāna* and *upagāṇhana*, both new words. This definition is in keeping with the etymological meaning of the word *sati*, which is ‘memory.’ It is one of the most difficult words (in its secondary, ethical, and more usual meaning) in the whole Buddhist system of ethical psychology to translate. Hardy renders ‘conscience,’ which is certainly wrong; and Gogerly (see my ‘Buddhist Suttas,’ p. 144) has ‘meditation,’ which is equally wide of the mark. I have sometimes rendered it ‘self-possession.’ It means that activity of mind, constant presence of mind, wakefulness of heart, which is the foe of carelessness, inadvertence, self-forgetfulness. And it is a very constant theme of the Buddhist moralist. Buddha-ghosa, loc. cit., makes *upa/āhāna*, ‘readiness,’ its mark.

<sup>3</sup> These are the various moral qualities and mental habits which together make up Arahātship, and may be said also to make up Buddhism (as the Buddha taught it). It was on these that he laid special stress, in his last address to the members of the Order, just before his death (‘Book of the Great Decease,’ III, 65, in my ‘Buddhist Suttas,’ pp. 60–63); and the details of them will be found in the note to that passage.

those qualities that are desirable, and not after those that are not; thus does he cultivate those which ought to be practised, and not those which ought not. That is how repetition is the mark of mindfulness.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'It is like the treasurer of the imperial sovran<sup>1</sup>, who reminds his royal master early and late of his glory, saying: "So many are thy war elephants, O king, and so many thy cavalry<sup>2</sup>, thy war chariots and thy bowmen, so much the quantity of thy money, and gold, and wealth, may your Majesty keep yourself in mind thereof.'

'And how, Sir, is keeping up a mark of mindfulness?'

'As mindfulness springs up in his heart, O king, he searches out the categories of good qualities and their opposites, saying to himself: "Such and such qualities are good, and such bad; [38] such and such qualities helpful, and such the reverse." Thus does the recluse make what is evil in himself to disappear, and keeps up what is good. That is how keeping up is the mark of mindfulness.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'It is like the confidential adviser of that imperial

<sup>1</sup> *Kakkavattissa bhandâgâriko*, no doubt with allusion to the *gahapati-ratanam*, one of the seven treasures of the mythical King of Glory (see my 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 257). It is particularly interesting to me to find here the use of the word 'treasurer' instead of 'householder;' for it was in that exact sense that I had understood the word *gahapati* in that connection, at a time when, in the then state of Pâli scholarship, it seemed very bold to do so.

<sup>2</sup> Literally 'horses.' The whole list is again a manifest allusion to the corresponding one in the Sutta of the Great King of Glory.



sovrán<sup>1</sup> who instructs him in good and evil, saying: "These things are bad for the king and these good, these helpful and these the reverse." And thus the king makes the evil in himself die out, and keeps up the good.'

'Well put, Nâgasena!'

---

13<sup>2</sup>. The king said: 'What, Nâgasena, is the characteristic mark of meditation<sup>3</sup>?''

'Being the leader, O king. All good qualities have meditation as their chief, they incline to it, lead up towards it, are as so many slopes up the side of the mountain of meditation.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'As all the rafters of the roof of a house, O king, go up to the apex, slope towards it, are joined on together at it, and the apex is acknowledged to be the top of all; so is the habit of meditation in its relation to other good qualities.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'It is like a king, your Majesty, when he goes down to battle with his army in its fourfold array. The whole army—elephants, cavalry, war chariots, and bowmen—would have him as their chief, their

---

<sup>1</sup> *Pariñâyaka*, the seventh treasure of the King of Glory. (Compare the 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 259.) It will be seen that our author is in substantial agreement with the older tradition, and does not, like the *Lalita Vistara*, understand under this officer a general.

<sup>2</sup> Omitted by Hardy.

<sup>3</sup> *Samâdhi*. *Buddhaghosa*, loc. cit. p. 65, gives also 'being the chief' as its mark, but he previously (p. 64) gives *avikkhepa*, 'serenity,' as the mark of *sammâ-samâdhi*, and also (p. 63) of *samâdhindriya*, while 'being unshaken by spiritual pride' is his mark (p. 63) of *Samâdhi-bala*.

lines would incline towards him, lead up to him, they would be so many mountain slopes, one above another, with him as their summit, round him they would all be ranged. [39] And it has been said, O king, by the Blessed One : " Cultivate in yourself, O Bhikkhus, the habit of meditation. He who is established therein knows things as they really are<sup>1</sup>."

' Well put, Nâgasena !'

14. The king said : ' What, Nâgasena, is the characteristic mark of wisdom<sup>2</sup> ?'

' I have already told you, O king, how cutting off, severance, is its mark<sup>3</sup>, but enlightenment is also its mark.'

' And how is enlightenment its mark ?'

' When wisdom springs up in the heart, O king, it dispels the darkness of ignorance, it causes the radiance of knowledge to arise, it makes the light of intelligence to shine forth<sup>4</sup>, and it makes the Noble Truths plain. Thus does the recluse who is devoted to effort perceive with the clearest wisdom the impermanency (of all beings and things), the suffering (that is inherent in individuality), and the absence of any soul.'

' Give me an illustration.'

' It is like a lamp, O king, which a man might introduce into a house in darkness. When the lamp had been brought in it would dispel the darkness,

<sup>1</sup> *Samyutta Nikâya* XXI, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Paññâ*. Hardy in the 'Manual of Buddhism,' pp. 414, 415, gives a jumble of this passage and several others.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> *Vidamseti*, not in Childers ; but compare *Theri Gâthâ*, 74 ; *Ânguttara* III, 103 ; and *Gâtaka* III, 222.

cause radiance to arise, and light to shine forth, and make the objects there plainly visible. Just so would wisdom in a man have such effects as were just now set forth.'

'Well put, Nâgasena!'

---

15. The king said: 'These qualities which are so different<sup>1</sup>, Nâgasena, do they bring about one and the same result?'

'They do. The putting an end to evil dispositions.'

'How is that? Give me an illustration.'

'They are like the various parts of an army—elephants, cavalry, war chariots, and archers—who all work to one end, to wit: the conquest in battle of the opposing army.'

'Well put, Nâgasena!'

---

Here ends the First Chapter.

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, the five referred to above, p. 51, § 9.

## BOOK II. CHAPTER 2.

1. [40] The king said : ' He who is born, Nāgasena, does he remain the same or become another ? '

' Neither the same nor another.'

' Give me an illustration.'

' Now what do you think, O king ? You were once a baby, a tender thing, and small in size, lying flat on your back. Was that the same as you who are now grown up ? '

' No. That child was one, I am another.'

' If you are not that child, it will follow that you have had neither mother nor father, no ! nor teacher. You cannot have been taught either learning, or behaviour, or wisdom. What, great king ! is the mother of the embryo in the first stage different from the mother of the embryo in the second stage, or the third, or the fourth <sup>1</sup> ? Is the mother of the baby a different person from the mother of the grown-up man ? Is the person who goes to school one, and the same when he has finished his schooling another ? Is it one who commits a crime, another who is punished by having his hands or feet cut off <sup>2</sup> ? '

' Certainly not. But what would you, Sir, say to that ? '

The Elder replied : ' I should say that I am the same person, now I am grown up, as I was when I was a tender tiny baby, flat on my back. For all these states are included in one by means of this body.'

' Give me an illustration.'

---

<sup>1</sup> On these four stages see *Gâtaka* IV, 496, and *Samyutta* X, 1, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Hardy makes sad nonsense of all this.

‘Suppose a man, O king, were to light a lamp, would it burn the night through?’

‘Yes, it might do so.’

‘Now, is it the same flame that burns in the first watch of the night, Sir, and in the second?’

‘No.’

‘Or the same that burns in the second watch and in the third?’

‘No.’

‘Then is there one lamp in the first watch, and another in the second, and another in the third?’

‘No. The light comes from the same lamp all the night through.’

‘Just so, O king, is the continuity of a person or thing maintained. One comes into being, another passes away; and the rebirth is, as it were, simultaneous. Thus neither as the same nor as another does a man go on to the last phase of his self-consciousness<sup>1</sup>.’

‘Give me a further illustration.’

---

<sup>1</sup> Hardy (p. 429) renders this as follows: ‘In the same way, great king, one being is conceived, another is born, another dies; when comprehended by the mind, it is like a thing that has no before, and no after; no preceding, no succeeding existence. Thus the being who is born does not continue the same, nor does he become another; the last winyâna, or consciousness, is thus united with the rest.’ (1) He confesses himself in doubt as to the last few words, but is quite unconscious of having completely misinterpreted the whole paragraph.

The meaning is really quite plain in both the Pâli and the Sinhalese. A man, at any one moment, is precisely all that he is then conscious of. The phase of his self-consciousness, the totality of that of which he is conscious, is always changing; and is so different at death from what it was at birth that, in a certain sense, he is not the same at the one time as he was at the other. But there is a continuity in the whole series;—a continuity dependent

‘It is like milk, [41] which when once taken from the cow, turns, after a lapse of time, first to curds, and then from curds to butter, and then from butter to ghee. Now would it be right to say that the milk was the same thing as the curds, or the butter, or the ghee?’

‘Certainly not; but they are produced out of it.’

‘Just so, O king, is the continuity of a person or thing maintained. One comes into being, another passes away; and the rebirth is, as it were, simultaneous. Thus neither as the same nor as another does a man go on to the last phase of his self-consciousness.’

‘Well put, Nâgasena!’

2<sup>1</sup>. The king said: ‘Is a man, Nâgasena, who will not be reborn, aware of the fact?’

‘Yes, O king.’

‘And how does he know it?’

‘By the cessation of all that is cause, proximate or remote<sup>2</sup>, of rebirth.’

‘Give me an illustration.’

‘Suppose a farmer, great king, had ploughed and sown and filled his granary; and then for a period should neither plough nor sow, but live on the

on the whole body. And this fits the simile, in which the lamp is the body, and the flame the changing self-consciousness; whereas it is impossible to make the simile fit the conclusion as rendered by Hardy.

On the phrase *apubbam akariyam* see Dr. Morris’s note at p. 101 of the Pâli Text Society’s Journal, 1887, and the passages he there quotes.

<sup>1</sup> Omitted in Hardy. The correlative question is discussed below, III, 5, 8, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, *Tañhâ* and *Upâdâna*.

stored-up grain, or dispose of it in barter, or deal with it as he had need. Would the farmer be aware, great king, that his granary was not getting filled ?'

'Yes, he ought to know it.'

'But how ?'

'He would know that the cause, proximate and remote, of the filling of the granary had ceased.'

'Just so with the man you spoke of. By the cessation of all that leads to rebirth, he would be conscious of having escaped his liability to it.'

'Well explained, Nâgasena !'

3<sup>1</sup>. The king said: 'He who has intelligence, Nâgasena, has he also wisdom ?'

'Yes, great king.' [42]

'What ; are they both the same ?'

'Yes.'

'Then would he, with his intelligence — which, you say, is the same as wisdom — be still in bewilderment or not ?'

'In regard to some things, yes ; in regard to others, no.'

'What would he be in bewilderment about ?'

'He would still be in bewilderment as to those parts of learning he had not learnt, as to those countries he had not seen, and as to those names or terms he had not heard.'

'And wherein would he not be in bewilderment ?'

'As regards that which has been accomplished by insight — (the perception, that is,) of the imper-

<sup>1</sup> Summarised in Hardy's 'Manual,' p. 414.

<sup>2</sup> *Ñâna* and *paññâ*.

manence of all beings, of the suffering inherent in individuality, and of the non-existence of any soul<sup>1</sup>.

‘Then what would have become of his delusions on those points.’

‘When intelligence has once arisen, that moment delusion has died away.’

‘Give me an illustration.’

‘It is like the lamp, which when a man has brought into a darkened room, then the darkness would vanish away, and light would appear.’

‘And what, Nāgasena, on the other hand, has then become of his wisdom?’

‘When the reasoning wisdom has effected that which it has to do, then the reasoning ceases to go on. But that which has been acquired by means of it remains—the knowledge, to wit, of the impermanence of every being, of the suffering inherent in individuality, and of the absence of any soul.’

‘Give me an illustration, reverend Sir, of what you have last said.’

‘It is as when a man wants, during the night, to send a letter, and after having his clerk called, has a lamp lit, and gets the letter written. Then, when that has been done, he extinguishes the lamp. But though the lamp had been put out the writing would still be there. Thus does reasoning cease, and knowledge remain.’

‘Give me a further illustration.’

‘In Eastern districts [43] the peasants have a custom of arranging five pots full of water behind

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, he might still be wrong on matters of mere worldly knowledge, but would be clear in his mind as to the fundamental truths of religion. Compare the analogous distinctions often drawn as to the inspiration of Scripture, or the infallibility of the Pope.



each hut with the object of putting out at once any spark of fire that may be kindled. Suppose now the house had caught fire, and they had thrown those five potfulls of water over the hut, and the fire had gone out, would those peasants then think of still going on using the water-pots ?'

'No, Sir, the water-pots would be done with. What would be the use of them (on that occasion) any more ?'

'The five water-pots are the five organs of moral sense—faith, to wit, and perseverance in effort, and mindfulness, and meditation, and the reasoning wisdom. The peasantry are the recluse, who is devoted in effort<sup>1</sup>; the fire is sinfulness. As the fire is put out by the water in the five pots, so is sinfulness extinguished by the five organs of moral sense, and when once extinguished it does not again arise<sup>2</sup>.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'It is like a physician who goes to the sick man with the five kinds of drugs made from medicinal

<sup>1</sup> *Yogâvaṅkaro*; one of the technical terms in constant use by our author, but not found in the Pāli Piṭakas. Hardy renders it, 'who is seeking Nirvāṇa;' but though this may be suggested by the term, it is not its meaning. Literally it is 'he whose sphere, whose constant resort, is Yoga.' Now yoga is 'diligence, devotion, mental concentration;' and there is nothing to show that our author is using the word as an epithet of Arahatsip. It seems to me, therefore, that the whole compound merely means one of those 'religious,' in the technical sense, who were also religious in the higher, more usual sense. It would thus be analogous to the phrase *saṃgāmâvaṅkaro*, 'at home in war,' used of a war elephant in the *Samgāmâvaṅkara Gâtaka* (Fausböll, II, 95), and of a soldier below, Mil. 44.

<sup>2</sup> This must, I think, be understood in a modified sense, for the first of the four Great Exertions (*Sammappadhânas*) is the effort to prevent sinful conditions arising.

roots<sup>1</sup>, and grinding them up, gives him to drink, and thereby his sickness passes away. Would the physician in that case think of making any further use of the medicine?’

‘Certainly not, the medicine has done its work. What would be the use of any more?’

‘Just so, O king, when sinfulness is destroyed by the five moral powers, then reasoning ceases, but knowledge remains.’

[44] ‘Give me a further illustration.’

‘It is like a warrior, at home in war, who takes five javelins and goes down to battle to conquer the foe. And when he has cast them the enemy is broken. There is no need for him to go on casting javelins any more.’

‘Well put, Nāgasena!’

---

4. The king said: ‘He who will not be reborn, Nāgasena, does he still feel any painful sensation?’

The Elder replied: ‘Some he feels and some not.’

‘Which are they?’

‘He may feel bodily pain, O king; but mental pain he would not.’

‘How would that be so?’

‘Because the causes, proximate or remote, of bodily pain still continue, he would be liable to it. But the causes, proximate or remote, of mental agony having ceased, he could not feel it. For it has been said by the Blessed One: “One kind of pain he suffers, bodily pain: but not mental.”’

‘Then why, Sir, does he not die?’

‘The Arahāt, O king, has need neither to curry

---

<sup>1</sup> *Pañka mûla bhessaggâni*: not the five principal sorts of medicine mentioned by Childers.

favour nor to bear malice. He shakes not down the unripe fruit, but awaits the full time of its maturity. For it has been said, O king, by the Elder, Sâriputta, the Commander of the faith [45]:

“It is not death, it is not life I welcome;  
As the hireling his wage, so do I bide my time.  
It is not death, it is not life I want;  
Mindful and thoughtful do I bide my time<sup>1</sup>.”

‘Well put, Nâgasena!’

5. The king said: ‘Is a pleasant sensation, Nâgasena, good or evil or indifferent?’

‘It may be any one of the three.’

‘But surely, Sir, if good conditions are not painful, and painful ones not good, then there can arise no good condition that is at the same time painful?’

‘Now, what do you think, great king? Suppose a man were to hold in one hand a red-hot ball of iron, and in the other a lump of icy snow, would they both hurt him?’

‘Yes; they both would.’

‘But are they both hot?’

‘Certainly not.’

‘But are they both cold?’

‘No.’

‘Then acknowledge yourself put in the wrong! If the heat hurts, and they are not both hot, the pain cannot come from the heat. If the cold hurts,

<sup>1</sup> These verses are nearly the same as those put in reverse order into Sâriputta’s mouth in the Theri Gâthâ, 1003, 1002. And the first two lines, as Dr. Rost was good enough to point out to me, are identical (except as to a slight grammatical variation) with Manu VI, 45.

<sup>2</sup> And the same, therefore, of pleasant sensations that are evil.

and they are not both cold, the pain cannot come from the cold. How then, O king, can they both hurt you, since they are not both hot, nor both cold, and (as one is hot and the other cold) the pain comes neither from the hot nor from the cold?’

‘I am not equal to argument with you. Be so good, Sir, as to explain how the matter stands.’

Then the Elder reasoned with king Milinda, persuading him by talk on the subject drawn from the Abhidhamma, such as : ‘There are these six pleasures, O king, connected with life in the world, and these other six with renunciation. There are six griefs connected with life in the world, and six with renunciation. There are six kinds of indifference to pleasure and to grief connected with life in the world, and six with renunciation. [46] Altogether there are thus six series of six, that is to say, thirty-six kinds of sensations in the present, and the like number in the past, and the like in the future. And adding all these up in one total we arrive at one hundred and eight kinds of sensation.’

‘Well put, Nâgasena !’

6<sup>1</sup>. The king said : ‘What is it, Nâgasena, that is reborn?’

‘Name-and-form is reborn.’

‘What, is it this same name-and-form that is reborn?’

‘No : but by this name-and-form deeds are done, good or evil, and by these deeds (this Karma) another name-and-form is reborn.’

<sup>1</sup> This dialogue is in Hardy, p. 429 (No. 7).

‘If that be so, Sir, would not the new being be released from its evil Karma<sup>1</sup>?’

The Elder replied: ‘Yes, if it were not reborn. But just because it is reborn, O king, it is therefore not released from its evil Karma.’

‘Give me an illustration.’

‘Suppose, O king, some man were to steal a mango from another man, and the owner of the mango were to seize him and bring him before the king, and charge him with the crime. And the thief were to say: “Your Majesty! I have not taken away this man’s mangoes. Those that he put in the ground are different from the ones I took. I do not deserve to be punished.” How then? would he be guilty?’

‘Certainly, Sir. He would deserve to be punished.’

‘But on what ground?’

‘Because, in spite of whatever he may say, he would be guilty in respect of the last mango which resulted from the first one (the owner set in the ground).’

‘Just so, great king, deeds good or evil are done by this name-and-form and another is reborn. But that other is not thereby released from its deeds (its Karma).’

‘Give me a further illustration.’

‘It is like rice or sugar so stolen, of which the same might be said as of the mango. [47] Or it is like the fire which a man, in the cold season, might kindle, and when he had warmed himself, leave still burning, and go away. Then if that fire were to set

---

<sup>1</sup> Repeated below, III, 5, 7, p. 112.

another man's field on fire, and the owner of the field were to seize him, and bring him before the king, and charge him with the injury, and he were to say: "Your Majesty! It was not I who set this man's field on fire. The fire I left burning was a different one from that which burnt his field. I am not guilty." Now would the man, O king, be guilty?'

'Certainly, Sir.'

'But why?'

'Because, in spite of whatever he might say, he would be guilty in respect of the subsequent fire that resulted from the previous one.'

'Just so, great king, deeds good or evil are done by this name-and-form and another is reborn. But that other is not thereby released from its deeds (its Karma).'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'Suppose, O king, a man were to take a lamp and go up into the top storey of his house, and there eat his meal. And the lamp blazing up were to set the thatch on fire, and from that the house should catch fire, and that house having caught fire the whole village should be burnt. And they should seize him and ask: "What, you fellow, did you set our village on fire for?" And he should reply: "I've not set your village on fire! The flame of the lamp, by the light of which I was eating, was one thing; the fire which burnt your village was another thing." Now if they, thus disputing, should go to law before you, O king, in whose favour would you decide the case?'

'In the villagers' favour.'

'But why?'

‘Because, Sir, in spite of whatever the man might say, the one fire was produced from the other.’

‘Just so, great king, it is one name-and-form which has its end in death, and another name-and-form which is reborn. But the second is the result of the first, and is therefore not set free from its evil deeds.’

‘Give me a further illustration.’

‘Suppose, O king, a man were to choose a young girl in marriage, and give a price<sup>1</sup> for her and go away. [48] And she in due course should grow up to full age, and then another man were to pay a price for her and marry her. And when the first one had come back he should say: “Why, you fellow, have you carried off my wife?” And the other were to reply: “It’s not your wife I have carried off! The little girl, the mere child, whom you chose in marriage and paid a price for is one; the girl grown up to full age whom I chose in marriage and paid a price for, is another.” Now if they, thus disputing, were to go to law about it before you, O king, in whose favour would you decide the case?’

‘In favour of the first.’

‘But why?’

‘Because, in spite of whatever the second might say, the grown-up girl would have been derived from the other girl.’

‘Just so, great king, it is one name-and-form which has its end in death, and another name-and-form

---

<sup>1</sup> *Suṅkaṃ* datvā. Literally ‘paying a tax.’ So early were early marriages! Compare *Therī Gāthā*, 402. *Hinañ-kumburē*, p. 58, has *wœ/up dī*, ‘having provided her with means of subsistence.’ But, of course, the *Suṅka* must have been a price paid to the parents.

which is reborn. But the second is the result of the first, and is therefore not set free from its evil deeds.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'Suppose a man, O king, were to buy of a herdsman a vessel of milk, and go away leaving it in his charge, saying: "I will come for it to-morrow;" and the next day it were to become curds. And when the man should come and ask for it, then suppose the other were to offer him the curds, and he should say: "It was not curds I bought of you; give me my vessel of milk." And the other were to reply: "Without any fault of mine<sup>1</sup> your milk has turned to curds." Now if they, thus disputing, were to go to law about it before you, O king, in whose favour would you decide the case?'

'In favour of the herdsman.'

'But why?'

'Because, in spite of whatever the other might say, the curds were derived from the milk.'

'Just so, great king, it is one name-and-form that finds its end in death, and another that is reborn. But that other is the result of the first, and is therefore not thereby released from its evil deeds (its bad Karma).'

'Very good, Nâgasena!'

---

7<sup>2</sup>. The king said: 'Will you, Nâgasena, be reborn?'

---

<sup>1</sup> Agânato: there is an ambiguity here, as the word may mean 'to me not knowing it,' or 'to you not knowing it.' Hīnaśī-kumburê takes the latter interpretation, and renders: 'O come! Do you not know that your milk has become curds?' (Embala, tâte kiri mawû bawa no dannehi dœyi.)

<sup>2</sup> Not in Hardy.



‘Nay, great king, what is the use of asking that question again? Have I not already told you that if, when I die, [49] I die with craving in my heart, I shall; but if not, not<sup>1</sup>?’

‘Give me an illustration.’

‘Suppose, O king, a man were to render service to the king<sup>2</sup>: and the king, pleased with him, were to bestow an office upon him. And then that he, while living through that appointment, in the full possession and enjoyment of all the pleasures of sense, should publicly declare that the king had repaid him naught. Now would that man, O king, be acting rightly?’

‘Most certainly not.’

‘Just so, great king, what is the use of asking that question again? Have I not already told you that if, when I die, I die with craving in my heart, I shall; and if not, not?’

‘You are ready, Nāgasena, in reply.’

8. The king said: ‘You were talking just now of name-and-form. What does “name” mean in that expression, and what “form”?’

‘Whatever is gross therein, that is “form”: whatever is subtle, mental, that is “name.”’

‘Why is it, Nāgasena, that name is not reborn separately, or form separately?’

‘These conditions, great king, are connected one with the other; and spring into being together.’

‘Give me an illustration.’

‘As a hen, great king, would not get a yoke or

<sup>1</sup> See above, Chapter I, § 6, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> This simile, with a different conclusion, recurs below, II, 3, 10 (p. 93).

an egg-shell separately, but both would arise in one, they two being intimately dependent one on the other; just so, if there were no name there would be no form. What is meant by name in that expression being intimately dependent on what is meant by form, they spring up together. And this is, through time immemorial, their nature<sup>1</sup>.

‘You are ready, Nāgasena, in reply.’

9. The king said: ‘You speak, Nāgasena, of time immemorial. What does this word “time” mean?’

‘Past time, O king, and present, and future.’

‘But what? is there such a thing as time?’

‘There is time which exists, and time which does not.’

‘Which then exists, and which not?’

[50] ‘There are Confections (constituent potentialities of being)<sup>2</sup>, O king, which are past in the sense of having passed away, and ceased to be, or of having been dissolved, or altogether changed. To them time is not. But there are conditions of heart which are now producing their effect, or still have in them the inherent possibility of producing

<sup>1</sup> *Evam etam dīgham addhānam sambhāvitam*: which Hardy, p. 141, renders: ‘They accompany each other (as to the species, but not as to the individual) during infinitude.’ But even the Sinhalese text cannot be made to mean this.

<sup>2</sup> *Samkhārā*. See the full list in my ‘Buddhism,’ pp. 91, 92 (a list, indeed, not found as yet in the *Piṭakas*, and probably later, but yet founded on the older divisions, and explanatory of them). They are all those divisions into which existence (or the process of becoming and ceasing to be as Buddhism looks at it) should be divided, and are practically so many sorts of action (*Karma*). For the older divisions see the note at the passages quoted in ‘*Vinaya Texts*,’ I, 76.

effect, or which will otherwise lead to reindividualisation. To them time is. Where there are beings who, when dead, will be reborn, there time is. Where there are beings who, when dead, will not be reborn, there time is not; and where there are beings who are altogether set free (who, having attained Nirvâṇa in their present life, have come to the end of that life), there time is not—because of their having been quite set free<sup>1</sup>.

‘You are ready, Nâgasena, in reply.’

---

Here ends the Second Chapter.

---

<sup>1</sup> Parinibbutattâ. Hardy renders this whole clause (the last lines): ‘Nirvâṇa is attained, time is no longer.’ But this is one of the endless confusions arising out of not knowing the distinction between Nirvâṇa and Parinirvâṇa. To a man who had ‘attained Nirvâṇa’ there would still be time as long as he was in the enjoyment of it, that is as long as he continued in his present (and last) existence. The Sinhalese is perfectly clear.

## BOOK II. CHAPTER 3.

1. The king said : 'What is the root, Nâgasena, of past time, and what of present, and what of future time ?'

'Ignorance. By reason of Ignorance came the Confections, by reason of the Confections consciousness, by reason of consciousness name-and-form, by reason of name-and-form the six organs of sense<sup>1</sup>, by reason of them contact, by reason of contact sensation, by reason of sensation thirst, by reason of thirst craving, by reason of craving becoming, by reason of becoming birth, by reason of birth old age and death, grief, lamentation, sorrow, pain, and despair. Thus is it that the ultimate point in the past of all this time is not apparent.'

'You are ready, Nâgasena, in reply.'

2. The king said : 'You say that the ultimate point of time is not apparent. Give me an illustration of that.'

'Suppose, O king, a man were to plant in the ground a tiny seed, and that it were to come up as a shoot, and in due course grow, develope, and mature until it produced a fruit. [51] And then the man, taking a seed from that fruit, were again to plant it in the ground, and all should happen as before. Now would there be any end to this series ?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

---

<sup>1</sup> Sa/âyatanaîni, that is the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body (as the organ of touch), and mind (or, as we should say, brain).

‘Just so, O king, the ultimate point in the past of the whole of this time is not apparent.’

‘Give me a further illustration.’

‘The hen lays an egg. From the egg comes a hen. From the hen an egg. Is there any end to this series?’

‘No.’

‘Just so, O king, the ultimate point in the past of the whole of this time is not apparent.’

‘Give me a further illustration.’

Then the Elder drew a circle on the ground and asked the king: ‘Is there any end to this circle?’

‘No, it has no end.’

‘Well, that is like those circles spoken of by the Blessed One<sup>1</sup>. “By reason of the eye and of forms there arises sight<sup>2</sup>, when these three come together there is touch, by reason of touch sensation, by reason of sensation a longing (*Tanhâ*, thirst), by reason of the longing action (*Karma*), and from action eye is once more produced<sup>3</sup>.” Now is there any end to this series?’

‘No.’

---

<sup>1</sup> *Hīnañ-kumburê* applies this to the previous words (the circles of the chain of life quoted in § 1 from the *Mahāvagga* I, 1, 2), and he is followed by Hardy, p. 434. Trenckner makes it apply to the following words, giving the reference to No. 18 in the *Magghima Nikāya*, and I think he is right. Whichever way it is taken, the result is much the same.

<sup>2</sup> *Kakkhu-viññāna*. It is not clear from the terse phraseology of this passage whether this is supposed to be a subjective stage preliminary to the ‘touch’ (*phasso*), or whether it is inclusive of it. (Compare *Dhamma Saṅgani*, 589, 599, 620.) I am inclined to think it is the former. But if the latter be meant it might be rendered ‘there arises that consciousness (of existence) which is dependent upon the eye.’ See below, § 4.

<sup>3</sup> That is, another eye in another birth.

Then setting out a precisely corresponding circle of each of the other organs of sense (of the ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind<sup>1</sup>), he in each case put the same question. And the reply being always the same, he concluded :

‘Just so, O king, the ultimate point of time in the past is not apparent.’

‘You are ready, Nâgasena, in reply.’

3. The king said : ‘When you say that the ultimate point is not apparent, what do you mean by “ultimate point”?’

‘Of whatsoever time is past. It is the ultimate point of that, O king, that I speak of.’

‘But, if so, when you say that it is not apparent, do you mean to say that of everything? Is the ultimate point of everything unknown?’

‘Partly so, and partly not.’

‘Then which is so, and which not?’

‘Formerly, O king, everything in every form, everything in every mode, was ignorance. It is to us as if it were not. In reference to that the ultimate beginning is unknown. But that, which has not been, becomes; as soon as it has begun to become it dissolves away again. In reference to that the ultimate beginning is known<sup>2</sup>. [52]

‘But, reverend Sir, if that which was not, becomes, and as soon as it has begun to become passes again

<sup>1</sup> In the text the whole sentence is repeated of each.

<sup>2</sup> That is, ‘the beginning of each link in the chain—the beginning of each individuality—can be traced, but not the beginning of each chain. Each life is a link in a chain of lives, bound together by cause and effect, different, yet the same. There are an infinite number of such chains; and there is no reference in the discussion to any greater unity, or to any “ultimate point” of all the chains.’

away, then surely, being thus cut off at both ends, it must be entirely destroyed<sup>1</sup>?’

‘Nay, surely, O king, if it be thus cut off at both ends, can it not at both ends be made to grow again<sup>2</sup>?’

‘Yes, it might. But that is not my question. Could it grow again from the point at which it was cut off?’

‘Certainly.’

‘Give me an illustration.’

Then the Elder repeated the simile of the tree and the seed, and said that the Skandhas (the constituent elements of all life, organic and inorganic) were so many seeds, and the king confessed himself satisfied.

---

4. The king said: ‘Are there any Confections<sup>3</sup> which are produced?’

‘Certainly.’

‘Which are they?’

‘Where there is an eye, and also forms, there is sight<sup>4</sup>, where there is sight there is a contact through the eye, where there is contact through the eye there is a sensation, where there is sensation there is a longing<sup>5</sup>, where there is longing there is a grasping<sup>6</sup>, where there is grasping there is a becoming,

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, ‘each individuality must be separate. The supposed chain does not really exist.’

<sup>2</sup> There is an odd change of gender here. Possibly the word ‘ignorance’ has been dropped out. Trenckner says the passage is corrupt, and the Sinhalese is so involved as to be unintelligible.

<sup>3</sup> Saṅkhârâ, potentialities, possible forms, of sentient existence.

<sup>4</sup> Kakkhu-viññâṇa. See note 2 above, p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> Tanhâ, thirst.

<sup>6</sup> Upâdâna, a stretching out towards a satisfaction of the longing, and therefore a craving for life, time, in which to satisfy it.

where there is becoming there is birth, and at birth old age and death, grief, lamentation, pain, sorrow, and despair begin to be. Thus is the rise of the whole of this class of pain.—Where there is neither eye nor form there is no sight, where there is not sight there is no contact through the eye, where there is not contact there is no sensation, where there is not sensation there is no longing, where there is not longing there is no grasping, where there is not grasping there is no becoming, where there is not becoming there is no birth, and where there is not birth there is neither old age nor death nor grief, lamentation, pain, sorrow, and despair. Thus is the ending of all this class of pain.'

'Very good, Nâgasena!'

5. The king said: 'Are there any Confections (qualities) which spring into being without a gradual becoming?'

'No. They all have a gradual becoming.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Now what do you think, great king? Did this house in which you are sitting spring suddenly into being?'

[53] 'Certainly not, Sir. There is nothing here which arose in that way. Each portion of it has had its gradual becoming—these beams had their becoming in the forest, and this clay in the earth, and by the moil and toil of women and of men<sup>1</sup> was this house produced.'

---

<sup>1</sup> It is a small matter, but noteworthy, that the Buddhist texts always put the women first.



‘Just so, great king, there is no Confection which has sprung into being without a gradual becoming. It is by a process of evolution that Confections come to be!’

‘Give me a further illustration.’

‘They are like all kinds of trees and plants which, when set in the ground, grow, develope, and mature, and then yield their fruits and flowers. The trees do not spring into being without a becoming. It is by a process of evolution that they become what they are. Just so, great king, there is no Confection which has sprung into being without a gradual becoming. It is by a process of evolution that Confections come to be!’

‘Give me a further illustration.’

‘They are like the pots of various kinds which a potter might form when he has dug up the clay out of the earth. The pots do not spring into being without a becoming. It is by a process of evolution that they become what they are. Just so, great king, there is no Confection which has sprung into being without a gradual becoming. It is by a process of evolution that Confections come to be!’

‘Give me a further illustration.’

‘Suppose, O king, there were no bridge of metal on a mandolin<sup>1</sup>, no leather, no hollow space, no frame, no neck, no strings, no bow, and no human effort or exertion, would there be music?’

‘Certainly not, Sir.’

‘But if all these things were there, would not there be a sound?’

---

<sup>1</sup> *Vînâya pattam*. I don't know what this is. The *Simhalese* merely repeats the words.

‘Of course there would.’

‘Just so, great king, there is no Confection which has sprung into being without a gradual becoming. It is by a process of evolution that Confections come to be!’

‘Give me a further illustration.’

‘Suppose, O king, there were no fire-stick apparatus<sup>1</sup>, no twirling-stick<sup>1</sup>, and no cord for the twirling-stick, and no matrix<sup>1</sup>, and no burnt rag for tinder, and no human effort and exertion, could there be fire by attrition?’

‘Certainly not.’

‘But if all these conditions were present, then might not fire appear?’

‘Yes, certainly.’

[54] ‘Just so, great king, there is no Confection which has sprung into being without a gradual becoming. It is by a process of evolution that Confections come to be!’

‘Give me one more illustration.’

‘Suppose, O king, there were no burning glass, and no heat of the sun, and no dried cow-dung for tinder, could there be fire?’

‘Certainly not.’

‘But where these things are present there fire might be struck, might it not?’

‘Yes.’

‘Just so, great king, there is no Confection which

---

<sup>1</sup> *Arani*, *arani-potako*, and *uttarâra**ni*. The exact differentiation of these parts of the fire-stick apparatus is uncertain. The *Sim*-halese throws no real light on them, as it translates them respectively *ya/a liya*, ‘under wood,’ *matu liya*, ‘upper wood,’ and *uturu liya*, also ‘upper wood.’ This method of ignition was probably quite as strange to *Hinafi-kumburê* as it is to us.

has sprung into being without a gradual becoming. It is by a process of evolution that Confections come to be !'

'Give me another illustration.'

'Suppose, O king, there were no looking-glass, and no light, and no face in front of it, would there appear an image ?'

'No.'

'But given these things, there might be a reflection ?'

'Yes, Sir, there might.'

'Just so, great king, there is no Confection which has sprung into being without a gradual becoming. It is by a process of evolution that Confections come to be !'

'Very good, Nâgasena !'

6. The king said : 'Is there, Nâgasena, such a thing as the soul<sup>1</sup> ?'

'What is this, O king, the soul (Vedagu) ?'

'The living principle within<sup>2</sup> which sees forms through the eye, hears sounds through the ear, experiences tastes through the tongue, smells odours through the nose, feels touch through the body, and discerns things (conditions, "dhammâ") through the mind—just as we, sitting here in the palace, can look out of any window out of which we wish to look, the east window or the west, or the north or the south.'

The Elder replied : 'I will tell you about the five

<sup>1</sup> Vedagû, see below, III, 5, 6, p. 111, not found in this meaning in the Piṭakas.

<sup>2</sup> Abbhantare gîvo, also not found in this sense in the Piṭakas. Attâ, rendered just above 'image' or 'reflection,' is the word used in them for soul. Hînañ-kumburê renders this here by prâṇa gîwa, 'breath-soul.' See below, III, 7, 15, p. 132 ; and above, II, 4, p. 48 ; and II, 2, 6, p. 71.

doors<sup>1</sup>, great king. Listen, and give heed attentively. If the living principle within sees forms through the eye in the manner that you mention, [55] choosing its window as it likes, can it not then see forms not only through the eye, but also through each of the other five organs of sense? And in like manner can it not then as well hear sounds, and experience taste, and smell odours, and feel touch, and discern conditions through each of the other five organs of sense, besides the one you have in each case specified?’

‘No, Sir.’

‘Then these powers are not united one to another indiscriminately, the latter sense to the former organ, and so on. Now we, as we are seated here in the palace, with these windows all thrown open, and in full daylight, if we only stretch forth our heads, see all kinds of objects plainly. Can the living principle do the same when the doors of the eyes are thrown open? When the doors of the ear are thrown open, can it do so? Can it then not only hear sounds, but see sights, experience tastes, smell odours, feel touch, and discern conditions? And so with each of its windows?’

‘No, Sir.’

[56] ‘Then these powers are not united one to another indiscriminately. Now again, great king, if Dinna here were to go outside and stand in the gateway, would you be aware that he had done so?’

‘Yes, I should know it.’

‘And if the same Dinna were to come back again, and stand before you, would you be aware of his having done so?’

---

<sup>1</sup> It is odd he does not say six.

‘Yes, I should know it.’

‘Well, great king, would the living principle within discern, in like manner, if anything possessing flavour were laid upon the tongue, its sourness, or its saltiness, or its acidity, or its pungency, or its astringency, or its sweetness<sup>1</sup>?’

‘Yes, it would know it.’

‘But when the flavour had passed into the stomach would it still discern these things?’

‘Certainly not.’

‘Then these powers are not united one to the other indiscriminately. Now suppose, O king, a man were to have a hundred vessels of honey brought and poured into one trough, and then, having had another man’s mouth closed over and tied up, were to have him cast into the trough full of honey. Would he know whether that into which he had been thrown was sweet or whether it was not?’

‘No, Sir.’

‘But why not?’

‘Because the honey could not get into his mouth.’

‘Then, great king, these powers are not united one to another indiscriminately<sup>2</sup>.’

‘I am not capable of discussing with such a reasoner. Be pleased, Sir, to explain to me how the matter stands.’

Then the Elder convinced Milinda the king with discourse drawn from the Abhidhamma, saying: ‘It is by reason, O king, of the eye and of forms that sight arises, and those other conditions—contact,

<sup>1</sup> This list recurs below, II, 4, 1.

<sup>2</sup> That is: ‘Your “living principle within” cannot make use of whichever of its windows it pleases. And the simile of a man inside a house does not hold good of the soul.’ See the end of II, 3, 16.

sensation, idea, thought, abstraction, sense of vitality, and attention<sup>1</sup>—arise each simultaneously with its predecessor. And a similar succession of cause and effect arises when each of the other five organs of sense is brought into play. [57] And so herein there is no such thing as soul (Vedagu)<sup>2</sup>.

7. The king said: 'Does thought-perception<sup>3</sup> arise wherever sight arises<sup>4</sup>?'

'Yes, O king, where the one is there is the other.'

'And which of the two arises first?'

'First sight, then thought.'

'Then does the sight issue, as it were, a command to thought, saying: "Do you spring up there where I have?" or does thought issue command to sight, saying: "Where you spring up there will I."'

'It is not so, great king. There is no intercourse between the one and the other.'

'Then how is it, Sir, that thought arises wherever sight does?'

'Because of there being a sloping down, and because of there being a door, and because of there being a habit<sup>5</sup>, and because of there being an association.'

'How is that? Give me an illustration of mind arising where sight arises because of there being a sloping down.'

'Now what do you think, great king? When it rains<sup>6</sup>, where will the water go to?'

<sup>1</sup> The last four are *ketanâ*, *ekaggatâ*, *gîvitindriyam*, and *manasikâro*; and in the Sinhalese are simply repeated in their Sinhalese form.

<sup>2</sup> This conclusion is all wrong in Hardy, pp. 457, 458.

<sup>3</sup> *Mano-viññânam*.

<sup>4</sup> *Kakkhu-viññânam*.

<sup>5</sup> *Kinnattâ*, which Hînañi-kumburê renders *purudu bæwin*.

<sup>6</sup> *Deve vassante*: 'when the god rains.'

‘It will follow the slope of the ground.’

‘And if it were to rain again, where would the water go to?’

‘It would go the same way as the first water had gone.’

‘What then? Does the first water issue, as it were, command to the second, saying: “Do you go where I have?” Or does the second issue command to the first, saying: “Whithersoever you go, thither will I?”’

‘It is not so, Sir. There is no intercourse between the two. Each goes its way because of the slope of the ground.’

‘Just so, great king, [58] is it by reason of the natural slope that where sight has arisen there also does thought arise. And neither does the sight-perception issue command to the mind-perception, saying: “Where I have arisen, there do thou also spring up;” nor does the mind-perception inform the sight-perception, saying: “Where thou hast arisen, there will I also spring up.” There is no conversation, as it were, between them. All that happens, happens through natural slope.’

‘Now give me an illustration of there being a door.’

‘What do you think, great king? Suppose a king had a frontier city, and it was strongly defended with towers and bulwarks, and had only one gateway. If a man wanted to leave the city, how would he go out?’

‘By the gate, certainly.’

‘And if another man wanted to leave it, how would he go out?’

‘The same way as the first.’

‘What then? Would the first man tell the second:

"Mind you go out the same way as I do"? Or would the second tell the first: "The way you go out, I shall go out too"?"

'Certainly not, Sir. There would be no communication between them. They would go that way because that was the gate.'

'Just so, great king, with thought and sight.'

'Now give me an illustration of thought arising where sight is because of habit.'

'What do you think, great king? If one cart went ahead, which way would a second cart go?'

'The same as the first.'

'But would the first tell the second to go where it went, [59] or the second tell the first that it would go where it (the first) had gone?'

'No, Sir. There would be no communication between the two. The second would follow the first out of habit.'

'Just so, great king, with sight and thought.'

'Now give me an illustration of how thought arises, where sight has arisen, through association.'

'In the art of calculating by using the joints of the fingers as signs or marks<sup>1</sup>, in the art of arithmetic pure and simple<sup>2</sup>, in the art of estimating the probable

<sup>1</sup> Muddâ. Hīnaśi-kumburê is here a little fuller than Buddha-ghosa at vol. i, p. 95 of the Sumaṅgala. He says: yam se ceṅgili purukhi alwâ gena saññâ koṭa kiyana hasta mudra sâstraya, 'the finger-ring art, so called from seizing on the joints of the fingers, and using them as signs.'

<sup>2</sup> Gaṇanâ. Hīnaśi-kumburê says: akkhiḍra wu gaṇam sâstraya, 'the art of unbroken counting,' which is precisely Buddha-ghosa's explanation (confirming the reading we have there adopted), and probably means arithmetic without the aids involved in the last phrase. We have here in that case an interesting peep into the



yield of growing crops <sup>1</sup>, and in the art of writing, O king, the beginner is clumsy. But after a certain time with attention and practice he becomes expert. Just so is it that, where sight has arisen, thought too by association springs up.'

And in response to similar questions, the Elder declared that in the same way thought sprang up wherever there was hearing, or taste, or smell, or touch: that in each case it was subsequent to the other, but arose without communication from [80] the natural causes above set out.

8. The king said: 'Where thought (mental perception <sup>2</sup>) is, Nāgasena, is there always sensation?'

'Yes, where thought arises there is contact, and there is sensation, and there is idea, and there is conceived intention, and there is reflection, and there is investigation <sup>3</sup>.'

9. 'Reverend Sir, what is the distinguishing characteristic of contact (Phassa)?'

'Touch <sup>4</sup>, O king.'

'But give me an illustration.'

'It is as when two rams are butting together, O

---

progress of arithmetical knowledge. When our author wrote, the old way of counting on the fingers was still in vogue, but the modern system was coming into general use.

<sup>1</sup> Saṅkhā, literally 'calculation,' but which Hardy amplifies into Kshetraya vṛksha vilokaya koṭa phala pramāṇaya kiyannāwū saṃkhyā sâstraya.

<sup>2</sup> Mano-viññāṇa as all through the last section. The reader must not forget that mano is here strictly an organ of sense, on an exact level with eye, ear, tongue, &c.

<sup>3</sup> K'etanā, vitakko, and viññāro. See fuller further on, §§ 11, 13, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Phusana. So also Buddhaghosa at p. 63 of the Sumāṅgala.

king. The eye should be regarded as one of those two, the form (object) as the other, and the contact as the union of the two.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'It is as when two cymbals<sup>1</sup> are clashed together. The one is as the eye, the other as the object, and the junction of the two is like contact.'

'Very good, Nâgasena!'

10. 'Reverend Sir, what is the characteristic mark of sensation (Vedanâ)?'

'The being experienced, great king, and enjoyed<sup>2</sup>.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'It is like the case of the man<sup>3</sup> on whom the king, pleased with a service he has rendered him, should bestow an office. He while living, through that appointment, in the full possession and enjoyment of all the pleasures of sense, would think: "Formerly I did the king a service. For that the king, pleased with me, gave me this office. It is on that account that I now experience such sensations."—And it is like the case of the man [61] who having done good deeds is re-born, on the dissolution of the body after death, into some happy conditions of bliss in heaven. He, while living there in the full possession and enjoyment of all the pleasures of sense, would think: "Formerly I must have done good deeds. It is on that account that I now experience such sensations." Thus is it, great king, that the being experienced and enjoyed is the characteristic mark of sensation.'

'Very good, Nâgasena!'

<sup>1</sup> Sammâ, compare Theri Gâthâ, 893, 911.

<sup>2</sup> Buddhaghosa, loc. cit., only gives the first of these.

<sup>3</sup> See for a similar illustration above, II, 2, 7, p. 76.

11. 'What is the distinguishing characteristic, Nāgasena, of idea (*Saññā*)?'

'Recognition, O king<sup>1</sup>. And what does he recognise?—blueness and yellowness and redness and whiteness and brownness.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'It is like the king's treasurer, O king, who when he sees, on entering the treasure, objects the property of the king of all those colours, recognises (that they have such). Thus it is, great king, that recognition is the mark of idea.'

'Very good, Nāgasena!'

'What is the distinguishing characteristic, Nāgasena, of the conceived purpose (*Ketanā*)?'

'The being conceived, O king, and the being prepared<sup>2</sup>.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'It is like the case of a man, O king, who should prepare poison, and both drink of it himself, and give of it to others to drink. He himself would suffer pain, and so would they. In the same way some individual, having thought out with intention some evil deed, on the dissolution of the body after death, would be reborn into some unhappy state of woe in purgatory, and so also would those who followed his advice.—And it is like the case of a

<sup>1</sup> So also Buddhaghosa, *Sumaṅgala*, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Buddhaghosa, *loc. cit.*, gives no mark of *Ketanā*, but he gives both it and 'the being prepared' as the marks of the Confections. It is not clear from the *Milinda* alone how to render the term *Ketanā*, but I follow *Anguttara* III, 77 (where it is placed on a level with aspiration), and *Dhamma Saṅgani* 5 (where it is said to be born of the contact of mind, perception, and exertion).

man, O king, who should prepare a mixture of ghee, butter, oil, honey and molasses, and should both drink thereof himself and give of it to others to drink. He himself would have pleasure, and so would they. [62] In the same way some individual, having thought out with intention some good deed, will be reborn, on the dissolution of the body after death, into some happy state of bliss in heaven, and so also would those who follow his advice. Thus is it, great king, that the being conceived, and the being prepared, are marks of the conceived purpose.'

'Very good, Nāgasena!'

---

12. 'What, Nāgasena, is the distinguishing characteristic of perception (*Viññāna*)?'

'Recognition<sup>1</sup>, great king.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'It is like the case of the guardian of a city who, when seated at the cross roads in the middle of the city, could see a man coming from the East, or the South, or the West, or the North. In the same way, O king, he knows an object which he sees with his eye, or a sound which he hears with his ear, or an odour which he smells by his nose, or a taste which he experiences with his tongue, or a touchable thing which he touches with his body, or a quality that he recognises by his mind. Thus is it, great king, that knowing is the mark of perception.'

'Very good, Nāgasena!'

---

13. 'What is the distinguishing characteristic, Nāgasena, of reflection (*Vitakka*).'

---

<sup>1</sup> *Vigānana*. So also Buddhaghosa, loc. cit., and below, III, 7, 15, p. 131.

‘The effecting of an aim<sup>1</sup>.’

‘Give me an illustration.’

‘It is like the case of a carpenter, great king, who fixes in a joint a well-fashioned piece of wood. Thus is it that the effecting of an aim is the mark of reflection.’

‘Very good, Nâgasena!’

---

14. ‘What is the distinguishing characteristic, Nâgasena, of investigation (Viññâra)?’

‘Threshing out again and again<sup>2</sup>.’

‘Give me an illustration.’

‘It is like the case of the copper vessel, which, when it is being beaten into shape [63], makes a sound again and again as it gradually gathers shape<sup>3</sup>. The beating into shape is to be regarded as reflection, and the sounding again and again as investigation. Thus is it, great king, that threshing out again and again is the mark of investigation.’

‘Very good, Nâgasena!’

---

Here ends the Third Chapter<sup>4</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> Appanâ, which Hînañi-kumburê renders pihi/ana. Buddhaghosa, p. 63, gives abhiniropana as its mark, which comes to much the same thing.

<sup>2</sup> Anumaggana. So also Buddhaghosa, loc. cit. p. 63. The word is not in Childers, but see Morris in the Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1886, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Anuravati anusandahati. Not in Childers. Hînañi-kumburê says pasuwa anurâwanâ kere da anuwa pihi/â da.

<sup>4</sup> The following two sections form an appendix to this chapter corresponding to that formed by the last three sections of Book III, Chapter 7. The numbering of the sections is therefore carried on in both cases.

## BOOK II. CHAPTER 3.

15. The king said : ' When those conditions (whose marks you have just specified) have run together, is it possible, by bending them apart one to one side and one to the other<sup>1</sup>, to make the distinction between them clear, so that one can say : " This is contact, and this sensation, and this idea, and this intention, and this perception, and this reflection, and this investigation<sup>2</sup> " ? ' '

' No : that cannot be done.'

' Give me an illustration.'

' Suppose, O king, the cook in the royal household were to make a syrup or a sauce, and were to put into it curds, and salt, and ginger, and cummin seed<sup>3</sup>, and pepper, and other ingredients. And suppose the king were to say to him : " Pick out for me the flavour of the curds, and of the salt, and of the ginger, and of the cummin seed, and of the pepper, and of all the things you have put into it." Now would it be possible, great king, separating off one from another those flavours that had thus run together, to pick out each one, so that one could say : " Here is the sourness, and here the saltiness, and here the pungency, and here the acidity, and here the astringency, and here the sweetness<sup>4</sup> " ? ' '

<sup>1</sup> Vinibbhugitvâ vinibbhugitvâ. This question is identical with the one asked of the Buddha at *Magghima Nikâya* 43, p. 293. Compare also p. 233 and *Tela Kaṭṭha Gāthā* 59.

<sup>2</sup> This list differs from that in II, 3, 8, by the addition of *viññāṇa*.

<sup>3</sup> *Gīraka*. Compare *Gātaka* I, 244; II, 181, 363. *Hīnaśikumburē* translates it by *duru*, and Hardy by 'onions' (p. 439).

<sup>4</sup> This is the same list as is found above, II, 3, 6; and below, III, 4, 2, and the items are not intended to correspond with the condiments in the list above.

‘No, that would not be possible [64]. But each flavour would nevertheless be distinctly present by its characteristic sign.’

‘And just so, great king, with respect to those conditions we were discussing.’

‘Very good, Nâgasena !’

16. The Elder said: ‘Is salt, O king, recognisable by the eye ?’

‘Yes, Sir, it is.’

‘But be careful, O king.’

‘Well then, Sir, is it perceptible by the tongue ?’

‘Yes, that is right.’

‘But, Sir, is it only by the tongue that every kind of salt is distinguished ?’

‘Yes, every kind.’

‘If that be so, Sir, why do bullocks bring whole cart-loads of it ? Is it not salt and nothing else that ought to be so brought ?’

‘It is impossible to bring salt by itself. But all these conditions<sup>1</sup> have run together into one, and produced the distinctive thing called salt<sup>2</sup>. (For instance) : salt is heavy, too. But is it possible, O king, to weigh salt ?’

<sup>1</sup> Not saltiness only, but white colour, &c. &c.

<sup>2</sup> He means the king to draw the conclusion that that distinct thing is only recognisable by the tongue ; so the senses are not interchangeable. In other words it is true that salt seems to be recognised by the sight, as when people load it into carts they do not stop to taste it. But what they see is not salt, what they weigh is not salt, it is whiteness and weight. And the fact of its being salt is an inference they draw. So, great king, your simile of the soul being inside the body, and using the five senses, as a man inside a house uses windows, does not hold good. See the conclusion above of II, 3, 6, p. 88.

---

‘Certainly, Sir.’

‘Nay, great king, it is not the salt you weigh, it is the weight.’

‘You are ready, Nâgasena, in argument.’

---

Here ends the questioning of Nâgasena by Milinda<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> This is again most odd. One would expect, ‘Here ends the questioning as to characteristic signs.’ See the note at the end of last chapter.

---



## BOOK III.

## VIMATI-KKhedana-pañho.

## THE REMOVAL OF DIFFICULTIES.

CHAPTER 4<sup>1</sup>.

1. [65] The king said: 'Are the five *Āyatanas*, *Nāgasena*, (eye, ear, nose, tongue, and body,) produced by various actions, or by one action?' (that is, the result of various *Karmas*, or of one *Karma*.)

'By various actions, not by one.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Now, what do you think, O king? If I were to sow in one field five kinds of seed, would the produce of those various seeds be of different kinds?'

'Yes, certainly.'

'Well, just so with respect to the production of *Āyatanas*.'

'Very good, *Nāgasena* <sup>2</sup>!'

2. The king said: 'Why is it, *Nāgasena*, that all men are not alike, but some are short-lived and some long-lived, some sickly and some healthy, some ugly and some beautiful, some without influence and some of great power, some poor and some wealthy, some low born and some high born, some stupid and some wise?'

<sup>1</sup> The chapters go straight on because Books II and III are really only parts of one Book. See above, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning here is not easy to follow, as the word *Āyatana* is used either for the organs of sense, or for the objects of sense; and there is nothing in the context to show which is meant. Probably the idea is that good sight, hearing, &c. in one birth are each the result of a separate *Karma* in the last birth. But I am by no means sure of this, and the *Simhalese* (p. 76) is just as ambiguous as the *Pāli*.

The Elder replied : 'Why is it that all vegetables are not alike, but some sour, and some salt, and some pungent, and some acid, and some astringent, and some sweet ?'

'I fancy, Sir, it is because they come from different kinds of seeds.'

'And just so, great king, are the differences you have mentioned among men to be explained. For it has been said by the Blessed One : "Beings, O brahmin, have each their own Karma, are inheritors of Karma, belong to the tribe of their Karma, are relatives by Karma, have each their Karma as their protecting overlord. It is Karma that divides them up into low and high and the like divisions<sup>1</sup>."

'Very good, Nâgasena !'

3. The king said : 'You told me, Nâgasena, that your renunciation was to the end that this sorrow might perish away, and no further sorrow might spring up<sup>2</sup>.'

[66] 'Yes, that is so.'

'But is that renunciation brought about by previous effort, or to be striven after now, in this present time ?'

The Elder replied : 'Effort is now concerned with what still remains to be done, former effort has accomplished what it had to do.'

'Give me an illustration<sup>3</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Trenckner points out that this quotation is from the *Magghima*, No. 135. The doctrine is laid down frequently elsewhere also in the *Piṭakas*. See, for instance, *Āṅguttara* IV, 197 (pp. 202-203 of Dr. Morris's edition for the Pāli Text Society).

<sup>2</sup> Above, II, 1, 5, p. 50, and compare I, 38.

<sup>3</sup> These three illustrations recur (nearly) below, III, 7, 3, pp. 125-126.

‘ Now what do you think, O king ? Is it when you feel thirst that you would set to work to have a well or an artificial lake dug out, with the intention of getting some water to drink ? ’

‘ Certainly not, Sir. ’

‘ Just so, great king, is effort concerned now with what still remains to be done, former effort has accomplished what it had to do. ’

‘ Give me a further illustration. ’

‘ Now what do you think, O king ? Is it when you feel hungry that you set to work to have fields ploughed and seed planted and crops reaped with the intention of getting some food to eat ? ’

‘ Certainly not, Sir. ’

‘ Just so, great king, is effort concerned now with what still remains to be done, former effort has accomplished what it had to do. ’

‘ Give me a further illustration. ’

‘ Now what do you think, O king ? Is it when the battle is set in array against you that you set to work to have a moat dug, and a rampart put up, and a watch tower built, and a stronghold formed, and stores of food collected ? Is it then that you would have yourself taught the management of elephants, or horsemanship, or the use of the chariot and the bow, or the art of fencing ? ’

‘ Certainly not, Sir. ’

‘ Just so, great king, is effort concerned now with what still remains to be done, former effort has accomplished what it had to do. For it has been thus said, O king, by the Blessed One :

“ Betimes let each wise man work out

That which he sees to be his weal !

Not with the carter’s mode of thought, but firm

Let him, with resolution, step right out.  
 As a carter who has left the smooth high road,  
 And turned to byways rough, broods ill at ease <sup>1</sup>—  
 (Like him who hazards all at dice, and fails)—  
 So the weak mind who still neglects the good,  
 And follows after evil, grieves at heart,  
 When fallen into the power of death, as he,  
 The ruined gamester, in his hour of need <sup>2</sup>.”  
 [67] ‘Very good, Nāgasena!’

4. The king said: ‘You (Buddhists<sup>3</sup>) say thus: “The fire of purgatory is very much more fierce than an ordinary fire. A small stone cast into an ordinary fire may smoke for a day without being destroyed; but a rock as big as an upper chamber cast into the furnace of purgatory would be that moment destroyed.” That is a statement I cannot believe. Now, on the other hand you say thus: “Whatsoever beings are there reborn, though they

<sup>1</sup> *Ghâyati*. It is an odd coincidence that this word, which means either to burn or to meditate, according to the root from which it is derived, can be rendered here either ‘burn’ or ‘brood’ in English. In fact it is the second, not the first, root that is here intended, as is plain from such passages as *Gâtaka* III, 354, where the compound *pagghâyati* means ‘to brood over a thing.’

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from the *Samyutta Nikâya* II, 3, 2 (p. 57 in M. Feer’s edition, published by the Pâli Text Society). The readings there differ slightly from those of our text here, and the verses are put into the mouth of Khema, the god, instead of being ascribed to the Buddha. *Hīnaśi-kumburê* (p. 79) agrees with M. Léon Feer in reading *mando* for *mano* in the last line; and I have followed them in my translation. There are several stanzas in the *Gâtaka* book of carters lost in the desert, but there is nothing to identify any one of them with the story referred to.

<sup>3</sup> ‘You’ in the plural: that is, ‘you Bhikkhus.’ So also above, pp. 30, 50.

burn for hundreds of thousands of years in purgatory, yet are they not destroyed." That too is a statement I don't believe.'

The Elder said: 'Now what do you think, O king? Do not the females of sharks<sup>1</sup> and crocodiles and tortoises and peacocks and pigeons eat hard bits of stone and gravel?'

'Yes, Sir. They do.'

'What then? Are these hard things, when they have got into the stomach, into the interior of the abdomen, destroyed?'

'Yes, they are destroyed.'

'And the embryo that may be inside the same animals,—is that too destroyed?'

'Certainly not.'

'But why not.'

'I suppose, Sir, it escapes destruction by the influence of Karma.'

'Just so, great king, it is through the influence of Karma that beings, though they have been for thousands of years in purgatory, are not destroyed. If they are reborn there, there do they grow up, and there do they die. For this, O king, has been declared by the Blessed One: "He does not die until that evil Karma is exhausted<sup>2</sup>."'

'Give me a further illustration.'

---

<sup>1</sup> It may be noticed that the particular feminine forms chosen are in each case unusual, being in *inî* instead of the simple *f*. The first animal, the *Makariniî*, is said by Childers to be a mythical animal, but it is clear from Buddhaghosa on *Kullavagga* V, 1, 4, that an ordinary animal is meant, and that is so I think here, though the translation 'shark' is conjectural.

<sup>2</sup> From *Anguttara* III, 35, 4 (p. 141 of Dr. Morris's edition for the Pâli Text Society).

‘Now what do you think, O king? Do not the females of lions and tigers and panthers and dogs eat hard bits of bone and flesh?’

‘Yes, they eat such things.’

‘What then? are such hard things, [68] when they have got into the stomach, into the interior of the abdomen, destroyed?’

‘Yes, they are destroyed.’

‘And the embryo that may be inside the same animals,—is that too destroyed?’

‘Certainly not.’

‘But why not?’

‘I suppose, Sir, it escapes destruction by the influence of Karma.’

‘Just so, great king, it is by the influence of Karma that beings in purgatory, though they burn for thousands of years, are not destroyed.’

‘Give me a further illustration.’

‘Now what do you think, O king? Do not the tender women—wives of the Yonakas, and nobles, and brahmins, and householders—eat hard cakes and meat?’

‘Yes, they eat such hard things.’

‘And when those hard things have got into the stomach, into the interior of the abdomen, are not they destroyed?’

‘Yes, they are.’

‘But the children in their womb,—are they destroyed?’

‘Certainly not.’

‘And why not?’

‘I suppose, Sir, they escape destruction by the influence of Karma?’

‘Just so, great king, it is through the influence

of Karma that beings in purgatory, though they burn for thousands of years, yet are they not destroyed. If they are reborn there, there do they grow up, and there do they die. For this, O king, has been declared by the Blessed One : " He does not die until that evil Karma is exhausted." "

‘ Very good, Nâgasena ! ’

---

5. The king said : ‘ Venerable Nâgasena, your people say that the world rests on water, the water on air, the air on space<sup>1</sup>. This saying also I cannot believe.’

Then the Elder brought water in a regulation water-pot<sup>2</sup>, and convinced king Milinda, saying : ‘ As this water is supported by the atmosphere, so is that water supported by air.’

‘ Very good, Nâgasena ! ’

---

6. The king said : ‘ Is cessation Nirvâṇa<sup>3</sup>? ’

‘ Yes, your Majesty’ [69].

‘ How is that, Nâgasena ? ’

‘ All foolish individuals, O king, take pleasure in

---

<sup>1</sup> This is not a distinctively Buddhist belief. It was commonly held at the time by other teachers. Compare ‘ Book of the Great Decease,’ III, 13 (in ‘ Buddhist Suttas,’ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, p. 45).

<sup>2</sup> Dhamma-karakena. The passages show that this was a pot so made, that no water could pass from it except through a filtering medium. When not being actually used the water was no doubt kept at a certain height in it by the pressure of the atmosphere. I do not know of any specimen preserved in our modern museums or figured on ancient bas-reliefs, and the exact shape is unknown. It must be different from the one represented in plate xlvi of Cunningham’s ‘ Bhilsa Tope.’ See *Kullavagga* V, 13, 1 (note); VI, 21, 3; XII, 2, 1; *Mahāvamsa*, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> Nirodho nibbānan ti.

the senses and in the objects of sense, find delight in them, continue to cleave to them<sup>1</sup>. Hence are they carried down by that flood (of human passions), they are not set free from birth, old age, and death, from grief, lamentation, pain, sorrow, and despair,—they are not set free, I say, from suffering. But the wise, O king, the disciple of the noble ones, neither takes pleasure in those things, nor finds delight in them, nor continues cleaving to them. And inasmuch as he does not, in him craving<sup>2</sup> ceases, and by the cessation of craving grasping<sup>2</sup> ceases, and by the cessation of grasping becoming<sup>2</sup> ceases, and when becoming has ceased birth ceases, and with its cessation birth, old age, and death, grief, lamentation, pain, sorrow, and despair cease to exist. Thus is the cessation brought about the end of all that aggregation of pain. Thus is it that cessation is Nirvâna.'

'Very good, Nâgasena !'

7. The king said : 'Venerable Nâgasena, do all men receive Nirvâna ?'

'Not all, O king. But he who walks righteously, who admits those conditions which ought to be admitted, perceives clearly those conditions which ought to be clearly perceived, abandons those conditions which ought to be abandoned, practises himself in those conditions which ought to be practised, realises those conditions which ought to be realised—he receives Nirvâna.'

'Very good, Nâgasena !'

<sup>1</sup> *Agghosâya tittḥanti*. Compare *Ânguttara* II, 4, 6, and *Therî Gâthâ*, 794.

<sup>2</sup> *Taṇhâ*, *Upâdâna*, *Bhava*.



8. The king said : ' Venerable Nâgasena, does he who does not receive Nirvâna know how happy a state Nirvâna is <sup>1</sup> ?'

' Yes, he knows it.'

' But how can he know that without his receiving Nirvâna ?'

' Now what do you think, O king ? Do those whose hands and feet have not been cut off know how sad a thing it is to have them cut off ?'

' Yes, Sir, that they know.'

' But how do they know it ?'

' Well, by hearing the sound of the lamentation of those whose hands and feet have been cut off, they know it.'

[70] ' Just so, great king, it is by hearing the glad words of those who have seen Nirvâna, that they who have not received it know how happy a state it is.'

' Very good, Nâgasena !'

---

Here ends the Fourth Chapter.

---

<sup>1</sup> The opposite point (whether he who has Nirvâna, knows that he has it) is discussed above, II, 2.

## BOOK III. CHAPTER 5.

1. The king said: 'Have you, Nāgasena, seen the Buddha?'

'No, Sire.'

'Then have your teachers seen the Buddha?'

'No, Sire.'

'Then, venerable Nāgasena, there is no Buddha<sup>1</sup>!'

'But, great king, have you seen the river Ūhā in the Himālaya mountains?'

'No, Sir.'

'Or has your father seen it?'

'No, Sir.'

'Then, your Majesty, is there therefore no such river?'

'It is there. Though neither I nor my father has seen it, it is nevertheless there.'

'Just so, great king, though neither I nor my teachers have seen the Blessed One, nevertheless there was such a person.'

'Very good, Nāgasena!'

2. The king said: 'Is the Buddha, Nāgasena, pre-eminent?'

'Yes, he is incomparable.'

'But how do you know of one you have never seen that he is pre-eminent.'

'Now what do you think, O king? They who have never seen the ocean would they know con-

---

<sup>1</sup> This dialogue is so far identical with VI, 1, 1. It is a kind of parody on Gotama's own argument about the Brahmans and Brahma ('Have they seen God,' &c.) in the *Tevigga Sutta* I, 12-15, translated in my 'Buddhist Suttas,' pp. 172-174.

cerning it: "Deep, unmeasurable, unfathomable is the mighty ocean. Into it do the five great rivers flow—the Ganges, the Jumna, the Akiravati, the Sarabhû, and the Maht—and yet is there in it no appearance of being more empty or more full!"?

'Yes, they would know that.'

'Just so, great king, when I think of the mighty disciples who have passed away then do I know that the Buddha is incomparable.' [71]

'Very good, Nâgasena!'

3. The king said: 'Is it possible, Nâgasena, for others to know how incomparable the Buddha is?'

'Yes, they may know it.'

'But how can they?'

'Long, long ago, O king, there was a master of writing, by name Tissa the Elder, and many are the years gone by since he has died. How can people know of him?'

'By his writing, Sir.'

'Just so, great king, whosoever sees what the Truth<sup>1</sup> is, he sees what the Blessed One was, for the Truth was preached by the Blessed One.'

'Very good, Nâgasena!'

4. The king said: 'Have you, Nâgasena, seen what the Truth is?'

'Have not we disciples, O king, to conduct ourselves our lives long as under the eye of the Buddha, and under his command<sup>2</sup>?'

'Very good, Nâgasena!'

<sup>1</sup> Dhammam, here nearly=Buddhism. See below, III, 5, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Trenckner thinks there is a lacuna here; and Hīnaś-kumburê's version perhaps supports this. He renders the passage, 'How can a man use a path he does not know? And have not we

5. The king said : 'Where there is no transmigration, Nâgasena, can there be rebirth ?'

'Yes, there can.'

'But how can that be ? Give me an illustration.'

'Suppose a man, O king, were to light a lamp from another lamp, can it be said that the one transmigrates from, or to, the other ?'

'Certainly not.'

'Just so, great king, is rebirth without transmigration.'

'Give me a further illustration.'

'Do you recollect, great king, having learnt, when you were a boy, some verse or other from your teacher ?'

'Yes, I recollect that.'

'Well then, did that verse transmigrate from your teacher ?'

'Certainly not.'

'Just so, great king, is rebirth without transmigration.'

'Very good, Nâgasena !'

6. The king said : 'Is there such a thing, Nâgasena, as the soul<sup>1</sup> ?'

'In the highest sense, O king, there is no such thing<sup>2</sup>.'

our lives long to conduct ourselves according to the Vinaya (the rules of the Order), which the Buddha preached, and which are called the eye of the Buddha, and according to the *Sikkhâpada* (ethics) which he laid down, and which are called his command ?' But there are other passages, no less amplified in the *Siṃhalese*, where there is evidently no lacuna in the Pâli ; and the passage may well have been meant as a kind of riddle, to which the *Siṃhalese* supplies the solution.

<sup>1</sup> Vedagû. See above, II, 3, 6, p. 86 (note).

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Trenckner thinks there is a lacuna here. The *Siṃhalese* follows the Pâli word for word.

‘Very good, Nâgasena!’

7. [72] The king said: ‘Is there any being, Nâgasena, who transmigrates from this body to another?’

‘No, there is not.’

‘But if so, would it not get free from its evil deeds.’

‘Yes, if it were not reborn; but if it were, no<sup>1</sup>.’

‘Give me an illustration.’

‘Suppose, O king, a man were to steal another man’s mangoes, would the thief deserve punishment?’

‘Yes.’

‘But he would not have stolen the mangoes the other set in the ground. Why would he deserve punishment?’

‘Because those he stole were the result of those that were planted.’

‘Just so, great king, this name-and-form commits deeds, either pure or impure, and by that Karma another name-and-form is reborn. And therefore is it not set free from its evil deeds?’

‘Very good, Nâgasena!’

8. The king said: ‘When deeds are committed, Nâgasena, by one name-and-form, what becomes of those deeds?’

‘The deeds would follow it, O king, like a shadow that never leaves it<sup>2</sup>.’

‘Can any one point out those deeds, saying: “Here are those deeds, or there”?’

‘No.’

<sup>1</sup> This is an exact repetition of what we had above, II, 2, 6.

<sup>2</sup> These last words are a quotation of those that recur at Samyutta III, 2, 10, 10, and Dhammapada, verse 2.

‘Give me an illustration.’

‘Now what do you think, O king? Can any one point out the fruits which a tree has not yet produced, saying: “Here they are, or there”?’

‘Certainly not, Sir.’

‘Just so, great king, so long as the continuity of life is not cut off, it is impossible to point out the deeds that are done.’

‘Very good, Nâgasena!’

9. [73] The king said: ‘Does he, Nâgasena, who is about to be reborn know that he will be born?’

‘Yes, he knows it, O king.’

‘Give me an illustration.’

‘Suppose a farmer, O king, a householder, were to put seed in the ground, and it were to rain well, would he know that a crop would be produced.’

‘Yes, he would know that.’

‘Just so, great king, does he who is about to be reborn know<sup>1</sup> that he will be born.’

‘Very good, Nâgasena<sup>2</sup>!’

10. The king said: ‘Is there such a person as the Buddha, Nâgasena?’

‘Yes.’

‘Can he then, Nâgasena, be pointed out as being here or there?’

‘The Blessed One, O king, has passed away by that kind of passing away in which nothing remains which could tend to the formation of another indi-

<sup>1</sup> That is before he is born.

<sup>2</sup> This is all very parallel to II, 2, 2.

vidual<sup>1</sup>. It is not possible to point out the Blessed One as being here or there.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Now what do you think, O king? When there is a great body of fire blazing, is it possible to point out any one flame that has gone out, that it is here or there?'

'No, Sir. That flame has ceased, it has vanished.'

'Just so, great king, has the Blessed One passed away by that kind of passing away in which no root remains for the formation of another individual. The Blessed One has come to an end, and it cannot be pointed out of him, that he is here or there. But in the body of his doctrine he can, O king, be pointed out. For the doctrine<sup>2</sup> was preached by the Blessed One?'

'Very good, Nâgasena!'

---

Here ends the Fifth Chapter.

---

<sup>1</sup> Anupâdisesâya nibbânadhâtuyâ.

<sup>2</sup> Dhamma. See above, III, 5, 3.

## BOOK III. CHAPTER 6.

1. The king said: 'Is the body, Nâgasena, dear to you recluses?'

'No, they love not the body.'

'Then why do you nourish it and lavish attention upon it?'

'In all the times and places, O king, that you have gone down to battle, did you never get wounded by an arrow?'

'Yes, that has happened to me.'

'In such cases, O king, [74] is not the wound anointed with salve, and smeared with oil, and bound up in a bandage.'

'Yes, such things are done to it.'

'What then? Is the wound dear to you that you treat it so tenderly, and lavish such attention upon it?'

'No, it is not dear to me in spite of all that, which is only done that the flesh may grow again.'

'Just so, great king, with the recluses and the body. Without cleaving to it do they bear about the body for the sake of righteousness of life. The body, O king, has been declared by the Blessed One to be like a wound. And therefore merely as a sore, and without cleaving to it, do the recluses bear about the body. For it has been said by the Blessed One:

"Covered with clammy skin, an impure thing and foul, Nine-apertured, it oozes, like a sore<sup>1</sup>."

'Well answered, Nâgasena!'

---

<sup>1</sup> I have not been able to trace this couplet. On the sentiment compare the eloquent words of the young wife at vol. i, p. 200 of my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' and Sutta Nipâta I, 11.



2. The king said: 'Did the Buddha, Nâgasena, the omniscient one, foresee all things?'

'Yes. The Blessed One was not only omniscient. He foresaw all things.'

'Then why was it that he was in the habit only from time to time, and as occasion arose, of laying down rules for the members of the Order?'

'Is there any physician, O king, who knows all the medicinal drugs to be found on the earth?'

'Yes, there may be such a man.'

'Well, O king, does he give his decoctions to the patient to drink at a time when illness has already set in, or before that?'

'When the malady has arisen.'

'Just so, great king, the Blessed One, though he was omniscient and foresaw all things, laid down no rule at an unseasonable time, but only when need arose did he establish a regulation which his disciples were not to transgress as long as they lived.'

'Well answered, Nâgasena!'

3. [75] The king said: 'Is it true, Nâgasena, that the Buddha was endowed with the thirty-two bodily marks of a great man, and graced with the eighty subsidiary characteristics; that he was golden in colour with a skin like gold, and that there spread around him a glorious halo of a fathom's length?'

'Such, O king, was the Blessed One.'

'But were his parents like that?'

'No, they were not.'

'In that case you must say that he was born so. But surely a son is either like his mother, or those on

<sup>1</sup> This is how Hīnaī-kumburê understands the passage.

the mother's side, or he is like his father, or those on the father's side !'

The Elder replied : ' Is there such a thing, O king, as a lotus flower with a hundred petals ?'

' Yes, there is.'

' Where does it grow up ?'

' It is produced in mud, and in water it comes to perfection <sup>1</sup>.'

' But does the lotus resemble the mud of the lake, whence it springs up, either in colour, or in smell, or in taste ?'

' Certainly not.'

' Then does it resemble the water ?'

' Nor that either.'

' Just so, great king, is it that the Blessed One had the bodily signs and marks you have mentioned, though his parents had them not.'

' Well answered, Nâgasena !'

4. The king said : ' Was the Buddha, Nâgasena, pure in conduct (was he a Brahma-kârin) ?'

' Yes, the Blessed One was pure.'

' Then, Nâgasena, it follows that he was a follower of Brahmâ <sup>2</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> Âsîyati. See Dr. Morris in the ' Journal of the Pâli Text Society,' 1884, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> There is an untranslatable play here upon the name of the god, which is used in its sense of ' pure, best,' in the expression ' pure in conduct.' The first question really amounts to : Was the Buddha's conduct ' Brahma,' that is, ' best,' which has come to have the meaning ' pure' for the same reason that our expression ' a moral man' has often that particular connotation ? It is quite true that the etymological meaning of the word is neither ' best' nor ' pure'; but when our author wrote the secondary sense had completely, in Pâli, driven out the etymological sense.

‘Have you a state elephant, O king?’

‘Certainly.’ [76]

‘Well now, does that elephant ever trumpet (literally “cry the heron’s cry”)?’

‘Oh, yes.’

‘But is he, then, on that account a follower of the herons?’

‘Of course not.’

‘Now tell me, great king, has Brahmâ wisdom (Buddhi), or has he not?’

‘He is a being with wisdom.’

‘Then (on your argument) he is surely a follower of Buddha<sup>2</sup>.’

‘Well answered, Nâgasena!’

5. The king said: ‘Is ordination<sup>3</sup> a good thing?’

‘Yes, a good thing and a beautiful.’

‘But did the Buddha obtain it, or not?’

‘Great king, when the Blessed One attained omniscience at the foot of the tree of Knowledge, that was to him an ordination. There was no conferring of ordination upon him at the hands of others—in the way that the Blessed One laid down regulations for his disciples, never to be transgressed by them their lives long<sup>4</sup>!’

‘Very true, Nâgasena!’

<sup>1</sup> This technical term for an elephant’s trumpeting is not infrequent. See, for instance, *Gâtaka* I, 50.

<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact Brahmâ, the nearest approach in the Indian thought of that time to our idea of God, is always represented, in Buddhism, as a good Buddhist. See, for instance, ‘*Buddhist Suttas*,’ p. 116, and my note at p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> Upasampadâ. Admission to the higher grade in the Order.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Trenckner again suspects something dropped out in this reply. But the connection of ideas seems to me quite sufficient.

6. The king said: 'To which of these two, Nâgasena,—the man who weeps at the death of his mother, and the man who weeps out of love for the Truth (Dhamma),—are his tears a cure?'

'The tears of the one, O king, are stained and hot with the three fires of passion. The tears of the other are stainless and cool. Now there is cure in coolness and calm, but in heat and passion there can be no cure<sup>1</sup>.'

'Very good, Nâgasena!'

7. The king said: 'What is the distinction, Nâgasena, between him who is full of passion, and him who is void of passion?'

'The one is overpowered by craving, O king, and the other not.'

'But what does that mean?'

'The one is in want, O king, and the other not.'

'I look at it, Sir, in this way. He who has passion and he who has not—both of them alike—desire what is good to eat, either hard or soft. And neither of them desires what is wrong.'

'The lustful man, O king, in eating his food enjoys both the taste and the lust that arises from taste, [77] but the man free from lusts experiences the taste only, and not the lust arising therefrom.'

'Well answered, Nâgasena!'

---

The *Sinhalese* follows the Pâli, but that of course only shows that the text before the translator was here the same as in Mr. Trenckner's edition.

<sup>1</sup> The point of this lies in the allusion to the coolness and calm of Nirvâna, or Arahatsip, which is the dying out of the three fires of lust, ill-will, and delusion. The word used for coolness, Sitala, is one of the many epithets of Arahatsip.

8. The king said : ' Venerable Nâgasena, where does wisdom dwell ?'

' Nowhere, O king.'

' Then, Sir, there is no such thing as wisdom.'

' Where does the wind dwell, O king ?'

' Not anywhere, Sir.'

' So there is no such thing as wind.'

' Well answered, Nâgasena !'

9. The king said : ' When you speak of transmigration<sup>1</sup>, Nâgasena, what does that mean ?'

' A being born here, O king, dies here. Having died here, it springs up elsewhere. Having been born there, there it dies. Having died there, it springs up elsewhere. That is what is meant by transmigration.'

' Give me an illustration.'

' It is like the case of a man who, after eating a mango, should set the seed in the ground. From that a great tree would be produced and give fruit. And there would be no end to the succession, in that way, of mango trees.'

' Very good, Nâgasena !'

10. The king said : ' By what, Nâgasena, does one recollect what is past and done long ago ?'

' By memory.'

' But is it not by the mind<sup>2</sup>, not by the memory<sup>2</sup>, that we recollect ?'

' Do you recollect any business, O king, that you have done and then forgotten ?'

' Yes.'

' What then ? Were you then without a mind ?'

<sup>1</sup> *Samsâra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Kittena*, no *satiyâ*.

‘No. But my memory failed me.’

‘Then why do you say that it is by the mind, not by the memory, that we recollect?’

‘Very good, Nâgasena!’

11. The king said: ‘Does memory, Nâgasena, always arise subjectively, [78] or is it stirred up by suggestion from outside<sup>1</sup>?’

‘Both the one and the other.’

‘But does not that amount to all memory being subjective in origin, and never artificial?’

‘If, O king, there were no artificial (imparted) memory, then artisans would have no need of practice, or art, or schooling, and teachers would be useless. But the contrary is the case.’

‘Very good, Nâgasena!’

Here ends the Sixth Chapter.

<sup>1</sup> I follow Hîna/i-kumburê’s interpretation of the difficult words in the text, which Mr. Trenckner says is corrupt. Ka/umika is ‘artificial,’ like the Sanskrit *krîtrima*. It has only been found as yet in our author.

## BOOK III. CHAPTER 7.

1. The king said : ' In how many ways, Nâgasena, does memory spring up ? '

' In sixteen ways, O king. That is to say : by personal experience <sup>1</sup>, as when the venerable Ananda, or the devoted woman Khugguttarâ, or any others who had that power, called to mind their previous births—[79] or by outward aid <sup>2</sup>, as when others continue to remind one who is by nature forgetful—or by the impression made by the greatness of some occasion <sup>3</sup>, as kings remember their coronation day, or as we remember the day of our conversion—by the impression made by joy <sup>4</sup>, as when one remembers that which gave him pleasure—or by the impression made by sorrow <sup>5</sup>, as when one remembers that which pained him—or from similarity of appearance <sup>6</sup>, as on seeing one like them we call to mind the mother or father or sister or brother, or on seeing a camel or an ox or an ass we call to mind others like them—or by difference of appearance <sup>7</sup>, as when we remember that such and such a colour, sound, smell, taste, or touch belong to such and such a thing—or by the knowledge of speech <sup>8</sup>, as when one who is by nature forgetful is reminded by others and then himself remembers—or by a sign <sup>9</sup>, as when we recognise a draught bullock by a brand mark or some other sign—or from effort to recollect <sup>10</sup>, as when one by

<sup>1</sup> Abhigânato.    <sup>2</sup> Ka/umikâya.    <sup>3</sup> O/ârika-viññânato.

<sup>4</sup> Hita-viññânato.

<sup>5</sup> Ahita-viññânato.

<sup>6</sup> Sabhâga-nimittato.

<sup>7</sup> Visabhâga-nimittato.

<sup>8</sup> Kathâbhiññânato.

<sup>9</sup> Lakkhanato.

<sup>10</sup> Saranato.

nature forgetful is made to recollect by being urged again and again : "try and think of it"—or by calculation<sup>11</sup>, as when one knows by the training he has received in writing that such and such a letter ought to follow after such and such a one—or by arithmetic<sup>12</sup>, as when accountants do big sums by their knowledge of figures—or by learning by heart<sup>13</sup>, as the repeaters of the scriptures by their skill in learning by heart recollect so much—[80] or by meditation<sup>14</sup>, as when a Bhikkhu calls to mind his temporary states in days gone by—by reference to a book<sup>15</sup>, as when kings calling to mind a previous regulation, say : "Bring the book here," and remind themselves out of that—or by a pledge<sup>16</sup>, as when at the sight of goods deposited a man recollects (the circumstances under which they were pledged)—or by association<sup>17</sup>, as when one remembers a thing because one has seen it, or a sound because one has heard it, or an odour because one has smelt it, or a touch because one has felt it, or a concept because one has perceived it.'

'Very good, Nâgasena!'

2. The king said : 'Your people say, Nâgasena, that though a man should have lived a hundred

<sup>11</sup> Muddâto (see above, p. 6).

<sup>12</sup> Gananâto.

<sup>13</sup> Dharanato. The noun dhâranakâ is only found here (where I follow the Sinhalese interpretation) and at *Gâtaka* II, 203 (where it means 'debtor,' as in Sanskrit).

<sup>14</sup> Bhâvanato. For a translation of the full text, here abridged in the text, see 'Buddhist Suttas,' pp. 215, 216 (§ 17).

<sup>15</sup> Potthaka-nibandhanato.

<sup>16</sup> Upanikkhepato.

<sup>17</sup> Anubhûtato, perhaps 'experience.' There are really seventeen, not sixteen, so some two must have been regarded by the author as forming one between them. These may be Nos. 1 and 14, or more likely Nos. 4 and 5.



years an evil life, yet if, at the moment of death, thoughts of the Buddha should enter his mind, he will be reborn among the gods. This I don't believe. And thus do they also say: "By one case of destruction of life a man may be reborn in purgatory." That, too, I cannot believe.'

'But tell me, O king. Would even a tiny stone float on the water without a boat?'

'Certainly not.'

'Very well; but would not a hundred cart-loads of stones float on the water if they were loaded in a boat?'

'Yes, they would float right enough.'

'Well, good deeds are like the boat.'

'Very good, Nâgasena!'

---

3. The king said: 'Do you (recluses), Nâgasena, strive after the removal of past sorrow?'

'No.'

'What then? Is it future sorrow you strive to remove?'

'No.'

'Present sorrow, then?' [81]

'Not that either.'

'Then if it be neither past, nor future, nor present sorrow that you strive to remove, whereunto is it that you strive?'

'What are you asking, O king? That this sorrow should cease and no other sorrow should arise—that is what we strive after.'

'But, Nâgasena, is there (now) such a thing as future sorrow?'

'No. I grant that.'

'Then you are mighty clever people to strive after the removal of that which does not exist!'

‘Has it ever happened to you, O king, that rival kings rose up against you as enemies and opponents?’

‘Yes, certainly.’

‘Then you set to work, I suppose, to have moats dug, and ramparts thrown up, and watch towers erected, and strongholds built, and stores of food collected<sup>1</sup>?’

‘Not at all. All that had been prepared beforehand.’

‘Or you had yourself trained in the management of war elephants, and in horsemanship, and in the use of the war chariot, and in archery and fencing?’

‘Not at all. I had learnt all that before.’

‘But why?’

‘With the object of warding off future danger.’

‘How so? Is there such a thing (now) as future danger?’

‘No. I must grant that.’

‘Then you kings are mighty clever people to trouble yourselves about the warding off of that which does not exist!’

‘Give me a further illustration.’

‘Tell me, O king. Is it when you are athirst that you set to work to have wells dug, or ponds hollowed out, or reservoirs formed, with the object of getting something to drink?’

‘Certainly not. All that has been prepared beforehand.’

‘But to what end?’

‘With the object of preventing future thirst.’

‘How so? Is there such a thing as future thirst?’

---

<sup>1</sup> All that follows only differs by slight additions from III, 4, 3 above, pp. 100-102.

‘No, Sir.’

‘So you are mighty clever people, O king, [82] to take all that trouble to prevent the future thirst which all the time does not exist!’

‘Give me a further illustration.’

[Then the Elder referred, as before, to the means people always took of warding against future hunger, and the king expressed his pleasure at the way in which the puzzle had been solved.]

4. The king said: ‘How far is it, Nāgasena, from here to the Brahma world<sup>1</sup>?’

‘Very far is it, O king. If a rock, the size of an upper chamber, were to fall from there, it would take four months to reach the earth, though it came down eight-and-forty thousand leagues<sup>2</sup> each day and night.’

‘Good, Nāgasena! Now do not your people say that a Bhikkhu, who has the power of Iddhi and the mastery over his mind<sup>3</sup>, can vanish from Gambu-dīpa, and appear in the Brahma world, as quickly as a strong man could stretch forth his bent up arm, or bend it in again if it were stretched out? That is a saying I cannot believe. How is it possible that he could traverse so quickly so many hundreds of leagues?’

The Elder replied: ‘In what district, O king, were you born?’

<sup>1</sup> One of the highest heavens.

<sup>2</sup> *Yogana*, a league of seven miles.

<sup>3</sup> *Ketovasippatto*, which *Hīnaṣi-kumburē* renders *mano vasi prāpta wū*. I know of no passage in the *Piṭakas* where the phrase occurs in connection with Iddhi; but it is often used by our author. See, for instance, just below, III, 7, 9.

‘There is an island called Alasanda<sup>1</sup>. It was there I was born.’

‘And how far is Alasanda from here?’

‘About two hundred leagues.’

‘Do you know for certain of any business you once did there and now recollect?’

‘Oh, yes.’

‘So quickly, great king, have you gone about two hundred leagues.’

‘Very good, Nāgasena!’

5. The king said : ‘If one man, Nāgasena, were to die here and be reborn in the Brahma world, and another were to die here and be reborn in Kashmīr, which of the two would arrive first?’

‘Both together, O king.’

‘Give me an illustration.’

‘In what town [83], O king, were you born?’

‘There is a village called Kalasi. It was there I was born.’

‘And how far is Kalasi from here?’

‘About two hundred leagues.’

‘How far is Kashmīr from here?’

‘Twelve leagues.’

‘Now, great king, think of Kalasi.’

‘I have done so.’

‘And now, think of Kashmīr.’

‘I have done so.’

‘Well, which did you think of quickest?’

‘Of each in the same time.’

‘Just so, great king, would it take no longer to be reborn in the Brahma world than to be reborn in Kashmīr. And tell me, O king. Suppose two

---

<sup>1</sup> Alexandria (in Baktria) built on an island in the Indus.

birds were flying, and one were to alight on a tall tree, and the other on a small shrub. If they settled both at the same moment, whose shadow would first fall to the ground ?'

'The two shadows would fall together.'

'Just so, great king, in the case you put.'

'Very good, Nâgasena !'

6. The king said : 'Venerable Nâgasena, how many kinds of wisdom are there ?'

'Seven, O king.'

'And by how many kinds of wisdom does one become wise ?'

'By one : that is to say by the kind of wisdom called "the investigation of the Truth<sup>1</sup>."'

'Then why is it said there are seven ?'

'Tell me, O king. Suppose a sword were lying in its sheath and not taken in the hand, could it cut off anything you wanted to cut off with it ?'

'Certainly not.'

'Just so, great king, by the other kinds of wisdom can nothing be understood without investigation of the Truth.'

'Very good, Nâgasena !'

7. The king said : 'Which, Nâgasena, is there more of, merit or demerit ?'

'Merit.' [84]

'But why ?'

'He who does wrong, O king, comes to feel remorse, and acknowledges his evil-doing. So demerit does not increase. But he who does well feels no remorse, and feeling no remorse gladness will

<sup>1</sup> Dhamma-vikaya-samboggaṅgena.

spring up within him, and joy will arise to him thus gladdened, and so rejoicing all his frame will be at peace, and being thus at peace he will experience a blissful feeling of content, and in that bliss his heart will be at rest, and he whose heart is thus at rest knows things as they really are<sup>1</sup>. For that reason merit increases. A man, for example, though his hands and feet are cut off, if he gave to the Blessed One merely a handful of lotuses, would not enter purgatory for ninety-one Kalpas. That is why I said, O king, that there is more merit than demerit.'

'Very good, Nâgasena !'

---

8. The king said : 'Whose, Nâgasena, is the greater demerit—his who sins consciously, or his who sins inadvertently ?'

'He who sins inadvertently, O king, has the greater demerit.'

'In that case, reverend Sir, we shall punish doubly any of our family or our court who do wrong unintentionally.'

'But what do you think, O king ? If one man were to seize hold intentionally of a fiery mass of metal glowing with heat, and another were to seize hold of it unintentionally, which would be more burnt ?'

'The one who did not know what he was doing.'

'Well, it is just the same with the man who does wrong.'

'Very good, Nâgasena !'

---

9. The king said : 'Is there any one, Nâgasena,

---

<sup>1</sup> The above is a paragraph constantly recurring in the Pâli Pitakas. See, for instance, Digha II, 75 ; Ânguttara III, 104 ; and Mahâvagga VIII, 15, 13 (where I have annotated the details).

who can go with this bodily frame to Uttara-kuru or to the Brahma world, or to any other of the four great continents (into which the world is divided)?'

'Yes, there are such people.'

'But how can they?' [85]

'Do you recollect, O king, having ever jumped a foot or two feet across the ground?'

'Yes, Nâgasena, I can jump twelve feet.'

'But how?'

'I fix my mind on the idea of alighting there, and at the moment of my determination my body comes to seem light to me.'

'Just so, O king, can the Bhikkhu, who has the power of Iddhi, and has the mastery over his mind, when he has made his mind rise up to the occasion, travel through the sky by means of his mind.'

'Very good, Nâgasena!'

10. The king said: 'Your people say there are bones even a hundred leagues long. Now there is no tree even one hundred leagues in length, how then can there be bones so long?'

'But tell me, O king. Have you not heard of fishes in the sea five hundred leagues in length?'

'Yes. I have heard of such.'

'If so, could they not have bones a hundred leagues long?'

'Very good, Nâgasena!'

11. The king said: 'Your people, Nâgasena, say that it is possible to suppress the inhaling and exhaling (of one's breath).'

'Yes, that can be done.'

'But how?'

‘Tell me, O king. Have you ever heard of a man snoring<sup>1</sup>?’

‘Yes.’

‘Well, would not that sound stop if he bent his body?’

‘Yes.’

‘Then surely if that sound would stop at the mere bending of the body of one who is untrained alike in body, in conduct, in mind, and in wisdom—why should it not be possible for the breathing of one trained in all these respects, and who has besides reached up to the fourth stage of the ecstatic contemplation<sup>2</sup>, to be suppressed?’

‘Very good, Nâgasena!’

12. The king said: ‘There is the expression ocean, Nâgasena. Why is the water called ocean?’

The Elder replied [86]: ‘Because there is just as much salt as water, O king, and just as much water as salt, therefore is it called ocean<sup>3</sup>.’

‘Very good, Nâgasena!’

13. The king said: ‘Why, Nâgasena, is the ocean all of one taste, the taste of salt?’

<sup>1</sup> Kâkakkhamâno. See Gâtaka I, 60, 24; 160, 18. Hînaikumburê renders it ‘sleeping with a snore (gorawamin) like the sound of crows (kâka).’

<sup>2</sup> Ghâna.

<sup>3</sup> Samudda. The answer (to give opportunity for which the question is invented) is a kind of punning etymology of this Pâli word for ocean. Our author seems to take it as meaning ‘equal water-ness,’ from sama and ud(aka). The real derivation is very different. It is from the root ud, which is allied to our ‘wet’ and the Greek *ύδρς*, and the prefix sam in the sense of completeness. It is difficult to reconcile the reply to this. There is a kind of conversation condemned in the Digha I, 1, 17, and elsewhere as samuddakkhâyika, which is explained in the Sumaṅgala, p. 91, as deriving samudda from sa, ‘with,’ and muddâ, ‘a seal ring.’



‘Because the water in it has stood so long, therefore it is all of one taste, the taste of salt<sup>1</sup>.’

‘Very good, Nâgasena!’

14. The king said: ‘Can even the most minute thing, Nâgasena, be divided?’

‘Yes, it can.’

‘And what, Sir, is the most minute of all things.’

‘Truth (Dhamma), O king, is the most minute and subtle. But this is not true of all qualities (Dhammâ). Subtleness or the reverse are epithets of qualities. But whatever can be divided that can wisdom (Paññâ) divide, and there is no other quality which can divide wisdom.’

‘Very good, Nâgasena!’

15. The king said: ‘These three, Nâgasena,—perception, and reason, and the soul in a being,—are they all different both in letter and in essence, or the same in essence differing only in the letter?’

‘Recognition, O king, is the mark of perception, and discrimination of reason<sup>2</sup>, and there is no such thing as a soul in beings<sup>3</sup>.’

<sup>1</sup> In the same way the Buddhist religion (the Dhamma-Vinaya) is said in the *Kullavagga* IX, 1, 4, to be ‘all of one taste, the taste of salvation, emancipation’ (Vimutti).

<sup>2</sup> So also above, II, 3, 12. Here the words are *Vigânanalakkhanam viññânam*, *pagânanâ-lakkhana paññâ*, which the Ceylon translator amplifies into ‘As a peasant, on seeing grains of gold, would recognise them as valuable, so is it the characteristic of *viññâna* to recognise *aramunu* (objects of sense) when it sees them. As a goldsmith, on seeing grains of gold, would not only know they were valuable, but also discriminate their value (as large or small), so is it the characteristic of *paññâ*, not only to recognise, but also to discriminate between the objects of sense.’

<sup>3</sup> See above, II, 3, 6, and II, 3, 16. *Hînaî-kumburê* here renders

‘But if there be no such thing as a soul, what is it then which sees forms with the eye, and hears sounds with the ear, and smells odours with the nose, and tastes tastes with the tongue, and feels touch with the body, or perceives qualities with the mind?’

The Elder replied: ‘If there be a soul (distinct from the body) which does all this, then if the door of the eye were thrown down (if the eye were plucked out) could it stretch out its head, as it were, through the larger aperture and (with greater range) see forms much more clearly than before? Could one hear sounds better if the ears were torn away, or smell better if the nose were cut off, or taste better if the tongue were pulled out, or feel touch better if the body were destroyed?’

[87] ‘Certainly not, Sir.’

‘Then there can be no soul inside the body.’

‘Very good, Nāgasena!’

16. The Elder said: ‘A hard thing there is, O king, which the Blessed One has done.’

‘And what is that?’

‘The fixing of all those mental conditions which depend on one organ of sense, telling us that such is contact, and such sensation, and such idea, and such intention, and such thought<sup>1</sup>.’

‘Give me an illustration.’

‘Suppose, O king, a man were to wade down into the sea, and taking some water in the palm of his hand, were to taste it with his tongue. Would he

*gīvo* by the ‘life (or perhaps living principle, *gīvitā*) inside the forms produced out of the four elements.’

<sup>1</sup> *Phasso, vedanā, saññā, ketaṇā, kittaṃ.*

distinguish whether it were water from the Ganges, or from the Jumna, or from the Aśiravati, or from the Sarabhū, or from the Mañi ?'

'Impossible, Sir.'

'More difficult than that, great king, is it to have distinguished between the mental conditions which follow on the exercise of any one of the organs of sense !'

'Very good, Nāgasena !'

---

Here ends the Seventh Chapter <sup>1</sup>.

---

17. The Elder said : 'Do you know, O king, what time it is now ?'

'Yes, Sir, I know. The first watch of the night is now passed. The middle watch is now going on. The torches are lit. The four banners are ordered to be raised, and appropriate gifts to be issued to you from the treasury.'

The Yonakas said : 'Very good, great king. Most able is the Bhikkhu.'

'Yes, my men. Most able is the Bhikkhu. Were the master like him and the pupil like me, [88] a clever scholar would not take long in getting at the truth.'

Then the king, pleased with the explanations given of the questions he had put, had Nāgasena robed in an embroidered cloak worth a hundred thousand <sup>2</sup>, and said to him : 'Venerable Nāgasena, I hereby order that you shall be provided with your daily meal for eight hundred days, and give you the

---

<sup>1</sup> See the note at the end of Book II, Chapter 3, § 14.

<sup>2</sup> That is kaḥāpaṇas, 'half-pennies.'

choice of anything in the palace that it is lawful for you to take.' And when the Elder refused, saying he had enough to live on, the king rejoined : ' I know, Sir, you have enough to live on. But you should both protect me and protect yourself—yourself from the possibility of a public rumour to the effect that you convinced me but received nothing from me, and me from the possibility of a public rumour that though I was convinced I would give nothing in acknowledgement.'

' Let it be as you wish, great king,' was the reply.

Then the king said : ' As the lion, the king of beasts, when put into a cage, though it were of gold, would turn his face longingly to the outside ; even so do I, though I dwell in the world, turn my thoughts longingly to the higher life of you recluses. But, Sir, if I were to give up the household life and renounce the world it would not be long I should have to live, so many are my foes.'

Then the venerable Nāgasena, having thus solved the questions put by Milinda the king, arose from his seat and departed to the hermitage.

---

18. Not long after Nāgasena had gone, Milinda the king thought over to himself whether he had propounded his questions rightly, and whether the replies had been properly made. And he came to the conclusion that to questions well put replies had been well given. And Nāgasena likewise, when he reached the hermitage, thought the matter over to himself, and concluded that to questions well put right replies had been given.

Now Nāgasena robed himself early in the morning, and went with his bowl in his hand to the palace,

and sat down on the seat prepared for him. And Milinda saluted the venerable Nâgasena, [89] and sat down respectfully at his side, and said to him : ' Pray do not think, Sir, that I was kept awake all the rest of the night exulting in the thought of having questioned you. I was debating with myself as to whether I had asked aright, and had been rightly answered. And I concluded that I had.'

And the Elder on his part said : ' Pray do not suppose, great king, that I passed the rest of the night rejoicing at having answered all you asked. I too was thinking over what had been said by us both. And I came to the result that you had questioned well, and that I had rightly answered.'

Thus did these two great men congratulate each the other on what he had spoken well.

---

Here ends the answering of the problems of  
the questions of Milinda.

---

## BOOK IV.

## MENDAKA-PAÑHO.

## THE SOLVING OF DILEMMAS.

## CHAPTER 1. [90]

1. Master of words and sophistry, clever and wise  
 Milinda tried to test great Nāgasena's skill.  
 Leaving him not <sup>1</sup>, again and yet again,  
 He questioned and cross-questioned him, until  
 His own skill was proved foolishness.  
 Then he became a student of the Holy Writ.  
 All night, in secrecy, he pondered o'er  
 The ninefold Scriptures, and therein he found  
 Dilemmas hard to solve, and full of snares.  
 And thus he thought: 'The conquering Buddha's  
     words  
 Are many-sided, some explanatory,  
 Some spoken as occasion rose to speak,  
 Some dealing fully with essential points.  
 Through ignorance of what, each time, was meant  
 There will be strife hereafter as to what  
 The King of Righteousness has thus laid down  
 In these diverse and subtle utterances.  
 Let me now gain great Nāgasena's ear,  
 And putting to him that which seems so strange  
 And hard—yea contradictory—get him  
 To solve it. So in future times, when men  
 Begin to doubt, the light of his solutions  
 Shall guide them, too, along the path of Truth.'

---

<sup>1</sup> Vasanto tassa kkhâyâya, literally 'abiding under his shadow.'  
 Compare Gâtaka I, 91.

2. Now Milinda the king, when the night was turning into day, and the sun had risen, bathed, and with hands clasped and raised to his forehead, called to mind the Buddhas of the past, the present, and the future, and solemnly undertook the observance of the eightfold vow, saying to himself : ' For seven days from now will I do penance by taking upon myself the observance of the eight rules, and when my vow is accomplished will I go to the teacher and put to him, as questions, these dilemmas.' So Milinda the king laid aside his usual dress, and put off his ornaments ; and clad in yellow robes, with only a recluse's turban<sup>1</sup> on his head, in appearance like a hermit, did he carry out the eightfold abstinence, keeping in mind the vow—' For this seven days I am to decide no case at law. I am to harbour no lustful thought, no thought of ill-will, no thought tending to delusion. Towards all slaves, servants, and dependents I am to show a meek and lowly disposition. [91] I am to watch carefully over every bodily act, and over my six organs of sense. And I am to fill my heart with thoughts of love towards all beings.' Keeping this eightfold vow, establishing his heart in this eightfold moral law, for seven days he went not forth. But as the night was passing into day, at sunrise of the eighth day, he took his breakfast early, and then with downcast eyes and measured words, gentle in manner, collected in thought, glad and pleased and rejoicing in heart, did he go to Nâgasena. And bowing down at his feet, he stood respectfully on one side, and said :

3. ' There is a certain matter, venerable Nâgasena,

---

<sup>1</sup> *Pa/isîsakam*. See *Gâtaka* II, 197.

that I desire to talk over with you alone. I wish no third person to be present. In some deserted spot, some secluded place in the forest, fit in all the eight respects for a recluse, there should this point of mine be put. And therein let there be nothing hid from me, nothing kept secret. I am now in a fit state to hear secret things when we are deep in consultation. And the meaning of what I say can be made clear by illustration. As it is to the broad earth, O Nāgasena, that it is right to entrust treasure when occasion arises for laying treasure by, so is it to me that it is right to entrust secret things when we are deep in consultation.'

4. Then having gone with the master to a secluded spot he further said: 'There are eight kinds of places, Nāgasena, which ought to be altogether avoided by a man who wants to consult. No wise man will talk a matter over in such places, or the matter falls to the ground and is brought to no conclusion. And what are the eight? Uneven ground, spots unsafe by fear of men, windy places, hiding spots, sacred places, high roads, light bambû bridges, and public bathing places.'

The Elder asked: 'What is the objection to each of these?'

The king replied: 'On uneven ground, Nāgasena, [92] the matter discussed becomes jerky, verbose, and diffuse, and comes to nothing. In unsafe places the mind is disturbed, and being disturbed does not follow the point clearly. In windy spots the voice is indistinct. In hiding places there are eavesdroppers. In sacred places the question discussed is apt to be diverted to the serious surroundings. On a high road it is apt to become frivolous, on a



bridge unsteady and wavering, at a public bathing place the discussion would be matter of common talk. Therefore is it said<sup>1</sup>:

“ Uneven ground, unsafe and windy spots,  
And hiding places, and god-haunted shrines,  
High roads, and bridges, and all bathing ghâts—  
These eight avoid when talking of high things.”

---

5. ‘ There are eight kinds of people, Nâgasena, who when talking a matter over, spoil the discussion. And who are the eight ? He who walks in lust, he who walks in ill-will, he who walks in delusion, he who walks in pride, the greedy man, the sluggard, the man of one idea, and the fool.’

‘ What is the objection to each of these ? ’ asked the Elder.

‘ The first spoils the discussion by his lust, the next by his ill-will, the third by his delusions, the fourth by his pride, the fifth by his greed, the sixth by his sloth, the seventh by his narrowness, and the last by his folly. Therefore is it said :

“ The lustful, angry, or bewildered man,  
The proud, the greedy, or the slothful man,  
The man of one idea, and the poor fool—  
These eight are spoilers of high argument.”

---

6. ‘ There are nine kinds of people, Nâgasena, who let out a secret that has been talked over with them, and treasure it not up in their hearts. And who are the nine ? The lustful man reveals it in obedience to some lust, the ill-tempered man in con-

---

<sup>1</sup> It is not known where the verses here (or the others quoted in these two pages) are taken from.

sequence of some ill-will, the deluded man under some mistake. [93] The timid man reveals it through fear, and the man greedy for gain to get something out of it. A woman reveals it through infirmity, a drunkard in his eagerness for drink, a eunuch because of his imperfection, and a child through fickleness. Therefore is it said :

“The lustful, angry, or bewildered man,  
The timid man, and he who seeks for gain,  
A woman, drunkard, eunuch, or a child—  
These nine are fickle, wavering, and mean.  
When secret things are talked over to them  
They straightway become public property.”

7. ‘There are eight causes, Nāgasena, of the advance, the ripening of insight. And what are the eight? The advance of years, the growth of reputation, frequent questioning, association with teachers, one’s own reflection, converse with the wise, cultivation of the loveable, and dwelling in a pleasant land. Therefore is it said :

“By growth in reputation, and in years,  
By questioning, and by the master’s aid,  
By thoughtfulness, and converse with the wise,  
By intercourse with men worthy of love,  
By residence within a pleasant spot—  
By these nine is one’s insight purified.  
They who have these, their wisdom grows<sup>1</sup>.”

8. ‘This spot, Nāgasena, is free from the objections to talking matters over. And I am a model companion for any one desiring to do so. I can keep a

<sup>1</sup> Pabhiggati in the text appears not to be an old error. The Sinhalese repeats it, but leaves it untranslated.

secret, and will keep yours as long as I live. In all the eight ways just described my insight has grown ripe. It would be hard to find such a pupil as you may have in me.

[94] 'Now towards a pupil who conducts himself thus aright the teacher ought to conduct himself in accordance with the twenty-five virtues of a teacher. And what are the twenty-five? He must always and without fail keep guard over his pupil. He must let him know what to cultivate, and what to avoid; about what he should be earnest, and what he may neglect. He must instruct him as to sleep, and as to keeping himself in health, and as to what food he may take, and what reject. He should teach him discrimination<sup>1</sup> (in food), and share with him all that is put, as alms, into his own bowl. He should encourage him, saying: "Be not afraid. You will gain advantage (from what is here taught you)." He should advise him as to the people whose company he should keep, and as to the villages and Vihâras he should frequent. He should never indulge in (foolish) talk<sup>2</sup> with him. When he sees any defect in him he should easily pardon it. He should be zealous, he should teach nothing partially, keep nothing secret, and hold nothing back<sup>3</sup>. He should look upon him in his heart as a son, saying to himself: "I have begotten him in

<sup>1</sup> Viseso. It does not say in what, and the *Simhalese* simply repeats the word.

<sup>2</sup> Sallâpo na kâtabbo. The *Simhalese* merely repeats the word, which is often used without any bad connotation. See, for instance, *Gâtaka* I, 112.

<sup>3</sup> So that, in the author's opinion, there is no 'Esoteric Doctrine' in true Buddhism. See the note, below, on IV, 4, 8.

learning<sup>1</sup>." He should strive to bring him forward, saying to himself: "How can I keep him from going back?" He should determine in himself to make him strong in knowledge, saying to himself: "I will make him mighty." He should love him, never desert him in necessity, never neglect him in anything he ought to do for him, always befriend him—so far as he can rightly do so<sup>2</sup>—when he does wrong. These, Sir, are the twenty-five good qualities in a teacher. Treat me altogether in accordance therewith. Doubt, Lord, has overcome me. There are apparent contradictions in the word of the Conqueror. About them strife will hereafter arise; and in future times it will be hard to find a teacher with insight such as yours. Throw light for me on these dilemmas, to the downfall of the adversaries.'

9. Then the Elder agreed to what he had said, and in his turn set out the ten good qualities which ought to be found in a lay disciple: 'These ten, O king, are the virtues of a lay disciple. He suffers like pain and feels like joy as the Order does. He takes the Doctrine (Dhamma) as his master. He delights in giving so far as he is able to give. On seeing the religion (Dhamma) of the Conqueror decay, he does his best to revive it. He holds right views. Having no passion for excitement<sup>3</sup>, he runs

<sup>1</sup> So also in the Vinaya (Mahāvagga I, 25, 6).

<sup>2</sup> In the well-known passage in the Vinaya in which the mutual duties of pupils and teachers are set out in full (Mahāvagga I, 25, 26, translated in the 'Vinaya Texts,' vol. i, pp. 154 and foll.) there is a similar injunction (25, 22 = 26, 10) which throws light on the meaning of dhammena here.

<sup>3</sup> Apagata-ko/ūhala-maṅgaliko. 'Laying aside the erroneous views and discipline called ko/ūhala and maṅgalika,' says the Sinhalese.

not after any other teacher his life long. He keeps guard over himself in thought and deed. He delights in peace, is a lover of peace. He feels no jealousy, [95] and walks not in religion in a quarrelsome spirit. He takes his refuge in the Buddha, he takes his refuge in the Doctrine, he takes his refuge in the Order. These, great king, are the ten good qualities of a lay disciple. They exist all of them in you. Hence is it fit, and right, and becoming in you that, seeing the decay of the religion of the Conqueror, you desire its prosperity. I give you leave. Ask of me whatever you will.'

---

[Here ends the introduction to the solving of dilemmas.]

---

#### THE DILEMMAS.

[ON HONOURS PAID TO THE BUDDHA.]

10. Then Milinda the king, having thus been granted leave, fell at the feet of the teacher, and raising his clasped hands to his forehead, said: 'Venerable Nāgasena, these leaders of other sects say thus: "If the Buddha accepts gifts he cannot have passed entirely away. He must be still in union with the world, having his being somewhere in it, in the world, a shareholder in the things of the world; and therefore any honour paid to him becomes empty and vain<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand if he

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Because honours should be paid, in the way of worship, to those who have so passed away, and to them only,' is the implied suggestion, as if it were common ground to the Buddhists and their opponents. But there is no such doctrine in the Pāli Piṭakas, and could not be. The whole discussion breathes the spirit of a later time.

be entirely passed away (from life), unattached to the world, escaped from all existence, then honours would not be offered to him. For he who is entirely set free accepts no honour, and any act done to him who accepts it not becomes empty and vain." This is a dilemma which has two horns. It is not a matter within the scope of those who have no mind <sup>1</sup>, it is a question fit for the great. Tear asunder this net of heresy, put it on one side. To you has this puzzle been put. Give to the future sons of the Conqueror eyes wherewith to see the riddle to the confusion of their adversaries.'

'The Blessed One, O king,' replied the Elder, 'is entirely set free. And the Blessed One accepts no gift. Even at the foot of the Tree of Wisdom he abandoned all accepting of gifts, how much more then now when he has passed entirely away by that kind of passing away which leaves no root over (for the formation of a new existence). For this, O king, has been said by Sâriputta, the commander of the faith <sup>2</sup> :

"Though worshipped, these Unequalled Ones, alike  
By gods and men, unlike them all they heed  
Neither a gift nor worship. They accept  
It not, neither refuse it. Through the ages  
All Buddhas were so, so wil. ever be <sup>3</sup>!"'

---

<sup>1</sup> *Apatta-mânâsanam*. 'Of those who have not attained to the insight of the Arahats,' says the Si halese by way of gloss.

<sup>2</sup> This verse is not found in our printed texts. The Thera Gâthâ (981-1017) has preserved thirty-seven of the verses attributed to Sâriputta, but this is not one of them.

<sup>3</sup> Hīnaśī-kumbhūrē, who quotes the Pāli verses, reads *pūga-yantā*, and *sādiyanti*.

11. The king said: 'Venerable Nâgasena, a father may speak in praise of his son, or a son of his father. But that is no ground for putting the adversaries to shame. It is only an expression of their own belief. Come now! Explain this matter to me fully to the establishing of your own doctrine, [96] and to the unravelling of the net of the heretics.'

The Elder replied: 'The Blessed One, O king, is entirely set free (from life). And the Blessed One accepts no gift. If gods or men put up a building to contain the jewel treasure of the relics of a Tathâgata who does not accept their gift, still by that homage paid to the attainment of the supreme good under the form of the jewel treasure of his wisdom do they themselves attain to one or other of the three glorious states<sup>1</sup>. Suppose, O king, that though a great and glorious fire had been kindled, it should die out, would it then again accept any supply of dried grass or sticks?'

'Even as it burned, Sir, it could not be said to accept fuel, how much less when it had died away, and ceased to burn, could it, an unconscious thing, accept it?'

'And when that one mighty fire had ceased, and gone out, would the world be bereft of fire?'

'Certainly not. Dry wood is the seat, the basis of fire, and any men who want fire can, by the exertion of their own strength and power, such as resides in individual men, once more, by twirling the fire-stick, produce fire, and with that fire do any work for which fire is required.'

---

<sup>1</sup> Tisso sampattiyo. That is, to another life as a man, or as a god, or to Arahatsip here, on earth, in this birth.

'Then that saying of the sectarians that "an act done to him who accepts it not is empty and vain" turns out to be false. As that great and glorious fire was set alight, even so, great king, was the Blessed One set alight in the glory of his Buddhahood over the ten thousand world systems. As it went out, so has he passed away into that kind of passing away in which no root remains. As the fire, when gone out, accepted no supply of fuel, just so, and for the good of the world, has his accepting of gifts ceased and determined. As men, when the fire is out, and has no further means of burning, then by their own strength and effort, such as resides in individual men, twirl the fire-stick and produce fire, and do any work for which fire is required—so do gods and men, though a Tathâgata has passed away and no longer accepts their gifts, yet put up a house for the jewel treasure of his relics, and doing homage to the attainment of supreme good under the form of the jewel treasure of his wisdom, they attain to one or other of the three glorious states. [97] Therefore is it, great king, that acts done to the Tathâgata, notwithstanding his having passed away and not accepting them, are nevertheless of value and bear fruit.'

12. 'Now hear, too, another reason for the same thing. Suppose, O king, there were to arise a great and mighty wind, and that then it were to die away. Would that wind acquiesce in being produced again?'

'A wind that has died away can have no thought or idea of being reproduced. And why? Because the element wind is an unconscious thing.'

'Or even, O king, would the word "wind" be



still applicable to that wind, when it had so died away ?'

'Certainly not, Sir. But fans and punkahs are means for the production of wind. Any men who are oppressed by heat, or tormented by fever, can by means of fans and punkahs, and by the exertion of their own strength and power, such as resides in individual men, produce a breeze, and by that wind allay their heat, or assuage their fever.'

'Then that saying of the sectarians that "an act done to him who accepts it not is empty and vain" turns out to be false. As the great and mighty wind which blew, even so, great king, has the Blessed One blown over the ten thousand world systems with the wind of his love, so cool, so sweet, so calm, so delicate. As it first blew, and then died away, so has the Blessed One, who once blew with the wind so cool, so sweet, so calm, so delicate, of his love, now passed away with that kind of passing away in which no root remains. As those men were oppressed by heat and tormented with fever, even so are gods and men tormented and oppressed with threefold fire and heat<sup>1</sup>. As fans and punkahs are means of producing wind, so the relics and the jewel treasure of the wisdom of a Tathâgata are means of producing the threefold attainment. [98] And as men oppressed by heat and tormented by fever can by fans and punkahs produce a breeze, and thus allay the heat and assuage the fever, so can gods and men by offering reverence to the relics, and the

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, the three fires of lust, ill-will, and delusion, the going out of which is the state called, par excellence, 'the going out' (Nirvâṇa).

jewel treasure of the wisdom of a Tathâgata, though he has died away and accepts it not, cause goodness to arise within them, and by that goodness can assuage and can allay the fever and the torment of the threefold fire. Therefore is it, great king, that acts done to the Tathâgata, notwithstanding his having passed away and not accepting them, are nevertheless of value and bear fruit.'

13. 'Now hear another reason for the same thing. Suppose, O king, a man were to make a drum sound, and then that sound were to die away. Would that sound acquiesce in being produced again?'

'Certainly not, Sir. The sound has vanished. It can have no thought or idea of being reproduced. The sound of a drum when it has once been produced and died away, is altogether cut off. But, Sir, a drum is a means of producing sound. And any man, as need arises, can by the effort of power residing in himself, beat on that drum, and so produce a sound.'

'Just so, great king, has the Blessed One—except the teacher and the instruction he has left in his doctrine and discipline, and the jewel treasure of his relics whose value is derived from his righteousness, and contemplation, and wisdom, and emancipation, and insight given by the knowledge of emancipation—just so has he passed away by that kind of passing away in which no root remains. But the possibility of receiving the three attainments is not cut off because the Blessed One has passed away. Beings oppressed by the sorrow of becoming can, when they desire the attainments, still receive them by means of the jewel treasure of his relics and of his doctrine and discipline and teaching. Therefore is it, great king, that

all acts done to the Tathâgata, notwithstanding his having passed away and not accepting, are nevertheless of value and bear fruit. And this future possibility, great king, has been foreseen by the Blessed One, and spoken of, and declared, and made known, when he said: "It may be, Ânanda, that in some of you the thought may arise: [99] 'The word of the Master is ended. We have no Teacher more!' But it is not thus, Ânanda, that you should regard it. The Truth which I have preached to you, the Rules which I have laid down for the Order, let them, when I am gone, be the Teacher to you <sup>1</sup>." So that because the Tathâgata has passed away and consents not thereto, that therefore any act done to him is empty and vain—this saying of the enemy is proved false. It is untrue, unjust, not according to fact, wrong, and perverse. It is the cause of sorrow, has sorrow as its fruit, and leads down the road to perdition!

14. 'Now hear another reason for the same thing. Does the broad earth acquiesce, O king, in all kinds of seeds being planted all over it?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Then how is it those seeds, planted without the earth's consent, do yet stand fast and firmly rooted, and expand into trees with great trunks and sap and branches, and bearing fruits and flowers?'

'Though the earth, Sir, gives no consent, yet it acts as a site for those seeds, as a means of their development. Planted on that site they grow, by

---

<sup>1</sup> Book of the Great Decease, VI, 1, translated in 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 112.

its means, into such great trees with branches, flowers, and fruit.'

'Then, great king, the sectaries are destroyed, defeated, proved wrong by their own words when they say that "an act done to him who accepts it not is empty and vain." As the broad earth, O king, is the Tathâgata, the Arahata, the Buddha supreme. Like it he accepts nothing. Like the seeds which through it attain to such developments are the gods and men who, through the jewel treasures of the relics and the wisdom of the Tathâgata—though he have passed away and consent not to it—being firmly rooted by the roots of merit, become like unto trees casting a goodly shade by means of the trunk of contemplation, the sap of true doctrine, and the branches of righteousness, and bearing the flowers of emancipation, and the fruits of Samanaship. [100] Therefore is it, great king, that acts done to the Tathâgata, notwithstanding his having passed away and not accepting them, are still of value and bear fruit.'

15. 'Now hear another and further reason for the same thing. Do camels, buffaloes, asses, goats, oxen, or men acquiesce in the birth of worms inside them?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Then how is it then, that without their consent worms are so born, and spread by rapid reproduction of sons and grandsons?'

'By the power of evil Karma, Sir.'

'Just so, great king, is it by the power of the relics and the wisdom of the Tathâgata, who has passed away and acquiesces in nothing, that an act done to him is of value and bears fruit.'

16. 'Now hear another and further reason for the same thing. Do men consent, O king, that the ninety-eight diseases should be produced in their bodies?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Then how is it the diseases come?'

'By evil deeds done in former births.'

'But, great king, if evil deeds done in a former birth have to be suffered here and now, then both good and evil done here or done before has weight and bears fruit. Therefore is it that acts done to the Tathâgata, notwithstanding his having passed away and not consenting, are nevertheless of value and bear fruit.'

17. 'Now hear another and further reason for the same thing. Did you ever hear, O king, of the ogre named Nandaka, who, having laid hands upon the Elder Sâriputta, was swallowed up by the earth?'

'Yes, Sir, that is matter of common talk among men.'

'Well, did Sâriputta acquiesce in that?'

[101] 'Though the world of gods and men, Sir, were to be destroyed, though the sun and moon were to fall upon the earth, though Sineru the king of mountains were to be dissolved, yet would not Sâriputta the Elder have consented to any pain being inflicted on a fellow creature. And why not? Because every condition of heart which could cause him to be angry or offended has been in him destroyed and rooted out. And as all cause thereof had thus been removed, Sir, therefore could not Sâriputta be angered even with those who sought to deprive him of his life.'

‘But if Sâriputta, O king, did not consent to it, how was it that Nandaka was so swallowed up?’

‘By the power of his evil deeds.’

‘Then if so, great king, an act done to him who consents not is still of power and bears fruit. And if this is so of an evil deed, how much more of a good one? Therefore is it, O king, that acts done to the Tathâgata, notwithstanding his having passed away and not accepting them, are nevertheless of value and bear fruit.’

18. ‘Now how many, O king, are those men who, in this life, have been swallowed up by the earth? Have you heard anything on that point?’

‘Yes, Sir, I have heard how many there are.’

‘Then tell me.’

‘*Kiñka* the Brahmin woman, and Suppabuddha the Sâkyan, and Devadatta the Elder, and Nandaka the ogre, and Nanda the Brahman—these are the five people who were swallowed up by the earth.’

‘And whom, O king, had they wronged?’

‘The Blessed One and his disciples.’

‘Then did the Blessed One or his disciples consent to their being so swallowed up?’

‘Certainly not, Sir.’

‘Therefore is it, O king, that an act done to the Tathâgata, notwithstanding his having passed away and not consenting thereto, is nevertheless of value and bears fruit.’

‘Well has this deep question been explained by you, venerable Nâgasena, and made clear. You have made the secret thing [102] plain, you have loosed the knot, you have made in the jungle an open space, the adversaries are overthrown, the wrong opinion has been proved false, the sectaries have been covered

with darkness when they met you, O best of all the leaders of schools !'

[Here ends the question as to not consenting to honours paid<sup>1</sup>.]

[THE OMNISCIENCE OF THE BUDDHA.]

19. 'Venerable Nāgasena, was the Buddha omniscient ?'

'Yes, O king, he was. But the insight of knowledge was not always and continually (consciously) present with him. The omniscience of the Blessed One was dependent on reflection.' But if he did reflect he knew whatever he wanted to know<sup>2</sup>.

'Then, Sir, the Buddha cannot have been omniscient, if his all-embracing knowledge was reached through investigation.'

'[If so, great king, our Buddha's knowledge must have been less in degree of fineness than that of the other Buddhas. And that is a conclusion hard to draw. But let me explain a little further.] Suppose, O king, you had a hundred cart-loads of rice in the husk, and each cart-load was of seven ammanas<sup>3</sup> and a half. Would a man without consideration be able to tell you in a moment how many laks of grains there were in the whole<sup>4</sup> ?'

<sup>1</sup> This title and the subsequent ones to the various questions are added from the *Sinhalese*. They are probably the same titles as those referred to by Mr. Trenckner in his preface as being in his Burmese MS.

<sup>2</sup> So again below, § 27.

<sup>3</sup> An ammana is about four bushels.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Trenckner has marked this passage as corrupt, and I do not pretend to understand it either. The *Sinhalese* is also very

20. 'Now there are these seven classes of minds. Those, great king, who are full of lust, ill-will, delusion, or wrong doing, who are untrained in the management of their body, or in conduct, or in thought, or in wisdom,—their thinking powers are brought into play with difficulty, and act slowly. And why is it so? Because of the untrained condition of their minds. It is like the slow and heavy movements of a giant bambū—when it is being dragged along with its wide-spreading, extensive, overgrown, and interlaced vegetation, and with its branches intricately entangled one with the other. So slow and heavy are the movements of the minds of those men, O king. And why? Because of the intricate entanglements of wrong dispositions. This is the first class of minds.'

21. 'From it the second class is to be distinguished. Those, O king, who have been converted, for whom the gates of purgatory are closed, who have attained to right views, who have grasped the doctrine of the Master—their thinking powers, so far as the three lower stages<sup>1</sup> are concerned, are brought quickly

---

involved and confused. I have added the words in brackets from the *Siṃhalese*, and translated the rest according to the general sense of the *Siṃhalese* and the figures of the Pāli. Hardy gives his 'version' at p. 386 of the 'Manual of Buddhism.' It says, 'In one load of rice there are 63,660,000 grains. Each of these grains can be separately considered by Buddha in a moment of time. In that moment the seven-times gifted mind exercises this power.' The last sentence is a misunderstanding of the opening words of our next section (IV, 1, 20).

<sup>1</sup> That is, of the Excellent Way. They are the three Fetters—Delusion of self, Doubt, and Dependence on rites and ceremonies and outward morality—which the *Sotâpanno* has conquered, broken.



into play, [103] and act with ease. But as regards the higher regions they are brought into play with difficulty, and act slowly. And why is this so? Because of their minds having been made clear as regards those three stages, and because of the failings (to be vanquished in the higher stages) still existing within them. It is like the movement of a giant bambû which has a clean trunk as far as the third knot, but above that has its branches intricately entangled. So far as regards the smooth trunk it would travel easily when dragged along, but it would stick obstinately as regards its upper branches. This is the second class of minds.'

22. 'From these the third class is to be distinguished. Those, O king, who are Sakad Âgâmins<sup>1</sup>, in whom lust, ill-will, and delusion are reduced to a minimum,—their thinking powers, so far as the five lower stages are concerned, are brought quickly into play, and act with ease. But as regards the higher regions they are brought into play with difficulty, and act slowly. And why is this so? Because of their minds having been made clear as regards those five stages, and because of the failings (to be vanquished in the higher stages) still existing within them. It is like the movement of a giant bambû which has a clean trunk as far as the fifth knot, but above that has its branches intricately entangled. So far as regards the smooth trunk it would travel easily when dragged along, but it would be moved with difficulty as far as its upper branches are concerned. This is the third class of minds.'

---

<sup>1</sup> Disciples who will return only once to this world, there attain Arahatsip, and therefore pass away.

23. 'From these the fourth class is to be distinguished. Those, O king, who are Anâgâmins<sup>1</sup>, who have completely got rid of the five lower fetters, —their thinking powers, so far as the ten stages<sup>2</sup> are concerned, are brought quickly into play, and act with ease. [104] But as regards the higher regions they are brought into play with difficulty, and act slowly. And why is this so? Because of their minds having been made clear as regards those ten stages, and because of the failings (to be vanquished in the higher stages) still existing within them. It is like the movement of a giant bambû which has a smooth trunk as far as the tenth knot, but above that has its branches intricately entangled. This is the fourth class of minds.'

24. 'From these the fifth class is to be distinguished. Those, O king, who are Arahats, in whom the four Great Evils<sup>3</sup> have ceased, whose stains have been washed away, whose predispositions to evil<sup>4</sup> have been put aside, who have lived the life, and accomplished the task, and laid aside every burden, and reached up to that which is good, for whom the Fetter of the craving after any kind of future life has been broken to pieces<sup>5</sup>, who have reached the higher insight<sup>6</sup>, who are purified as regards all those conditions of heart in which a

---

<sup>1</sup> Who will not return even once to this world, but attain Arahatship in heaven.

<sup>2</sup> This is noteworthy, for their mind is not yet quite clear as regards the higher five stages. But it is on all fours with the last section.

<sup>3</sup> Lust, becoming, delusion, and ignorance.

<sup>4</sup> Kilesâ.

<sup>5</sup> Parikkîna-bhava-samyoganâ.

<sup>6</sup> Patta-paśisambhidâ.

hearer can be pure,—their thinking powers, as regards all that a disciple can be or do, are brought quickly into play, and act with ease. But as to those things which are within the reach of the Paṭṭeka-Buddhas (of those who are Buddhas, but for themselves alone) they are brought into play with difficulty, and act slowly. And why is this so? Because of their having been made pure as regards all within the province of a hearer, but not as regards that within the reach of those who are Buddhas (though for themselves alone). It is like the movement of a giant bambū which has been pruned of the branches arising out of all its knots—and which, therefore, when dragged along moves quickly and with ease, because of its smoothness all along, and because of its being unencumbered with the jungly growth of vegetation. This is the fifth class of minds.'

25. [105] 'From these the sixth class is to be distinguished. Those, O king, who are Paṭṭeka-Buddhas, dependent on themselves alone, wanting no teacher, dwellers alone like the solitary horn of the rhinoceros, who so far as their own higher life is concerned, have pure hearts free from stain,—their thinking powers, so far as their own province is concerned, are brought quickly into play, and act with ease. But as regards all that is specially within the province of a perfect Buddha (one who is not only Buddha, that is enlightened, himself, but can lead others to the light) they are brought with difficulty into play, and move slowly. And why is this so? Because of their purity as regards all within their own province, and because of the immensity of the province of the omniscient Buddhas. It is like a man, O king, who would fearlessly cross, and at will,

by day or night, a shallow brook on his own property. But when he comes in sight of the mighty ocean, deep and wide and ever-moving, and sees no further shore to it, then would he stand hesitating and afraid, and make no effort even to get over it. And why? Because of his familiarity with his own, and because of the immensity of the sea. This is the sixth class of minds.'

26. 'From these the seventh class is to be distinguished. Those, O king, who are complete Buddhas<sup>1</sup>, having all knowledge, bearing about in themselves the tenfold power (of the ten kinds of insight), confident in the four modes of just self-confidence, endowed with the eighteen characteristics of a Buddha, whose mastery knows no limit, from whose grasp nothing is hid,—their thinking powers are on every point brought quickly into play, and act with ease. Suppose, O king, a dart well burnished, free from rust, perfectly smooth, with a fine edge, straight, without a crook or a flaw in it, were to be set on a powerful crossbow. Would there be any clumsiness in its action, any retarding in its movement, if it were discharged by a powerful man against a piece of fine linen, or cotton stuff, or delicate woolwork?'

'Certainly not, Sir. And why? Because the stuff is so fine, and the dart so highly tempered, and the discharge so powerful.'

[106] 'And just in the same way, great king, are the thinking powers of the Buddhas I have described brought quickly into play, and act with ease.

---

<sup>1</sup> That is as distinguished from the last—not only themselves enlightened, but able to teach, leaders of men.

And why? Because of their being purified in every respect. This is the seventh class of minds.'

27. 'Now of these, O king, the last—the thinking powers of the omniscient Buddhas—altogether outclasses the other six, and is clear and active in its high quality that is beyond our ken. It is because the mind of the Blessed One is so clear and active that the Blessed One, great king, displays the double miracle. From that we may get to know, O king, how clear and active His mental powers are. And for those wonders there is no further reason that can be alleged. (Yet) those wonders, O king, [caused by means of the mind (alone) of the omniscient Buddhas<sup>1</sup>] cannot be counted, or calculated, or divided, or separated, (For) the knowledge of the Blessed One, O king, is dependent upon reflection<sup>2</sup>, and it is on reflection that he knows whatever he wishes to know. (But) it is as when a man passes something he already has in one hand to the other, or utters a sound when his mouth is open, or swallows some food that he has already in his mouth, or opens his eyes when they are shut, or shuts them when open, or stretches forth his arm when it is bent in, or bends it in when stretched out—more rapid than that, great king, and more easy in its action, is the all-embracing knowledge of the Blessed One, more rapid than that his reflection. And although it is by reflection that they know whatever they want to know, yet even when they

---

<sup>1</sup> There is surely something wrong here; either in the Pāli, or in my interpretation of it, which follows the *Siṃhalese* (p. 130).

<sup>2</sup> Here the opening argument of § 17 is again taken up.

are not reflecting the Blessed Buddhas are not, even then, anything other than omniscient.'

'But, venerable Nāgasena, reflection is carried on for the purpose of seeking (that which is not clear when the reflection begins). Come now. Convince me in this matter by some reason.'

'Suppose, O king, there were a rich man, great in wealth and property—one who had stores of gold and silver and valuables, and stores of all kinds of wheat, one who had rice, and paddy, and barley, and dry grain, and oilseed, and beans, and peas, and every other edible seed, who had ghee, and oil, and butter, and milk, and curds, and honey, and sugar, and molasses, [107] all put away in store-rooms in jars, and pots, and pans, and every sort of vessel. Now if a traveller were to arrive, one worthy of hospitality, and expecting to be entertained; and all the prepared food in the house had been finished, and they were to get out of the jar some rice ready for cooking, and prepare a meal for him. Would that wealthy man merely by reason of the deficiency in eatable stuff at that unusual time be rightly called poor or needy?'

'Certainly not, Sir. Even in the palace of a mighty king of kings there might be no food ready out of time, how much less in the house of an ordinary man.'

'Just so, great king, with the all-embracing knowledge of a Tathâgata when reflection only is wanting; but which on reflection grasps whatever he wants. Now suppose, O king, there were a tree in full fruit, with its branches bending this way and that by the weight of the burden of the bunches of its fruit, but no single fruit had fallen from it.

Could that tree rightly, under the circumstances of the case, be called barren, merely because of the want of a fallen fruit ?'

'No, Sir. For though the falling of the fruit is a condition precedent to its enjoyment, yet when it has fallen one can take as much as one likes.'

'Just so, great king, though reflection is a necessary condition of the knowledge of the Tathâgata, yet on reflection it perceives whatever he wants to know.'

'Does that happen always, Nâgasena, at the moment of reflection ?'

'Yes, O king. Just as when the mighty king of kings (the *Kakkavatti*) calling to mind his glorious wheel of victory wishes it to appear, and no sooner is it thought of than it appears—so does the knowledge of the Tathâgata follow continually on reflection.'

'Strong is the reason you give, Nâgasena, for the omniscience of the Buddha. I am convinced that that is so.'

---

[Here ends the question as to the omniscience of the Buddha being dependent on reflection<sup>1</sup>.]

---

[WHY DEVADATTA WAS ADMITTED TO THE ORDER.]

28. 'Venerable Nâgasena, who was it that admitted Devadatta<sup>2</sup> to the Order ?'

---

<sup>1</sup> At III, 6, 2 there is another problem raised as to the omniscience of the Buddha.

<sup>2</sup> He is the Judas of the Buddhist story, who tried to have the Buddha killed, and to seduce his disciples from him.

‘Those six young nobles, O king, Bhaddiya and Anuruddha and Ānanda and Bhagu and Kimbila and Devadatta, [108] together with Upāli the barber as a seventh—they all, when the Master had attained to Buddhahood, left the Sākya home out of the delight they felt in him, and following the Blessed One renounced the world<sup>1</sup>. So the Blessed One admitted them all to the Order.’

‘But was it not Devadatta who, after he had entered the Order, raised up a schism within it?’

‘Yes. No layman can create a schism, nor a sister of the Order, nor one under preparatory instruction, nor a novice of either sex. It must be a Bhikkhu, under no disability, who is in full communion, and a co-resident<sup>2</sup>.’

‘And what Karma does a schismatical person gain?’

‘A Karma that continues to act for a Kalpa (a very long period of time).’

‘What then, Nāgasena! Was the Buddha aware that Devadatta after being admitted to the Order would raise up a schism, and having done so would suffer torment in purgatory for a Kalpa?’

‘Yes, the Tathāgata knew that.’

‘But, Nāgasena, if that be so, then the statement that the Buddha was kind and pitiful, that he sought after the good of others, that he was the remover of that which works harm, the provider of that which works well to all beings—that statement must be wrong. If it be not so—if he knew not that Deva-

<sup>1</sup> Hīnaśī-kumburê takes kulâ as an ablative.

<sup>2</sup> These are all termini technici in Buddhist canon law. The meaning is that other divisions in the Order do not amount technically to schism. See the *Kullavagga* VII, 1, 27, &c.



datta after he had been admitted to the Order would stir up a schism—then he cannot have been omniscient. This other double-pointed dilemma is put to you. Unravel this tough skein, break up the argument of the adversaries. In future times it will be hard to find Bhikkhus like to you in wisdom. Herein then show your skill !’

29. ‘The Blessed One, O king, was both full of mercy and had all knowledge. It was when the Blessed One in his mercy and wisdom considered the life history of Devadatta that he perceived how, having heaped up Karma on Karma, he would pass for an endless series of Kalpas from torment to torment, and from perdition to perdition. And the Blessed One knew also that the infinite Karma of that man would, because he had entered the Order, become finite, and the sorrow caused by the previous Karma would also therefore become limited. [109] But that if that foolish person were not to enter the Order then he would continue to heap up Karma which would endure for a Kalpa. And it was because he knew that that, in his mercy, he admitted him to the Order.’

‘Then, Nāgasena, the Buddha first wounds a man and then pours oil on the wound, first throws a man down a precipice and then reaches out to him an assisting hand, first kills him and then seeks to give him life, first gives pain and then adds a subsequent joy to the pain he gave.’

‘The Tathāgata, O king, wounds people but to their good, he casts people down but to their profit, he kills people but to their advantage. Just as mothers and fathers, O king, hurt their children and even knock them down, thinking the while of their

good ; so by whatsoever method an increase in the virtue of living things can be brought about, by that method does he contribute to their good. If Devadatta, O king, had not entered the Order, then as a layman he would have laid up much Karma leading to states of woe, and so passing for hundreds of thousands of Kalpas from torment to misery, and from one state of perdition to another, he would have suffered constant pain. It was knowing that, that in his mercy, the Blessed One admitted Devadatta to the Order. It was at the thought that by renouncing the world according to His doctrine Devadatta's sorrow would become finite that, in his mercy, he adopted that means of making his heavy sorrow light.

30. 'As a man of influence, O king, by the power of his wealth or reputation or prosperity or birth, when a grievous penalty has been imposed by the king on some friend or relative of his, would get it made light by the ability arising from the trust reposed in him ; [110] just so did the Blessed One, by admitting him to the Order, and by the efficacy of the influence of righteousness and meditation and wisdom and emancipation of heart, make light the heavy sorrow of Devadatta, who would have had to suffer many hundreds of thousands of Kalpas. As a clever physician and surgeon, O king, would make a grievous sickness light by the aid of a powerful medicinal drug, just so did the Blessed One, in his knowledge of the right means to an end, admit Devadatta to the Order and thus make his grievous pain light by the aid of the medicine of the Dhamma, strong by the power of mercy<sup>1</sup>. Was then, O king,

<sup>1</sup> Kâruṇṇabalopatthaddha. Compare *Gâtaka*, vol. i, verse 267, and *Sutta Vibhaṅga* I, 10, 7.

the Blessed One guilty of any wrong in that he turned Devadatta from being a man of much sorrow into being a man of less sorrow ?'

'No indeed, Sir. He committed no wrong, not even in the smallest degree<sup>1</sup>.'

'Then accept this, great king, to the full as the reason for which the Blessed One admitted Devadatta to the Order.'

31. 'Hear another and further reason, O king, for the Blessed One's having admitted Devadatta. Suppose men were to seize and hurry before the king some wicked robber, saying : " This is the wicked robber, your Majesty. Inflict upon him such punishment as you think fit ! " And thereupon the king were to say to them : " Take this robber then, my men, outside the town, and there on the place of execution cut off his head." And they in obedience to his orders were to take that man accordingly towards the place of execution. And some man who was high in office near the king, and of great reputation and wealth and property, whose word was held of weight<sup>2</sup>, and whose influence was great, should see him. And he were to have pity on him, and were to say to those men : " Stay, good fellows. What good will cutting off his head do to you ? Save him alive, and cut off only a hand or a foot. I will speak on his behalf to the king." And they at the word of that influential person were to do so. Now would the officer who had acted so towards him have been a benefactor to that robber ?'

---

<sup>1</sup> Gaddûhanam pi. It is the Sanskrit dadrûghna.

<sup>2</sup> Âdeyya-vakano. See my note, *Kullavagga* VI, 4, 8, and also *Puggala Paññatti* III, 12, and *Pañña Gati Dîpana*, 98.

‘He would have saved his life, Sir. And having done that, what would he not have done?’

‘But would he have done no wrong on account of the pain the man suffered [111] when his hand or foot was cut off?’

‘The pain the thief suffered, Sir, was his own fault. But the man who saved his life did him no harm.’

‘Just so, great king, was it in his mercy that the Blessed One admitted Devadatta, with the knowledge that by that his sorrow would be mitigated.’

32. ‘And Devadatta’s sorrow, O king, was mitigated. For Devadatta at the moment of his death took refuge in Him for the rest of his existences when he said :

“In him, who of the best is far the best<sup>1</sup>,  
The god of gods, the guide of gods and men,  
Who see’th all, and bears the hundred marks  
Of goodness,—’tis in him I refuge take  
Through all the lives that I may have to live.”

2 ‘If you divide this Kalpa, O king, into six parts, it was at the end of the first part that Devadatta created schism in the Order. After he has suffered the other five in purgatory he will be released, and will become a *Pakkaka-Buddha*<sup>3</sup> under the name of *Atthissara*.’

‘Great is the gift bestowed, Nāgasena, by the Blessed One on Devadatta. In that the Tathāgata

<sup>1</sup> Literally, ‘is the best of these eight’—the eight being those walking in the Excellent Way, the four *magga-samaṅgino* and the four *phala-samaṅgino*. See *Puggala Paññatti* VIII, 1.

<sup>2</sup> The *Siṃhalese* inserts a paragraph here not found in Mr. Trenckner’s text.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 158.

has caused him to attain to the state of a Pakkeka-Buddha, what has he not done for him ?'

'But inasmuch as Devadatta, O king, having made a schism in the Order, suffers pain in purgatory, has not therefore the Blessed One done him wrong?'

'No, Sir. That is Devadatta's own fault ; and the Blessed One who mitigated his suffering has done him no harm.'

'Then accept this, O king, to the full as the reason for the Blessed One admitting Devadatta to the Order.

33. 'Hear another and further reason, O king, for his having done so. [112] Suppose in treating a wound full of matter and blood, in whose grievous hollow the weapon which caused it remained, which stank of putrid flesh, and was made worse by the pain that varied with constantly changing symptoms, by variations in temperature, and by the union of the three humours,—windy, bilious, and phlegmatic<sup>1</sup>,—an able physician and surgeon were to anoint it with a rough, sharp, bitter, stinging ointment, to the end that the inflammation should be allayed. And when the inflammation had gone down, and the wound had become sweet, suppose he were then to cut into it with a lancet, and burn it with caustic. And when he had cauterised it, suppose he were to prescribe an alkaline wash, and anoint it with some drug to the end that the wound might heal up, and the sick man recover his health—now tell me, O king, would it be out of cruelty that the surgeon thus smeared with ointment, and cut with the lancet, and cauterised

---

<sup>1</sup> The interpretation of some of the medical terms in this paragraph is very uncertain. See pp. 134, 252, 304 of the text.

with the stick of caustic, and administered a salty wash ?'

'Certainly not, Sir ; it would be with kindness in his heart, and intent on the man's weal, that he would do all those things.'

'And the feelings of pain produced by his efforts to heal—would not the surgeon be guilty of any wrong in respect of them ?'

'How so ? Acting with kind intent and for the man's weal, how could he therein incur a wrong ? It is of heavenly bliss rather that that kindly surgeon would be worthy.'

'Just so, great king, was it in his mercy that the Blessed One admitted Devadatta, to the end to release him from pain.'

34. 'Hear another and further reason, O king, why the Blessed One did so. Suppose a man had been pierced by a thorn. And another man with kindly intent and for his good were to cut round the place with another sharp thorn or with a lancet, and the blood flowing the while, were to extract that thorn. Now would it be out of cruelty that he acted so ?'

'Certainly not, Sir. For he acted with kindly intent, and for the man's good. And if he had not done so the man might have died, or might have suffered such pain that he would have been nigh to death.'

'Just even so, great king, was it of his mercy that the Tathâgata admitted Devadatta, to the end to release him of his pain. If he had not done so [113] Devadatta would have suffered torment in purgatory through a succession of existences, through hundreds of thousands of Kalpas.'

‘ Yes, Nâgasena, the Tathâgata turned Devadatta, who was being carried down with the flood, with his head against the stream ; he again pointed out the road to Devadatta when he was lost in the jungle ; he gave a firm foothold to Devadatta when he was falling down the precipice : he restored Devadatta to peace when he was swallowed up of desolation. But the reason and the meaning of these things could no one have pointed out, Nâgasena, unless he were wise as you !’

---

[Here ends the dilemma about Devadatta.]

---

[VESSANTARA’S EARTHQUAKE.]

35. ‘ Venerable Nâgasena, the Blessed One said thus : “ There are these eight causes, O Bhikkhus, proximate or remote, for a mighty earthquake <sup>1</sup>.” This is an inclusive statement, a statement which leaves no room for anything to be supplemented, a statement to which no gloss can be added. There can be no ninth reason for an earthquake. If there were, the Blessed One would have mentioned it. It is because there is no other, that he left it unnoticed. But we find another, and a ninth reason, when we are told that on Vessantara’s giving his mighty largesse the earth shook seven times <sup>2</sup>. If, Nâgasena, there are eight causes for an earthquake, then what we hear of the earthquake at Vessantara’s largesse is false. And if that is true, then the statement as to the eight

---

<sup>1</sup> From the Book of the Great Decease, III, 13, translated at p. 45 of my ‘ Buddhist Suttas,’ vol. xi in this series.

<sup>2</sup> See the Vessantara Gâtaka, and compare Gâtaka I, p. 74.

causes of earthquakes is false. This double-headed question, too, is subtle, hard to unravel, dark, and profound. It is now put to you. [114] No one of less knowledge can solve it, only one wise as you.'

36. 'The Blessed One made the statement you refer to, O king, and yet the earth shook seven times at Vessantara's largesse. But that was out of season, it was an isolated occurrence, it was not included in the eight usual causes, and was not therefore reckoned as one of them. Just, O king, as there are three kinds of well-known rains reckoned in the world—that of the rainy season, that of the winter months, and that of the two months *Âsâ/ha* and *Sâvana*. If, besides these, any other rain falls, that is not reckoned among the usual rains, but is called "a rain out of season." And again, O king, just as there are five hundred rivers which flow down from the *Himâlayas*, but of these ten only are reckoned in enumerations of rivers—the *Ganges*, the *Jumna*, the *Akîravatî*, the *Sarabhû*, the *Mahtî*, the *Indus*, the *Sarasvatî*, the *Vetravatî*, the *Vitamsâ*, and the *Kandabhâgâ*—the others not being included in the catalogue because of their intermittent flow of water. And again, O king, just as there are a hundred or two of officers under the king, but only six of them are reckoned as officers of state—the commander-in-chief, the prime minister, and the chief judge, and the high treasurer, and the bearer of the sunshade of state, and the state sword-bearer. And why? Because of their royal prerogatives. The rest are not reckoned, they are all called simply officers. [115] Just as in all these cases, great king, the seven times repeated earthquake at the largesse of Vessantara was, as an isolated and extra-



ordinary occurrence, and distinct from the eight usual ones, not reckoned among those eight causes.'

37. 'Now have you heard, O king, in the history of our faith of any act of devotion being done so as to receive its recompense even in this present life, the fame of which has reached up to the gods?'

'Yes, Lord, I have heard of such. There are seven cases of such actions.'

'Who were the people who did those things?'

'Sumana the garland maker, and Eka-sâtaka the brahman, and Punna the hired servant, and Mallikâ the queen, and the queen known as the mother of Gopâla, and Suppiyâ the devoted woman, and Punna the slave-girl. It was these seven who did acts of devotion which bore fruit even in this life, and the fame of which reached even to the gods.'

'And have you heard of others, O king, who, even in their human body, mounted up to the blessed abode of the great Thirty-three?'

'Yes, I have heard, too, of them.'

'And who were they?'

'Guttila the musician, and Sâdhîna the king, and king Nimi, and king Mandhâtâ—these four. Long ago was it done, this glorious deed and difficult.'

'But have you ever heard, O king, of the earth shaking, either now or in the past, and either once or twice or thrice, when a gift had been given?'

'No, Sir, that I have not heard of.'

'And I too, O king—though I have received the traditions, and been devoted to study, and to hearing the law, and to learning by heart, and to the acquirements of discipleship, and though I have been ready to learn, and to ask and to answer questions, and to sit at the feet of teachers—I too have never heard

of such a thing, except only in the case of the splendid gift of Vessantara the glorious king. And between the times of Kassapa the Blessed One, and of the Blessed One the Sâkya sage, there have rolled by hundreds of thousands of years, but in all that period I have heard of no such case. [116] It is at no common effort, O king, at no ordinary struggle, that the great earth is moved. It is when overborne by the weight of righteousness, overpowered by the burden of the goodness of acts which testify of absolute purity, that, unable to support it, the broad earth quakes and trembles and is moved. Then it is as when a wagon is overladen with a too heavy weight, and the nave and the spokes are split, and the axletree is broken in twain. Then it is as when the heavens, overspread with the waters of the tempest driven by the wind, and overweighted with the burden of the heaped-up rain-clouds, roar and creak and rage at the onset of the whirlwind. Thus was it, great king, that the broad earth, unable to support the unwonted burden of the heaped-up and wide-reaching force of king Vessantara's largesse, quaked and trembled and was moved. For the heart of king Vessantara was not turned in the way of lust, nor of ill-will, nor of dullness, nor of pride, nor of delusion, nor of sin, nor of disputation, nor of discontent, but it was turned mightily to generosity. And thinking: "Let all those who want, and who have not yet come, now arrive! Let all who come receive whate'er they want, and be filled with satisfaction!" it was on giving, ever and without end, that his mind was set. And on these ten conditions of heart, O king, was his mind too fixed—on self-control, and on inward calm, and on

long-suffering, and on self-restraint, and on temperance, and on voluntary subjugation to meritorious vows, and on freedom from all forms of wrath and cruelty, and on truthfulness, and on purity of heart. He had abandoned, O king, all seeking after the satisfaction of his animal lusts, he had overcome all craving after a future life, his strenuous effort was set only towards the higher life. He had given up, O king, the caring for himself, and devoted himself thenceforth to caring for others alone. His mind was fixed immovably on the thought: "How can I make all beings to be at peace, healthy, and wealthy, and long lived?" [117] And when, O king, he was giving things away, he gave not for the sake of rebirth in any glorious state, he gave not for the sake of wealth, nor of receiving gifts in return, nor of flattery, nor of long life for himself, nor of high birth, nor of happiness, nor of power, nor of fame, nor of offspring either of daughters or of sons—but it was for the sake of supreme wisdom and of the treasure thereof that he gave gifts so immense, so immeasurable, so unsurpassed. It was when he had attained to that supreme wisdom that he uttered the verse:

"Gāli, my son, and the Black Antelope,  
My daughter, and my queen, my wife, Maddi,  
I gave them all away without a thought—  
And 'twas for Buddhahood I did this thing<sup>1</sup>."

38. 'The angry man, O king, did the great king Vessantara conquer by mildness, and the wicked man by goodness, and the covetous by generosity,

---

<sup>1</sup> From the *Kariyā Piṭaka* I, ix, 52. See Dr. Morris's edition for the Pāli Text Society, p. 81.

and the speaker of falsehood by truth, and all evil did he overcome by righteousness<sup>1</sup>. When he was thus giving away—he who was seeking after righteousness, who had made righteousness his aim—then were the great winds, on which the earth rests below, agitated by the full force of the power of the influence that resulted from his generosity, and little by little, one by one, the great winds began to blow confusedly, and up and down and towards each side the earth swayed, and the mighty trees rooted in the soil<sup>2</sup> began to totter, and masses of cloud were heaped together in the sky, and terrible winds arose laden with dust, and the heavens rushed together, and hurricanes blew with violent blasts, and a great and terrible mighty noise was given forth. And at the raging of those winds, the waters little by little began to move, and at the movement of the waters the great fish and the scaly creatures were disturbed, and the waves began to roll in double breakers, and the beings that dwell in the waters were seized with fear and as the breakers rushed together in pairs the roar of the ocean grew loud, and the spray was lashed into fury, and garlands of foam arose, and the great ocean opened to its depths, and the waters rushed hither and thither, the furious crests of their waves meeting this way and that; and the Asuras, and Garuḍas, and Yakkhas, and Nāgas<sup>3</sup> shook with fear, and thought in their alarm: “What now! How now! is the great ocean being turned upside down?”

<sup>1</sup> On this sentiment Mr. Trenckner calls attention to the analogous phrases at Dhammapada, verse 223.

<sup>2</sup> Sīnapattā: which the Sinhalese renders *poḷo talehi kal gewī patra wæḥṣmaṭa pæminiyāwu wrīkshayo*.

<sup>3</sup> Fabulous beings supposed to occupy these fabulous waters.

and sought, with terrified hearts, for a way of escape. And as the water on which it rests<sup>1</sup> was troubled and agitated, then the broad earth began to shake, and with it the mountain ranges and the ocean depths, [118] and Sineru began to revolve, and its rocky mountain crest became twisted. And at the trembling of the earth, the serpents, and mungooses, and cats, and jackals, and boars, and deer, and birds became greatly distressed, and the Yakkhas of inferior power wept, while those of greater power were merry.'

39. 'Just, O king, as when a huge and mighty cauldron<sup>2</sup> is placed in an oven full of water, and crowded with grains of rice, then the fire burning beneath heats first of all the cauldron, and when that has become hot the water begins to boil, and as the water boils the grains of rice are heated and dive hither and thither in the water, and a mass of bubbles arises, and a garland of foam is formed—just so, O king, king Vessantara gave away whatsoever is in the world considered most difficult to bestow, and by reason of the nature of his generosity the great winds beneath were unable to refrain from being agitated throughout, and on the great winds being thrown into confusion the waters were shaken, and on the waters being disturbed the broad earth trembled, and so then the winds and the waters and the earth became all three, as it were, of one accord by the immense and powerful influence that

<sup>1</sup> This conception of the earth resting on water and the water on air is Indian, and forms no part of distinctively Buddhist teaching.

<sup>2</sup> Mahati-mahâ-pariyogo; not in Childers nor in the Sanskrit Petersburg Dictionary. Hînaśi-kumburê renders it itâ mahatwu mahâ bhâganayak,

resulted from that mighty giving. And there was never another giving, O king, which had such power as that generosity of the great king Vessantara.

40. 'And just, O king, as there are many gems of value found in the earth—the sapphire, and the great sapphire, and the wish-conferring gem, and the cat's eye, and the flax gem<sup>1</sup>, and the Acacia gem<sup>2</sup>, and the entrancing gem, and the favourite of the sun<sup>3</sup>, and the favourite of the moon<sup>4</sup>, and the crystal, and the kaggopakkamaka<sup>5</sup>, and the topaz, and the ruby, and the Masâra stone<sup>6</sup>—but the glorious gem of the king of kings is acknowledged to be the chief of all these and surpassing all, for the sheen of that jewel, O king, spreads round about for a league on every side<sup>7</sup>—just so, O king, of all the gifts that

<sup>1</sup> Ummâ-puppha; rendered diya-mendiri-pushpa in the *Simhalese*. Clough gives diyameneri as a plant 'commelina cucullata.'

<sup>2</sup> Sirîsa-puppha; rendered mârâ-pushpa in the *Simhalese*, mârâ being the seed of the 'adenanthera pavonia.'

<sup>3</sup> Suriya-kanto, which the *Simhalese* merely repeats.

<sup>4</sup> Kanda-kanta; and so also in the *Simhalese*. These are mythic gems, supposed to be formed out of the rays of the sun and moon respectively, and visible only when they shine.

<sup>5</sup> The *Simhalese* has kaggopakramaya, which is not in Clough.

<sup>6</sup> Masâra-galla, which the *Simhalese* renders by masâra-galya, which Böhlingk-Roth think is sapphire or smaragd, and Clough renders 'emerald,' and the commentary on the *Abhidhâna Padîpikâ*, quoted by Childers, says is a stone produced in the hill of Masâra (otherwise unknown).

On similar lists of gems elsewhere see the *Kullavagga* IX, 1, 3, and my note at pp. 249, 250 of the 'Buddhist Suttas' (vol. xi of the 'Sacred Books of the East').

<sup>7</sup> So also in the *Mahâ-Sudassana Sutta* I, 32, translated in the 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 256. Compare above, p. 35 of the text.

have ever been given upon earth, even the greatest and the most unsurpassed, that giving of the good king Vessantara is acknowledged to surpass them all. And it was on the giving of that gift, O king, that the broad earth shook seven times<sup>1</sup>.

41. 'A marvellous thing is it, Nāgasena, of the Buddhas, and a most wonderful, that the Tathāgata even when a Bodisat (in the course of becoming a Buddha) [119] was so unequalled in the world, so mild, so kind, and held before him aims so high, and endeavours so grand. You have made evident, Nāgasena, the might of the Bodisats, a most clear light have you cast upon the perfection of the Conquerors, you have shown how, in the whole world of gods and men, a Tathāgata, as he continues the practice of his noble life, is the highest and the best. Well spoken, venerable Nāgasena. The doctrine of the Conqueror has been exalted, the perfection of the Conqueror has been glorified, the knot of the arguments of the adversaries has been unravelled, the jar of the theories of the opponents has been broken in pieces, the dilemma so profound has been made clear, the jungle has been turned into open country, the children of the Conqueror have received the desire of their hearts<sup>2</sup>. It is so, as you say, O best of the leaders of schools, and I accept that which you have said!'

---

[Here ends the dilemma as to the earthquake at Vessantara's gift.]

---

<sup>1</sup> There is here a long paragraph in the *Simhalese* omitted in the *Pāli*.

<sup>2</sup> *Nibbāhana*; rendered *abhiwarddhiya* in the *Simhalese*.

[KING SIVI<sup>1</sup>.]

42. 'Venerable Nāgasena, your people say thus : " King Sivi gave his eyes to the man who begged them of him, and when he had thus become blind, new eyes were given to him from heaven<sup>2</sup>." This statement is unpalatable<sup>3</sup>, it lays its speaker open to rebuke, it is faulty. For it is said in the Sutta : " When the cause has been utterly destroyed, when there is no longer any cause, any basis left, then the divine eye cannot arise<sup>4</sup>." So if he gave his eyes away, the statement that he received new (divine) ones must be false : and if divine eyes arose to him, then the statement that he gave his eyes away must be false. This dilemma too is a double-pointed one, more knotty than a knot, more piercing than an arrow, more confusing than a jungle. It is now put to you. Rouse up in yourself the desire to accomplish the task that is set to you, to the refutation of the adversaries !'

<sup>1</sup> The story is given at length in the Sivi Gātaka, No. 499 (vol. iv, pp. 401-412 of Professor Fausböll's edition).

<sup>2</sup> There is nothing in the text of the Gātaka (p. 410) of the new eyes being 'divine' or 'from heaven.' There new, ordinary eyes arose to him as the result of his virtue.

<sup>3</sup> Sa-kasa/a*m*. Kasa/a cannot mean simply 'insipid' as Dr. Edward Müller suggests at p. 43 of his 'Pāli Grammar,' for it is opposed to dullness, insipidity (*manda*) at *Āṅguttara* II, 5, 5. It must mean there 'wrong, not only by omission, but by commission.' Compare its use in the *Dhammapada* Commentary, p. 275; *Gātaka* I, 108, II, 97; and in the commentary on the *Puggala* IV, 24. Mr. Trenckner points out in his note that it is often written *saka/a*, and is no doubt the same as the Sanskrit word so spelt, and given by Wilson. (It is not in Böhlingk-Roth.)

<sup>4</sup> I don't know which Sutta is referred to.



‘King Sivi gave his eyes away, O king. Harbour no doubt on that point. And in stead thereof divine eyes were produced for him. Neither on that point should you harbour doubt.’

‘But then, Nāgasena, can the divine eye arise when the cause of it has been utterly destroyed, when no cause for it, no basis, remains?’

‘Certainly not, O king.’

‘What then is the reason [120] by which in this case it arose, notwithstanding that its cause had been utterly destroyed, and no cause for it, no basis, remained. Come now. Convince me of the reason of this thing.’

43. ‘What then, O king? Is there in the world such a thing as Truth, by the asseveration of which true believers can perform the Act of Truth<sup>1</sup>?’

‘Yes, Lord, there is. And by it true believers make the rain to fall, and fire to go out<sup>2</sup>, and ward off the effects of poison, and accomplish many other things they want to do.’

‘Then, great king, that fits the case, that meets it on all fours. It was by the power of Truth that those divine eyes were produced for Sivi the king. By the power of the Truth the divine eye arose when no other cause was present, for the Truth itself was, in that case, the cause of its production. Sup-

---

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is very different in the *Simhalese*, and much longer than the *Pāli*.

<sup>2</sup> See the beautiful story of the Holy Quail (translated in my ‘*Buddhist Birth Stories*,’ p. 302), where even so weak a creature as a baby quail is able, by such a mystic Act of Truth, to drive back the great and powerful Agni, the god of fire, whom the Brahmins so much feared and worshipped.

pose, O king, any Siddha (accomplished one<sup>1</sup>) on intoning a charm<sup>2</sup>, and saying: "Let a mighty rain now fall!" were to bring about a heavy rainfall by the intoning of his charm—would there in that case be any cause for rain accumulated in the sky by which the rain could be brought about?

'No, Sir. The charm itself would be the cause.'

'Just so, great king, in the case put. There would be no ordinary cause. The Truth itself would be sufficient reason for the growth of the divine eye!'

44. 'Now suppose, O king, a Siddha were to intone a charm, and say: "Now let the mighty blazing, raging mass of fire go back!" and the moment the charm were repeated it were to retreat—would there be any cause laid by which would work that result?'

'No, Sir. The charm itself would be the cause.'

'Just so, great king, would there in our case be no ordinary cause. The power of the Truth would be sufficient cause in itself!'

45. 'Now suppose, O king, one of those Siddhas were to intone a charm, [121] and were then to say: "Let this malignant poison become as a healing drug!" and the moment the charm were repeated that would be so—would there be any cause in reserve for that effect to be produced?'

'Certainly not, Sir. The charm itself would cause the warding off of that malignant poison.'

'Just so, great king, without any ordinary cause the Truth itself was, in king Sivi's case, a sufficient reason for the reproduction of his eyes.'

<sup>1</sup> 'One who knows a powerful charm (or perhaps Vedic verse, mantra),' says Hīna/i-kumburê.

<sup>2</sup> *Saṅkṣa*, literally truth. (Satya-gāyanā in the Sinhalese.)

46. 'Now there is no other cause, O king, for the attainment of the four Noble Truths. It is only by means of an Act of Truth that they are attained. In the land of China, O king, there is a king of China, who when he wants to charm the great ocean, performs at intervals of four months a solemn Act of Truth, and then on his royal chariot drawn by lions, he enters a league's distance into the great ocean. Then in front of the head of his chariot the mighty waves roll back, and when he returns they flow once more over the spot. But could the ocean be so drawn back by the ordinary bodily power of all gods and men combined?'

'Sir, even the water in a small tank could not be so made to retire, how much less the waters of the great ocean!'

'By this know then the force of Truth. There is no place to which it does not reach.'

47. 'When Asoka the righteous ruler, O king, as he stood one day at the city of Pâtaliputta in the midst of the townsfolk and the country people, of his officers and his servants, and his ministers of state, beheld the Ganges river as it rolled along filled up by freshets from the hills, full to the brim and overflowing—that mighty stream five hundred leagues in length, and a league in breadth—he said to his officers: "Is there any one, my good friends, who is able to make this great Ganges flow backwards and up stream?"'

"Nay, Sire, impossible," said they.

'Now a certain courtesan, Bindumati by name, was in the crowd there at the river side, [122] and she heard people repeat the question that the king had asked. Then she said to herself: "Here am I, a

harlot, in this city of Pāṭaliputta, by the sale of my body do I gain my livelihood, I follow the meanest of vocations. Let the king behold the power of an Act of Truth performed even by such as I." And she performed an Act of Truth<sup>1</sup>. And that moment the mighty Ganges, roaring and raging, rolled back, up stream, in the sight of all the people !

'Then when the king heard the din and the noise of the movement of the waves of the whirlpools of the mighty Ganges, amazed, and struck with awe and wonder, he said to his officers : "How is this, that the great Ganges is flowing backwards?"'

'And they told him what had happened. Then filled with emotion the king went himself in haste and asked the courtesan : "Is it true what they say, that it is by your Act of Truth that this Ganges has been forced to flow backwards?"'

"Yes, Sire," said she.

'And the king asked : "How have you such power in the matter? Or who is it who takes your words to heart (and carries them out)? By what authority is it that you, insignificant as you are<sup>2</sup>, have been able to make this mighty river flow backwards?"'

'And she replied : "It is by the power of Truth, great king."

'But the king said : "How can that power be in you—you, a woman of wicked and loose life,

---

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, in the words of the Quail story (loc. cit. p. 305), she 'called to mind the attributes of the Buddhas who had passed away, and made a solemn asseveration of the faith' that she had in the truth they had taught.

<sup>2</sup> Anumatto, which the Sinhalese translates as a feminine.

devoid of virtue, under no restraint<sup>1</sup>, sinful, who have overstepped all limits, and are full of transgression, and live on the plunder of fools?"

"It is true, O king, what you say. That is just the kind of creature I am. But even in such a one as I so great is the power of the Act of Truth that I could turn the whole world of gods and men upside down by it."

'Then the king said: "What is this Act of Truth? Come now, let me hear about it."

"Whosoever, O king, gives me gold—be he a noble or a brahman or a tradesman or a servant—I regard them all alike. When I see he is a noble I make no distinction in his favour. If I know him to be a slave I despise him not. Free alike from fawning and from dislike do I do service to him who has bought me. This, your Majesty, is the basis of the Act of Truth by the force of which I turned the Ganges back."

48. 'Thus, O king, is it that there is nothing which those who are steadfast to the truth may not enjoy. And so king Sivi gave his eyes away to him who begged them of him, [123] and he received eyes from heaven, and that happened by his Act of Truth. But what is said in the Sutta that when the eye of flesh is destroyed, and the cause of it, the basis of it, is removed, then can no divine eye arise, that is only said of the eye, the insight, that arises out of contemplation. And thus, O king, should you take it.'

'Well said, Nāgasena! You have admirably

---

<sup>1</sup> *Khinnikāya*. Compare *Gâtaka* II, 114, and the *Sutta Vibhanga* on *Pâkittiya* 26.

solved the dilemma I put to you; you have rightly explained the point in which I tried to prove you wrong; you have thoroughly overcome the adversary. The thing is so, and I accept it thus<sup>1</sup>’

[Here ends the dilemma as to king Sivi’s Act of Truth.]

[THE DILEMMA AS TO CONCEPTION.]

49. This dilemma goes into details which can be best consulted in the Pāli.]

[THE DURATION OF THE FAITH.]

55. ‘Venerable Nāgasena, it has been said by the Blessed One: “But now the good law, Ānanda, will only stand fast for five hundred years<sup>2</sup>.” But on the other hand the Blessed One declared, just before

<sup>1</sup> This idea of the power of an Act of Truth which Nāgasena here relies on is most interesting and curious. The exact time at which it was introduced into Buddhism is as yet unknown. It has not been found in the Piṭakas themselves, and is probably an incorporation of an older, pre-Buddhistic, belief. The person carrying it out is supposed to have some goodness, to call that virtue (and perhaps, as in the case of the quail, the goodness of the Buddhas also) to mind, and then to wish something, and that thing, however difficult, and provided there is nothing cruel in it, then comes to pass. It is analogous to the mystic power supposed to reside in names. Childers very properly points out that we have a very remarkable instance of an Act of Truth (though a very un-Buddhistic one) in the Hebrew book of the Kings II. i. 10: ‘And Elijah answered and said to the captain of fifty: “If I be a man of God, then let fire come down from heaven, and consume thee and thy fifty!” And there came down fire from heaven, and consumed him and his fifty.’ A great point, both in this legend and in the story of the quail, is that the power of nature to be overcome is one looked upon by the Brahmans as divine.

<sup>2</sup> Kullavagga X, 1, 6, translated in ‘Vinaya Texts,’ vol. iii, p. 325.

his death, in response to the question put by Subhadda the recluse : "But if in this system the brethren live the perfect life, then the world would not be bereft of Arahats<sup>1</sup>." This last phrase is absolute, inclusive ; it cannot be explained away. If the first of these statements be correct, the second is misleading, if the second be right the first must be false. [131] This too is a double-pointed question, more confused than the jungle, more powerful than a strong man, more knotty than a knot. It is now put to you. Show the extent of the power of your knowledge, like a leviathan in the midst of the sea.'

56. 'The Blessed One, O king, did make both those statements you have quoted. But they are different one from the other both in the spirit and in the letter. The one deals with the limit of the duration of the doctrine<sup>2</sup>, the other with the practice of a religious life—two things widely distinct, as far removed one from the other as the zenith is from the surface of the earth, as heaven is from purgatory, as good is from evil, and as pleasure is from pain. But though that be so, yet lest your enquiry should be vain, I will expound the matter further in its essential connection.'

57. 'When the Blessed One said that the good law<sup>3</sup> would only endure for five hundred years, he said so declaring the time of its destruction, limiting the remainder of its existence. For he said : "The good law, Ânanda, would endure for a thousand years if no women had been admitted to the

---

<sup>1</sup> Book of the Great Decease, V, 62, translated in 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> Sâsana.

<sup>3</sup> Saddhammo.

Order. But now, Ânanda, it will only last five hundred years." But in so saying, O king, did the Blessed One either foretell the disappearance of the good law, or throw blame on the clear understanding thereof ?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Just so. It was a declaration of injury done, an announcement of the limit of what remained. As when a man whose income had been diminished might announce publicly, making sure of what remained: "So much property have I lost; so much is still left"—[132] so did the Blessed One make known to gods and men what remained when he announced what had been lost by saying: "The good law will now, Ânanda, endure for five hundred years." In so saying he was fixing a limit to religion. But when in speaking to Subhadda, and by way of proclaiming who were the true Samanas, he said: "But if, in this system, the brethren live the perfect life, then the world would not be bereft of Arahats"—in so saying he was declaring in what religion consisted. You have confounded the limitation of a thing with the statement of what it is. But if you like I will tell you what the real connection between the two is. Listen carefully, and attend trustfully to what I say.'

58. 'Suppose, O king, there were a reservoir quite full of fresh cool water, overflowing at the brim, but limited in size and with an embankment running all round it. Now if, when the water had not abated in that tank, a mighty cloud were to rain down rain continually, and in addition, on to the water already in it, would the amount of water in the tank decrease or come to an end ?'



‘Certainly not, Sir.’

‘But why not, O king?’

‘Because of the continual downpour of the rain.’

‘Just so, O king, is the glorious reservoir of the good law of the teaching of the Conqueror ever full of the clear fresh cool water of the practice of duty and virtue and morality and purity of life, and continues overflowing all limits even to the very highest heaven of heavens. And if the children of the Buddha rain down into it continuously, and in addition, the rainfall of still further practice of duty and virtue and morality and purity of life, then will it endure for long, and the world will not be bereft of Arahats. This was the meaning of the Master’s words when he said: “But if, Subhadda, in this system the brethren continue in perfectness of life, then will the world not be bereft of Arahats.”’

59. ‘Now suppose again, O king, that people were to continually supply a mighty fiery furnace with dried cow-dung, and dry sticks, and dry leaves—would that fire go out?’

[133] ‘No indeed, Sir. Rather would it blaze more fiercely, and burn more brightly.’

‘Just so, O king, does the glorious teaching of the Conqueror blaze and shine over the ten thousand world systems by the practice of duty and virtue and morality and purity of life. And if, O king, in addition to that, the children of the Buddha, devoting themselves to the five<sup>1</sup> kinds of spiritual exertion, continue zealous in effort—if cultivating a longing for the threefold discipline, they train themselves therein—

---

<sup>1</sup> *Pañka*-*padhānaṅgani*. This is curious. In the *Piṭakas* there are four kinds only.

if without ceasing they carry out to the full the conduct that is right, and absolutely avoid all that is wrong, and practise righteousness of life—then will this glorious doctrine of the Conqueror stand more and more steadfast as the years roll on, and the world will not be bereft of Arahats. It was in reference to this, O king, that the Master spake when he said: “But if, Subhadda, in this system the brethren continue in perfectness of life, then will the world not be bereft of Arahats.”’

60. ‘Again, O king, suppose people were to continually polish with fine soft red powder a stainless mirror that was already bright and shining, well polished, smooth, and glossy, would dirt and dust and mud arise on its surface?’

‘No indeed, Sir. Rather would it become to a certainty even more stainless than before.’

‘Just so, O king, is the glorious doctrine of the Conqueror stainless by nature, and altogether free from the dust and dirt of evil. And if the children of the Buddha cleanse it by the virtue arising from the shaking off, the eradication of evil, from the practice of duty and virtue and morality and purity of life, then will this glorious doctrine endure for long, and the world will not be bereft of Arahats. It was in reference to this that the Blessed One spake when he said: “But if, Subhadda, in this system the brethren continue in righteousness of life, then will not the world be bereft of Arahats.” For the teaching of the Master, O king, has its root in conduct, has conduct as its essence, and stands fast so long as conduct does not decline<sup>1</sup>.’

---

<sup>1</sup> There is a paragraph here in the *Sinhalese* not found in the *Pāli*.

61. 'Venerable Nāgasena, when you speak of the disappearance of the good law, what do you mean by its disappearance?'

'There are three modes of the disappearance, O king, of a system of doctrine. And what are the three? The decline of attainment to an intellectual grasp of it, the decline of conduct in accordance with it, and the decline of its outward form<sup>1</sup>. [134] When the attainment of it ceases, then even the man who conducts himself aright in it has no clear understanding of it. By the decline of conduct the promulgation of the rules of discipline ceases, only the outward form of the religion remains. When the outward form has ceased, the succession of the tradition is cut off. These are the three forms of the disappearance of a system of doctrine.'

'You have well explained, venerable Nāgasena, this dilemma so profound, and have made it plain. You have loosed the knot; you have destroyed the arguments of the adversary, broken them in pieces, proved them wrong—you, O best of the leaders of schools!'

---

[Here ends the dilemma as to the duration of the faith.]

---

[THE BUDDHA'S SINLESSNESS.]

62. 'Venerable Nāgasena, had the Blessed One, when he became a Buddha, burnt out all evil in himself, or was there still some evil remaining in him?'

---

<sup>1</sup> *Linga*, possibly 'uniform.' Either the Order or the yellow robe, for instance, if the system were Buddhism. See below, IV, 3, 2.

‘He had burnt out all evil. There was none left.’

‘But how, Sir? Did not the Tathâgata get hurt in his body?’

‘Yes, O king. At Râgagaha a splinter of rock pierced his foot<sup>1</sup>, and once he suffered from dysentery<sup>2</sup>, and once when the humours of his body were disturbed a purge was administered to him<sup>3</sup>, and once when he was troubled with wind the Elder who waited on him (that is Ânanda) gave him hot water<sup>4</sup>.’

‘Then, Sir, if the Tathâgata, on his becoming a Buddha, has destroyed all evil in himself—this other statement that his foot was pierced by a splinter, that he had dysentery, and so on, must be false. But if they are true, then he cannot have been free from evil, for there is no pain without Karma. All pain has its root in Karma, it is on account of Karma that suffering arises<sup>5</sup>. This double-headed dilemma is put to you, and you have to solve it.’

63. ‘No, O king. It is not all suffering that has its root in Karma. There are eight causes by which sufferings arise, by which many beings suffer pain. And what are the eight? Superabundance of wind, [135] and of bile, and of phlegm, the union of these humours, variations in temperature, the avoiding of

<sup>1</sup> See *Kullavagga* VII, 3, 9.

<sup>2</sup> See *Mahâparinibbâna Sutta* IV, 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahâvagga* VIII, 1, 30–33.

<sup>4</sup> This is, no doubt, the occurrence recounted in the *Mahâvagga* VI, 17, 1–4. Childers translates *vâtâbâdha* by ‘rheumatism,’ but I adhere here to the translation adopted there. It is said in the *Mahâvagga* that Ânanda gave him, not hot water, but gruel. But the two are very similar, and in the *Theri Gâthâ* 185, referring to the same event, it is hot water that is mentioned.

<sup>5</sup> That is, there can be no suffering without sin. Compare the discussion in St. John’s Gospel, ch. ix.

dissimilarities, external agency, and Karma. From each of these there are some sufferings that arise, and these are the eight causes by which many beings suffer pain. And therein whosoever maintains that it is Karma that injures beings, and besides it there is no other reason for pain, his proposition is false.'

'But, Sir, all the other seven kinds of pain have each of them also Karma as its origin, for they are all produced by Karma.'

'If, O king, all diseases were really derived from Karma then there would be no characteristic marks by which they could be distinguished one from the other. When the wind is disturbed, it is so in one or other of ten ways—by cold, or by heat, or by hunger, or by thirst, or by over eating, or by standing too long, or by over exertion, or by walking too fast, or by medical treatment, or as the result of Karma. Of these ten, nine do not act in a past life or in a future life, but in one's present existence. Therefore it is not right to say that all pain is due to Karma. When the bile, O king, is deranged it is so in one or other of three ways—by cold, or by heat, or by improper food. When the phlegm is disturbed it is so by cold, or by heat, or by food and drink. When either of these three humours are disturbed or mixed, it brings about its own special, distinctive pain. Then there are the special pains arising from variations in temperature, avoidance of dissimilarities, and external agency<sup>1</sup>. And there is the act that has Karma as its fruit, and the pain so brought about arising from the act done. So what

---

<sup>1</sup> As was pointed out above, IV, 1, 33, many of these medical terms are very doubtful.

arises as the fruit of Karma is much less than that which arises from other causes. And the ignorant go too far [136] when they say that every pain is produced as the fruit of Karma. No one without a Buddha's insight can fix the extent of the action of Karma.'

64. 'Now when the Blessed One's foot was torn by a splinter of rock, the pain that followed was not produced by any other of the eight causes I have mentioned, but only by external agency. For Devadatta, O king, had harboured hatred against the Tathâgata during a succession of hundreds of thousands of births<sup>1</sup>. It was in his hatred that he seized hold of a mighty mass of rock, and pushed it over with the hope that it would fall upon his head. But two other rocks came together, and intercepted it before it had reached the Tathâgata; and by the force of their impact a splinter was torn off, and fell upon the Blessed One's foot, and made it bleed. Now this pain must have been produced in the Blessed One either as the result of his own Karma, or of some one else's act. For beyond these two there can be no other kind of pain. It is as when a seed does not germinate—that must be due either to the badness of the soil, or to a defect in the seed. Or it is as when food is not digested—that must be due either to a defect in the stomach, or to the badness of the food.'

65. 'But although the Blessed One never suffered pain which was the result of his own Karma, or brought about the avoidance of dissimilarity<sup>2</sup>, yet

<sup>1</sup> So below, IV, 3, 28.

<sup>2</sup> Visama-parihâra-gâ both in the Sinhalese and the Pâli.

he suffered pain from each of the other six causes. And by the pain he could suffer it was not possible to deprive him of life. There come to this body of ours, O king, compounded of the four elements<sup>1</sup>, sensations desirable and the reverse, pleasant and unpleasant. Suppose, O king, a clod of earth were to be thrown into the air, and to fall again on to the ground. Would it be in consequence of any act it had previously done that it would so fall ?'

'No, Sir. There is no reason in the broad earth by which it could experience the result of an act either good or evil. It would be by reason of a present cause [137] independent of Karma that the clod would fall to earth again.'

'Well, O king, the Tathâgata should be regarded as the broad earth. And as the clod would fall on it irrespective of any act done by it, so also was it irrespective of any act done by him that that splinter of rock fell upon his foot.'

66. 'Again, O king, men tear up and plough the earth. But is that a result of any act previously done ?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Just so with the falling of that splinter. And the dysentery which attacked him was in the same way the result of no previous act, it arose from the union of the three humours. And whatsoever bodily disease fell upon him, that had its origin, not in Karma, but in one or other of the six causes referred to. For it has been said, O king, by the Blessed One, by him who is above all gods, in the glorious collection called the *Samyutta Nikâya* in

<sup>1</sup> Water, fire, air, and earth (*âpo, tego, vayo, paṭhavi*).

the prose Sutta, called after Moliya Sīvaka : “ There are certain pains which arise in the world, Sīvaka, from bilious humour. And you ought to know for a certainty which those are, for it is a matter of common knowledge in the world which they are. But those Samanas and Brahmans, Sīvaka, who are of the opinion and proclaim the view that whatsoever pleasure, or pain, or indifferent sensation, any man experiences, is always due to a previous act—they go beyond certainty, they go beyond knowledge, and therein do I say they are wrong. And so also of those pains which arise from the phlegmatic humour, or from the windy humour, or from the union of the three, or from variation in temperature, or from avoidance of dissimilarity, [138] or from external action, or as the result of Karma. In each case you should know for a certainty which those are, for it is a matter of common knowledge which they are. But those Samanas or Brahmans who are of the opinion or the view that whatsoever pleasure, or pain, or indifferent sensation, any man may experience, that is always due to a previous act—they go beyond certainty, they go beyond common knowledge. And therein do I say they are wrong.” So, O king, it is not all pain that is the result of Karma. And you should accept as a fact that when the Blessed One became a Buddha he had burnt out all evil from within him.’

‘ Very good, Nāgasena ! It is so ; and I accept it as you say.’

---

[Here ends the dilemma as to the Buddha’s  
sinlessness ]



[ON THE ADVANTAGES OF MEDITATION<sup>1</sup>.]

67. 'Venerable Nāgasena, your people say that everything which a Tathāgata has to accomplish that had the Blessed One already carried out when he sat at the foot of the Tree of Wisdom<sup>2</sup>. There was then nothing that he had yet to do, nothing that he had to add to what he had already done. But then there is also talk of his having immediately afterwards remained plunged for three months in ecstatic contemplation<sup>3</sup>. If the first statement be correct, then the second must be false. And if the second be right, then the first must be wrong. There is no need of any contemplation to him who has already accomplished his task. It is the man who still has something left to do, who has to think about it. [139] It is the sick man who has need of medicine, not the healthy; the hungry man who has need of food, not the man whose hunger is quenched. This too is a double-headed dilemma, and you have to solve it!'

68. 'Both statements, O king, are true. Con-

<sup>1</sup> *Paṭisallāna* (not *samādhi*), rendered throughout in the *Simhalese* by *wiweka*.

<sup>2</sup> I have not been able to find this statement in any of the *Piṭaka* texts.

<sup>3</sup> Here again our author seems to be referring to a tradition later than the *Piṭakas*. In the *Mahāvagga* (see our version in the 'Vinaya Texts,' vol. i, pp. 74-81) there is mention only of four periods of seven days, and even during these not of *paṭisallāna*, but of *samādhi*. The former of these two terms only occurs at the conclusion of the twenty-eight days (*Mahāvagga* I, 5, 2). Even in the later orthodox literature the period of meditation is still not three months, but only seven times seven days. See the passages quoted in Professor Oldenberg's note at p. 75 of the 'Vinaya Texts,' vol. i.

temple has many virtues. All the Tathâgatas attained, in contemplation, to Buddhahood, and practised it in the recollection of its good qualities. And they did so in the same way as a man who had received high office from a king would, in the recollection of its advantages, of the prosperity he enjoyed by means of it, remain constantly in attendance on that king—in the same way as a man who, having been afflicted and pained with a dire disease, and having recovered his health by the use of medicine, would use the same medicine again and again, calling to mind its virtue.'

69. 'And there are, O king, these twenty and eight good qualities of meditation in the perception of which the Tathâgatas devoted themselves to it. And which are they? Meditation preserves him who meditates, it gives him long life, and endows him with power, it cleanses him from faults, it removes from him any bad reputation giving him a good name, it destroys discontent in him filling him with content, it releases him from all fear endowing him with confidence, it removes sloth far from him filling him with zeal, it takes away lust and ill-will and dullness, it puts an end to pride, it breaks down all doubt, it makes his heart to be at peace, it softens his mind, [140] it makes him glad, it makes him grave, it gains him much advantage, it makes him worthy of reverence, it fills him with joy, it fills him with delight, it shows him the transitory nature of all compounded things, it puts an end to rebirth, it obtains for him all the benefits of renunciation. These, O king, are the twenty and eight virtues of meditation on the perception of which the Tathâgatas devote themselves to it. But it is because

the Tathâgatas, O king, long for the enjoyment of the bliss of attainment, of the joy of the tranquil state of Nirvâna, that they devote themselves to meditation, with their minds fixed on the end they aim at.

70. 'And there are four reasons for which the Tathâgatas, O king, devote themselves to meditation. And what are the four? That they may dwell at ease, O king—and on account of the abundance of the advantages of meditation, advantages without drawback—and on account of its being the road to all noble things without exception—and because it has been praised and lauded and exalted and magnified by all the Buddhas. These are the reasons for which the Tathâgatas devote themselves to it. So it is not, great king, because they have anything left to do, or anything to add to what they have already accomplished, but because they have perceived how diversified are the advantages it possesses, that they devote themselves to meditation.'

'Very good, Nâgasena ! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the dilemma as to meditation.]

[THE LIMIT OF THREE MONTHS.]

71. 'Venerable Nâgasena, it has been said by the Blessed One: "The Tathâgata, Ânanda, has thought out and thoroughly practised, developed, accumulated, and ascended to the very height of the four paths to saintship<sup>1</sup>, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of mental advancement, and as a basis for edification—and he therefore, Ânanda,

<sup>1</sup> *Kattâro iddhi-pâdâ.*

should he desire it, might remain alive for a Kalpa, or for that portion of a Kalpa which has yet to run<sup>1</sup>." And again he said: "At the end of three months from this time the Tathâgata will die<sup>2</sup>." If the first of these statements were true, then the limit of three months must have been false. If the second were true, [141] then the first must have been false. For the Tathâgatas boast not without an occasion, the Blessed Buddhas speak no misleading words, but they utter truth, and speak sincerely. This too is a double-headed dilemma, profound, subtle, hard to expound. It is now put to you. Tear in sunder this net of heresy, put it on one side, break in pieces the arguments of the adversary !'

72. 'Both these statements, O king, were made by the Blessed One. But Kalpa in that connection means the duration of a man's life. And the Blessed One, O king, was not exalting his own power when he said so, but he was exalting the power of saintship. It was as if a king were possessed of a horse most swift of foot, who could run like the wind. And in order to exalt the power of his speed the king were to say in the presence of all his court—townsfolk and country folk, hired servants and men of war, brahmins, nobles, and officers: "If he wished it this noble steed of mine could cross the earth to its ocean boundary, and be back here again, in a moment<sup>3</sup>!"

<sup>1</sup> Mahâparinibbâna Sutta III, 60, translated in my 'Buddhist Suttas,' pp. 57, 58.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. III, 63, translated loc. cit. p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> So it is said of the 'Horse-treasure' of the Great King of Glory in the Mahâsudassana Sutta I, 29 (translated in my 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 256), that 'it passed over along the broad earth to its very ocean boundary, and then returned again, in time for the

Now though he did not try to test the horse's speed in the presence of the court, yet it had that speed, and was really able to go along over the earth to its ocean boundary in a moment. Just so, O king, the Blessed One spake as he did in praise of the power of saintship, and so spake seated in the midst of gods and men, and of the men of the threefold wisdom and the sixfold insight—the Arahats pure and free from stain—when he said: "The Tathâgata, Ânanda, has thought out and practised, developed, accumulated, and ascended to the very height of the four powers of saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of mental advancement, as a basis for edification. And he therefore, Ânanda, should he desire it, might remain alive for a Kalpa, or the part of a Kalpa that has yet to run." And there was that power, O king, in the Tathâgata, he could have remained alive for that time: and yet he did not show that power in the midst [142] of that assembly. The Blessed One, O king, is free from desire as respects all conditions of future life, and has condemned them all. For it has been said, O king, by the Blessed One: "Just, O Bhikkhus, as a very small quantity of excrement is of evil smell, so do I find no beauty in the very smallest degree of future life, not even in such for the time of the snapping of the fingers<sup>1</sup>." Now would the Blessed One, O king, who thus looked upon all sorts and conditions of future life

---

morning meal, to the royal city of Kusâvatî.' It is, of course, the sun horse which is meant.

<sup>1</sup> I have not traced this quotation in the Piṭakas, but it is probably there.

as dung have nevertheless, simply because of his power of Iddhi, harboured a craving desire for future life ?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'Then it must have been to exalt the power of Iddhi that he gave utterance to such a boast.'

'Very good, Nāgasena ! It is so, and I accept it as you say.'

---

[Here ends the dilemma as to the three months.]

---

Here ends the First Chapter.

## BOOK IV. CHAPTER 2.

## [THE ABOLITION OF REGULATIONS.]

1. 'Venerable Nāgasena, it has been said by the Blessed One: "It is by insight, O Bhikkhus, that I preach the law, not without insight<sup>1</sup>." On the other hand he said of the regulations of the Vinaya: "When I am gone, Ānanda, let the Order, if it should so wish, abolish all the lesser and minor precepts<sup>2</sup>." Were then these lesser and minor precepts wrongly laid down, or established in ignorance and without due cause, that the Blessed One allowed them to be revoked after his death? If the first statement had been true, the second would have been wrong. If the second statement were really made, [143] then the first was false. This too is a double-headed problem, fine, subtle, abstruse, deep, profound, and hard to expound. It is now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

2. 'In both cases, O king, the Blessed One said as you have declared. But in the second case it was to test the Bhikkhus that he said it, to try whether, if leave were granted them, they would, after his death, revoke the lesser and minor regulations, or still adhere to them. It runs as if a

<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet.

<sup>2</sup> Mahāparinibbāna Sutta VI, 3 (translated in my 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 112). The incident is referred to in the *Kullavagga* XI, 1, 9, 10, and in his commentary on that passage Buddhaghosa mentions the discussion between Milinda and Nāgasena, and quotes it as an authority in support of his interpretation.

king of kings were to say to his sons : " This great country, my children, reaches to the sea on every side. It is a hard thing to maintain it with the forces we have at our disposal. So when I am gone you had better, my children, abandon the outlying districts along the border." Now would the princes, O king, on the death of their father, give up those outlying districts, provinces already in their power ?'

'No indeed, Sir. Kings are grasping. The princes might, in the lust of power, subjugate an extent of country twice or thrice the size of what they had, but they would never give up what they already possessed.'

'Just so was it, O king, that the Tathâgata to test the Bhikkhus said : " When I am gone, Ânanda, let the Order, if it should so wish, abolish all the lesser and minor precepts." But the sons of the Buddha, O king, in their lust after the law, and for emancipation from sorrow, might keep two hundred and fifty regulations<sup>1</sup>, but would never give up any one that had been laid down in ordinary course.'

3. 'Venerable Nâgasena, when the Blessed One referred to " lesser and minor precepts," this people might therein [144] be bewildered, and fall into doubt, and find matter for discussion, and be lost in hesitation, as to which were the lesser, and which the minor precepts.'

'The lesser errors in conduct<sup>2</sup>, O king, are the lesser precepts, and the lesser errors in speech<sup>3</sup> are the minor precepts: and these two together make up therefore " the lesser and minor precepts." The

<sup>1</sup> The regulations in the Pâtimokkha, which include all the most important ones, are only 220 in number.

<sup>2</sup> *Dukkaṃsaṃ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Dubbhâsitaṃ*.



leading Elders too of old, O king, were in doubt about this matter, and they were not unanimous on the point at the Council held for the fixing of the text of the Scriptures<sup>1</sup>. And the Blessed One foresaw that this problem would arise.'

'Then this dark saying of the Conquerors, Nāgasena, which has lain hid so long, has been now to-day uncovered in the face of the world, and made clear to all.'

---

[Here ends the problem as to the revocation of rules.]

---

[ESOTERIC TEACHING.]

4. 'Venerable Nāgasena, it was said by the Blessed One: "In respect of the truths, Ānanda, the Tathāgata has no such thing as the closed fist of a teacher who keeps something back<sup>2</sup>." But on the other hand he made no reply to the question put by the son of the Mālunkya woman<sup>3</sup>. This problem, Nāgasena, will be one of two ends, on one of which it must rest, for he must have refrained from answering either out of ignorance, or out of wish to conceal something. If the first statement be true it must have been out of ignorance. But

---

<sup>1</sup> In the *Kullavagga* XI, 1, 10, it is one of the faults laid to Ānanda's charge, at the Council of Rāgagaha, that he had not asked for a definition of these terms.

<sup>2</sup> Mahāparinibbāna Sutta II, 32 (another passage from the same speech is quoted below, IV, 2, 29).

<sup>3</sup> See the two Mālunkya Suttantas in the *Magghima Nikāya* (vol. i, pp. 426-437 of Mr. Trenckner's edition for the Pāli Text Society). With regard to the spelling of the name, which is doubtful, it may be noticed that *Hīnaśi-kumburē* has *Mālunka* throughout.

if he knew, and still did not reply, then the first statement must be false. This too is a double-pointed dilemma. It is now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

5. 'The Blessed One, O king, made that first statement to Ânanda, and he did not reply to Mâluṅkyâ-putta's question. But that was neither out of ignorance, nor for the sake of concealing anything. There are four kinds of ways in which a problem may be explained. And which are the four? There is the problem to which an explanation can be given that shall be direct and final. There is the problem which can be answered by going into details. There is the problem which can be answered by asking another. And there is the problem which can be put on one side.

'And which, O king, is the problem to which a direct and final solution can be given? It is such as this—"Is form impermanent?" [145] "Is sensation impermanent?" "Is idea impermanent?" "Are the Confections impermanent?" "Is consciousness impermanent?"

'And which is the problem which can be answered by going into details? It is such as this—"Is form thus impermanent?" and so on.

'And which is the problem which can be answered by asking another? It is such as this—"What then? Can the eye perceive all things?"

'And which is the problem which can be put on one side? It is such as this—"Is the universe everlasting?" "Is it not everlasting?" "Has it an end?" "Has it no end?" "Is it both endless and unending?" "Is it neither the one nor the other?" "Are the soul and the body the same

thing?" "Is the soul distinct from the body?" "Does a Tathâgata exist after death?" "Does he not exist after death?" "Does he both exist and not exist after death?" "Does he neither exist nor not exist after death?"

'Now it was to such a question, one that ought to be put on one side, that the Blessed One gave no reply to Mâluṅkyâ-putta. And why ought such a question to be put on one side? Because there is no reason or object for answering it. That is why it should be put aside. For the Blessed Buddhas lift not up their voice without a reason and without an object.'

'Very good, Nâgasena! Thus it is, and I accept it as you say?'

[Here ends the dilemma as to keeping some things back<sup>1</sup>.]

[DEATH.]

6. 'Venerable Nâgasena, this too was said by the Blessed One: "All men tremble at punishment, all are afraid of death<sup>2</sup>." But again he said: "The Arahât has passed beyond all fear<sup>3</sup>." How then, Nâgasena? does the Arahât tremble with the fear of punishment? [146] Or are the beings in purgatory, when they are being burnt and boiled and scorched and tormented, afraid of that death which would release them from the burning fiery pit of that awful place of woe<sup>4</sup>? If the Blessed One, Nâgasena,

<sup>1</sup> See my note below on IV, 4, 8.      <sup>2</sup> Dhammapada 129.

<sup>3</sup> Not traced in these words, but identical in meaning with Dhammapada 39.

<sup>4</sup> Maha-nirayâ kâvamânâ, 'when they are on the point of passing away from it.' For in Buddhism the time comes to each

really said that all men tremble at punishment, and all are afraid of death, then the statement that the Arahats has passed beyond fear must be false. But if that last statement is really by him, then the other must be false. This double-headed problem is now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

7. 'It was not with regard to Arahats, O king, that the Blessed One spake when he said: "All men tremble at punishment, all are afraid of death." The Arahats is an exception to that statement, for all cause for fear has been removed from the Arahats<sup>1</sup>. He spoke of those beings in whom evil still existed, who are still infatuated with the delusion of self, who are still lifted up and cast down by pleasures and pains. To the Arahats, O king, rebirth in every state has been cut off, all the four kinds of future existence have been destroyed, every re-incarnation has been put an end to, the rafters<sup>2</sup> of the house of life have broken, and the whole house completely pulled down, the Confections have altogether lost their roots, good and evil have ceased, ignorance has been demolished, consciousness has no longer any seed (from which it could be renewed), all sin has been burnt away<sup>3</sup>, and all worldly conditions have been overcome<sup>4</sup>. Therefore is it that the Arahats is not made to tremble by any fear.'

---

being in Niraya (often translated 'hell') when he will pass away from it.

<sup>1</sup> That is from him who attained Nirvâna in this life. Compare 1 John iv. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Phâsû for Phâsukâ. Compare Dhammapada 154, Manu VI, 79-81, and Sumaṅgala, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Hīnaśi-kumburê adds 'by the fire of tapas.'

<sup>4</sup> Eight are meant—gain, loss, fame, dishonour, praise, blame, pleasures, pains.

8. 'Suppose, O king, a king had four chief ministers, faithful, famous, trustworthy, placed in high positions of authority. And the king, on some emergency arising, were to issue to them an order touching all the people in his realm, saying: "Let all now pay up a tax, and do you, as my four officers, carry out what is necessary in this emergency." Now tell me, O king, would the tremor which comes from fear of taxation arise in the hearts of those ministers?'

'No, Sir, it would not.'

'But why not?'

'They have been appointed by the king to high office. Taxation does not affect them, they are beyond taxation. It was the rest that the king referred to when he gave the order: [147] "Let all pay tax."'

'Just so, O king, is it with the statement that all men tremble at punishment, all are afraid of death. In that way is it that the Arahāt is removed from every fear.'

9. 'But, Nāgasena, the word "all" is inclusive, none are left out when it is used. Give me a further reason to establish the point.'

'Suppose, O king, that in some village the lord of the village were to order the crier, saying: "Go, crier, bring all the villagers quickly together before me." And he in obedience to that order were to stand in the midst of the village and were thrice to call out: "Let all the villagers assemble at once in the presence of the lord!" And they should assemble in haste, and have an announcement made to the lord, saying: "All the villagers, Sire, have assembled. Do now whatsoever you require." Now when the lord, O king, is thus summoning all the heads of

houses, he issues his order to all the villagers, but it is not they who assemble in obedience to the order; it is the heads of houses. And the lord is satisfied therewith, knowing that such is the number of his villagers. There are many others who do not come—women and men, slave girls and slaves, hired workmen, servants, peasantry, sick people, oxen, buffaloes, sheep, and goats, and dogs—but all those do not count. It was with reference to the heads of houses that the order was issued in the words: "Let all assemble." Just so, O king, it is not of Arahats that it was said that all are afraid of death. [148] The Arahata is not included in that statement, for the Arahata is one in whom there is no longer any cause that could give rise to fear.'

10. 'There is the non-inclusive expression, O king, whose meaning is non-inclusive, and the non-inclusive expression whose meaning is inclusive; there is the inclusive expression whose meaning is non-inclusive, and the inclusive expression whose meaning is inclusive. And the meaning, in each case, should be accepted accordingly. And there are five ways in which the meaning should be ascertained—by the connection, and by taste, and by the tradition of the teachers, and by the meaning, and by abundance of reasons. And herein "connection" means the meaning as seen in the Sutta itself, "taste" means that it is in accordance with other Suttas, "the tradition of the teachers" means what they hold, "the meaning" means what they think, and "abundance of reasons" means all these four combined<sup>1</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> This is much more obscure in Pāli than in English. In the Pāli the names of each of the five methods are ambiguous. 'Connection,' for instance, is in Pāli *âhaṅkā-pada*, which is only

11. 'Very well, Nâgasena ! I accept it as you say. The Arahat is an exception in this phrase, and it is the rest of beings who are full of fear. But those beings in purgatory, of whom I spoke, who are suffering painful, sharp, and severe agonies, who are tormented with burnings all over their bodies and limbs, whose mouths are full of lamentation, and cries for pity, and cries of weeping and wailing and woe, who are overcome with pains too sharp to be borne, who find no refuge nor protection nor help, who are afflicted beyond measure, who in the worst and lowest of conditions are still destined to a certainty to further pain, who are being burnt with hot, sharp, fierce, and cruel flames, who are giving utterance to mighty shouts and groans born of horror and fear, who are embraced by the garlands of flame which intertwine around them from all the six directions, and flash in fiery speed through a hundred leagues on every side—can those poor burning wretches be afraid of death ?'

'Yes, they can.'

'But, venerable Nâgasena, is not purgatory a place of certain pain ? And, if so, why should the beings in it be afraid of death, which would release them from that certain pain ? What ! Are they fond of purgatory ?'

'No, indeed. They like it not. They long to be released from it. It is the power of death of which they are afraid.'

'Now this, Nâgasena, I cannot believe, that they, who want to be released, should be afraid of rebirth.'

---

found elsewhere (see *Kullavagga* VI, 4, 3, and my note there) as the name of a kind of chair. And there is similar ambiguity in the other words.

[149] They must surely, Nāgasena, rejoice at the prospect of the very condition that they long for. Convince me by some further reason<sup>1</sup>.'

12. 'Death, great king, is a condition which those who have not seen the truth<sup>2</sup> are afraid of. About it this people is anxious and full of dread. Whosoever is afraid of a black snake, or an elephant or lion or tiger or leopard or bear or hyena or wild buffalo or gayal, or of fire or water, or of thorns or spikes or arrows, it is in each case of death that he is really in dread, and therefore afraid of them. This, O king, is the majesty of the essential nature of death. And all being not free from sin are in dread and quake before its majesty. In this sense it is that even the beings in purgatory, who long to be released from it, are afraid of death.'

13. 'Suppose, O king, a boil were to arise, full of matter, on a man's body, and he, in pain from that disease, and wanting to escape from the danger of it, were to call in a physician and surgeon. And the surgeon, accepting the call, were to make ready some means or other for the removal of his disease—were to have a lancet sharpened, or to have sticks put into the fire to be used as cauterisers, or to have something ground on a grindstone to be mixed in a salt lotion. Now would the patient begin to be in dread of the cutting of the sharp lancet, or of the burning of the pair of caustic sticks, or of the application of the stinging lotion?'

'Yes, he would.'

---

<sup>1</sup> Kāraṇena, perhaps he means 'by an example.'

<sup>2</sup> *Adiṣṣa-sakkāṇam*. It may also mean 'who have not perceived the (Four Noble) Truths.'



‘But if the sick man, who wants to be free from his ailment, can fall into dread by the fear of pain, just so can the beings in purgatory, though they long to be released from it, fall into dread by the fear of death.’

14. ‘And suppose, O king, a man who had committed an offence against the crown, when bound with a chain, and cast into a dungeon, were to long for release. And the ruler, wishing to release him, were to send for him. Now would not that man, who had thus offended, and knew it, be in dread [150] of the interview with the king?’

‘Yes, Sir.’

‘But if so, then can also the beings in purgatory, though they long to be released from it, yet be afraid of death.’

‘Give me another illustration by which I may be able to harmonise<sup>1</sup> (this apparent discrepancy).’

‘Suppose, O king, a man bitten by a poisonous snake should be afraid, and by the action of the poison should fall and struggle, and roll this way and that. And then that another man, by the repetition of a powerful charm, should compel that poisonous snake to approach to suck the poison back again<sup>2</sup>. Now when the bitten man saw the poisonous snake coming to him, though for the object of curing him, would he not still be in dread of it?’

‘Yes, Sir.’

‘Well, it is just so with the beings in purgatory.’

<sup>1</sup> Okappeyyam. See the Old Commentary at Pâkittiya I, 2, 6.

<sup>2</sup> On this belief the 69th Gâtaka is founded. See Fausböll, vol. i, pp. 310, 311 (where, as Mr. Trenckner points out, we must read in the verse the same word *paṭṭhākam* as we have here).

Death is a thing disliked by all beings. And therefore are they in dread of it though they want to be released from purgatory.'

'Very good, Nâgasena ! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the dilemma as to the fear of death.]

[PIRIT.]

15. 'Venerable Nâgasena, it was said by the Blessed One :

"Not in the sky, not in the ocean's midst,  
Not in the most secluded mountain cleft,  
Not in the whole wide world is found the spot  
Where standing one could 'scape the snare of death<sup>1</sup>."

But on the other hand the Pirit service was promulgated by the Blessed One<sup>2</sup>—that is to say, the Ratana Sutta and the Khanda-parittâ and the Mora-parittâ and the Dhagagga-parittâ [151] and the Âñânâ/iya-parittâ and the Aṅguli-mala-parittâ. If, Nâgasena, a man can escape death's snare neither by going to heaven, nor by going into the midst of the sea, nor by going to the summits of lofty palaces,

<sup>1</sup> Either Dhammapada 127, which is the same except the last word (there 'an evil deed'), or Dhammapada 128, except the last line (which is there 'where standing death would not overtake one').

<sup>2</sup> This is a service used for the sick. Its use so far as the Piṭakas are known has been nowhere laid down by the Buddha, or by words placed in his mouth. This is the oldest text in which the use of the service is referred to. But the word Parittâ (Pirit) is used in *Kullavagga* V, 6, of an asseveration of love for snakes, to be used as what is practically a charm against snake bite, and that is attributed to the Buddha. The particular Suttas and passages here referred to are all in the Piṭakas.

nor to the caves or grottoes or declivities or clefts or holes in the mountains, then is the Pirit ceremony useless. But if by it there is a way of escape from death, then the statement in the verse I quoted is false. This too is a double-headed problem, more knotty than a knot. It is now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

16. 'The Blessed One, O king, said the verse you have quoted, and he sanctioned Pirit<sup>1</sup>. But that is only meant for those who have some portion of their life yet to run, who are of full age, and restrain themselves from the evils of Karma. And there is no ceremony or artificial means<sup>2</sup> for prolonging the life of one whose allotted span of existence has come to an end. Just, O king, as with a dry and dead log of wood, dull<sup>3</sup>, and sapless, out of which all life has departed, which has reached the end of its allotted period of life,—you might have thousands of pots of water poured over it, but it would never become fresh again or put forth sprouts or leaves. Just so there is no ceremony or artificial means, no medicine and no Pirit, which can prolong the life of one whose allotted period has come to an end. All the medicines in the world are useless, O king, to such a one, but Pirit is a protection and assistance to those who have a period yet to live, who are full of life, and restrain themselves from the evil of Karma. And it is for that use that Pirit was appointed by the

<sup>1</sup> See last note. *Hīna/i-kumburē* renders 'preached Pirit,' which is quite in accordance with the *Pi/akas*, as the *Suttas* of which it is composed are placed in his mouth.

<sup>2</sup> *Upakkamo*. Compare the use of the word at *Kullavagga* VII, 3, 10; *Sumaṅgala* 69, 71. *Utpatti-kramayek* says the *Siṃhalese*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ko/āpa*. See *Gātaka* III, 495, and the commentary there.

Blessed One. Just, O king, as a husbandman guards the grain when it is ripe and dead and ready for harvesting from the influx of water, but makes it grow by giving it water when it is young, and dark in colour like a cloud, and full of life—just so, O king, should the Pirit ceremony be put aside and neglected in the case of one who has reached his allotted term of life, [152] but for those who have a period yet to run and are full of vigour, for them the medicine of Pirit may be repeated, and they will profit by its use.'

17. 'But, Nâgasena, if he who has a term of life yet to run will live, and he who has none will die, then medicine and Pirit are alike useless.'

'Have you ever seen, O king, a case of a disease being turned back by medicine?'

'Yes, several hundred times.'

'Then, O king, your statement as to the inefficiency of Pirit and medicine must be wrong.'

'I have seen, Nâgasena, doctors administer medicines by way of draughts or outward applications, and by that means the disease has been assuaged.'

'And when, O king, the voice of those who are repeating Pirit is heard, the tongue may be dried up, and the heart beat but faintly, and the throat be hoarse, but by that repetition all diseases are allayed, all calamities depart. Again, have you ever seen, O king, a man who has been bitten by a snake having the poison resorbed under a spell (by the snake who gave the bite<sup>1</sup>) or destroyed (by an antidote) or having a lotion applied above or below the spot<sup>2</sup>?'

<sup>1</sup> See above, IV, 2, 14.

<sup>2</sup> All this sentence is doubtful. Dr. Morris has a learned note on the difficult words used (which only occur here) in the 'Journal

‘Yes, that is common custom to this day in the world.’

‘Then what you said that Pirit and medicine are alike useless is wrong. And when Pirit has been said over a man, a snake, ready to bite, will not bite him, but close his jaws—the club which robbers hold aloft to strike him with will never strike; they will let it drop, and treat him kindly—the enraged elephant rushing at him will suddenly stop—the burning fiery conflagration surging towards him will die out—the malignant poison he has eaten will become harmless, and turn to food—assassins who have come to slay him will become as the slaves who wait upon him—and the trap into which he has trodden will hold him not.

18. ‘Again, have you never heard, O king, of that hunter who during seven hundred years failed to throw his net over the peacock who had taken Pirit, but snared him the very day [153] he omitted to do so<sup>1</sup>?’

‘Yes, I have heard of it. The fame of it has gone through all the world.’

‘Then what you said about Pirit and medicine being alike useless must be wrong. And have you never heard of the Dānava<sup>2</sup> who, to guard his wife,

of the Pāli Text Society’ for 1884, p. 87. *Hīnañ-kumburê*, p. 191, translates as follows: *Mahā ragāneni, wisha wināsa karannāwû mantra padayakin wishaya baswana laddāwû, wisha sanhinduwana laddāwû, ûrddhādho bhāgayehi awushadha galayen temana laddāwû, nayaku wisin dash/a karana laddāwû kisiwek topa wisin daknâ ladde dœyi wiñāla seka.*

<sup>1</sup> This is the *Mora-Gâtaka*, Nos. 159, 491, or (which is the same thing) the *Mora-Parittā*.

<sup>2</sup> An Asura, enemy of the gods, a Titan. *Rakshasa* says the *Simhalese*.

put her into a box, and swallowing it, carried her about in his stomach. And how a Vidyâdhara<sup>1</sup> entered his mouth, and played games with his wife. And how the Dânaava when he became aware of it, vomited up the box, and opened it, and the moment he did so the Vidyâdhara escaped whither he would<sup>2</sup>?’

‘Yes, I have heard that. The fame of it too has gone throughout the world.’

‘Well, did not the Vidyâdhara escape capture by the power of Pirit?’

‘Yes, that was so.’

‘Then there must be power in Pirit. And have you heard of that other Vidyâdhara who got into the harem of the king of Benares, and committed adultery with the chief queen, and was caught, and then became invisible, and got away<sup>3</sup>?’

‘Yes, I heard that story.’

‘Well, did not he too escape capture by the power of Pirit?’

‘Yes, Sir.’

‘Then, O king, there must be power in Pirit.’

19. ‘Venerable Nâgasena, is Pirit a protection to everybody?’

<sup>1</sup> They are a kind of genii, with magical powers, who are attendants on the god Siva (and therefore, of course, enemies of the Dânavas). They are not mentioned in the Piṭakas.

<sup>2</sup> I don't know where this story comes from. It is not in the Piṭakas anywhere. But Hīnaśi-kumburē gives the fairy tale at full length, and in the course of it calls the Vidyâdharas by name Wāyassa-putra, ‘Son of the Wind.’ He quotes also a gāthā which he places, not in the mouth of the Bodisat, but of Buddha himself. I cannot find the tale either in the Gâtaka book, as far as published by Professor Fausböll, or in the Kathâ Sarit Sâgara, though I have looked all through both.

<sup>3</sup> See last note.

‘To some, not to others.’

‘Then it is not always of use?’

‘Does food keep all people alive?’

‘Only some, not others.’

‘But why not?’

‘Inasmuch as some, eating too much of that same food, die of cholera.’

‘So it does not keep all men alive?’

‘There are two reasons which make it destroy life—over-indulgence in it, and weakness of digestion. And even life-giving food may be made poisonous by an evil spell.’

‘Just so, O king, is Pirit a protection to some and not to others. And there are three reasons [154] for its failure—the obstruction of Karma, and of sin, and of unbelief. That Pirit which is a protection to beings loses its protecting power by acts done by those beings themselves. Just, O king, as a mother lovingly nourishes the son who has entered her womb, and brings him forth with care<sup>1</sup>. And after his birth she keeps him clean from dirt and stains and mucus, and anoints him with the best and most costly perfumes, and when others abuse or strike him she seizes them and, full of excitement, drags them before the lord of the place. But when her son is naughty, or comes in late, she strikes him with rods or clubs on her knee or with her hands. Now, that being so, would she get seized and dragged along, and have to appear before the lord?’

‘No, Sir.’

‘But why not?’

---

<sup>1</sup> Upakârena, which the Sinhalese repeats and construes with poseti.

‘Because the boy was in fault.’

‘Just in the same way, O king, will Pirit which is a protection to beings, yet, by their own fault, turn against them.’

‘Very good, Nâgasena! The problem has been solved, the jungle made clear, the darkness made light, the net of heresy unravelled—and by you, O best of the leaders of schools!’

---

[Here ends the dilemma as to Pirit.]

---

[MÂRA, THE EVIL ONE.]

20. ‘Venerable Nâgasena, your people say thus: “The Tathâgata was in the constant receipt of the things necessary for a recluse—robes, food, lodging, and the requisites for the sick.” And again they say: “When the Tathâgata entered the Brahman village called the Five Sâla trees he received nothing, and had to return with his bowl as clean as before.” If the first passage is true the second is false, and if the second passage is true [155] the first is false. This too is a double-headed problem, a mighty crux hard to unravel. It is now put to you. It is for you to solve it.’

21. ‘Both statements are true, but when he received nothing that day, that was the work of Mâra, the evil one.’

‘Then, Nâgasena, how was it that the merit laid up by the Blessed One through countless æons of time came to end that day? How was it that Mâra, who had only just been produced, could overcome the strength and influence of that merit? In that case, Nâgasena, the blame must fall in one of two



ways—either demerit must be more powerful than merit, or the power of Māra be greater than that of the Buddha. The root of the tree must be heavier than the top of it, or the sinner stronger than he who has heaped up virtue.'

22. 'Great king, that is not enough to prove either the one or the other of your alternatives. Still a reason is certainly desirable in this matter. Suppose, O king, a man were to bring a complimentary present to a king of kings—honey or honeycomb or something of that kind. And the king's doorkeeper were to say to him: "This is the wrong time for visiting the king. So, my good fellow, take your present as quickly as ever you can, and go back before the king inflicts a fine upon you." And then that man, in dread and awe, should pick up his present, and return in great haste. Now would the king of kings, merely from the fact that the man brought his gift at the wrong time, be less powerful than the doorkeeper, or never receive a complimentary present any more?'

'No, Sir. The doorkeeper turned back the giver of that present out of the surliness of his nature, and one a hundred thousand times as valuable [156] might be brought in by some other device.'

'Just so, O king, it was out of the jealousy of his nature that Māra, the evil one, possessed the Brahmans and householders at the Five Sāla trees. And hundreds of thousands of other deities came up to offer the Buddha the strength-giving ambrosia from heaven, and stood reverencing him with clasped hands and thinking to themselves that they would thus imbue him with vigour.'

23. 'That may be so, Nāgasena. The Blessed

One found it easy to get the four requisites of a recluse—he, the best in the world—and at the request of gods and men he enjoyed all the requisites. But still Mâra's intention to stop the supply of food to the Blessed One was so far carried out. Herein, Sir, my doubt is not removed. I am still in perplexity and hesitation about this. My mind is not clear how the Tathâgata, the Arahata, the supreme Buddha, the best of all the best in the world of gods and men, he who had so glorious a treasure of the merit of virtue, the unequalled one, unrivalled and peerless,—how so vile, mean, insignificant, sinful, and ignoble a being as Mâra could put any obstacle in the way of gifts to Him.'

24. 'There are four kinds, O king, of obstacles—the obstacle to a gift not intended for any particular person, to a gift set apart for some one, to the gift got ready, and to the enjoyment of a gift. And the first is when any one puts an obstacle in the way of the actual gift of a thing put ready to be given away, but not with a view to or having seen any particular donee,—an obstacle raised, for instance, by saying: "What is the good of giving it away to any one else?" The second is when any one puts an obstacle in the way of the actual gift of food intended to be prepared to be given to a person specified. The third is when any one puts an obstacle in the way when such a gift has been got ready, but not yet accepted. And the fourth is when any one puts an obstacle in the way of the enjoyment of a gift already given (and so the property of the donee).'

25. 'Now when Mâra, the evil one, possessed the

Brahmans and householders at the Five Sâla trees, the food in that case was neither the property of, nor got ready for, nor intended to be prepared specially for the Blessed One. [157] The obstacle was put in the way of some one who was yet to come, who had not arrived, and for whom no gift was intended. That was not against the Blessed One alone. But all who had gone out that day, and were coming to the village, failed to receive an alms. I know no one, O king, in the world of men and gods, no one among Mâras or Brahmas, no one of the class of Brahmans or recluses, who could put any obstacle in the way of an alms intended for, or got ready for, or already given to the Blessed One. And if any one, out of jealousy, were to raise up any obstacle in that case, then would his head split into a hundred or into a thousand pieces.'

26. 'There are four things, O king, connected with the Tathâgatas, to which no one can do any harm. And what are the four? To the alms intended for, and got ready for the Blessed One—to the halo of a fathom's length when it has once spread out from him—to the treasure of the knowledge of his omniscience—and to his life. All these things, O king, are one in essence—they are free from defect, immovable, unassailable by other beings, unchangeable by other circumstances<sup>1</sup>. And Mâra, the evil one, lay in ambush, out of sight, when he possessed the Brahmans and householders at the Five Sâla trees. It was as when robbers, O king,

---

<sup>1</sup> Aphasâni kiriyâni, which I do not pretend to understand, and Mr. Trenckner says is unintelligible to him. Hīnaś-kumburê has: Anya kriyâwak no wœdagannâ bœwin apusana (sic) kriyâyo ya.

hiding out of sight in the inaccessible country over the border, beset the highways. But if the king caught sight of them, do you think those robbers would be safe ?'

'No, Sir, he might have them cut into a hundred or a thousand pieces with an axe.'

'Well, just so it was, hiding out of sight, that Mâra possessed them. It was as when a married woman, in ambush, and out of sight, frequents the company of her paramour. [158] But if, O king, she were to carry on her intrigues in her husband's presence, do you think she would be safe ?'

'No, Sir, he might slay her, or wound her, or put her in bonds, or reduce her to slavery.'

'Well. It was like that, hiding out of sight, that Mâra possessed them. But if, O king, he had raised any obstacle in the case of an alms intended for, got ready for, or in possession of the Blessed One, then his head would have split into a hundred or a thousand pieces.'

'That is so, Nâgasena. Mâra, the evil one, acted after the manner of robbers, he lay in ambush, possessing the Brahmans and householders of the Five Sâla trees. But if the same Mâra, the evil one, had interfered with any alms intended for, or made ready for the Blessed One, or with his partaking thereof, then would his head have been split into a hundred or a thousand pieces, or his bodily frame have been dissipated like a handful of chaff.'

'Very good, Nâgasena ! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

---

[ Here ends the dilemma as to Mâra's interference with alms.]

## [UNCONSCIOUS CRIME.]

27. 'Venerable Nāgasena, your people say: "Who-soever deprives a living being of life, without knowing that he does so, he accumulates very serious demerit<sup>1</sup>." But on the other hand it was laid down by the Blessed One in the Vinaya: "There is no offence to him who acts in ignorance<sup>2</sup>." If the first passage is correct, the other must be false; and if the second is right, the first must be wrong. This too is a double-pointed problem, hard to master, hard to overcome. It is now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

28. 'Both the passages you quote, O king, were spoken by the Blessed One. But there is a difference between the sense of the two. And what is that difference? [159] There is a kind of offence which is committed without the co-operation of the mind<sup>3</sup>, and there is another kind which has that co-operation. It was with respect to the first of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Not traced as yet, in so many words. And though there are several injunctions in the Vinaya against acts which might haply, though unknown to the doer, destroy life (such, for instance, as drinking water without the use of a strainer), when these are all subjects of special rule, and in each case there is an exception in favour of the Bhikkhu who acts in ignorance of there being living things which could be killed. (See, for instance, Pāṭittiya 62, on the drinking of water.)

<sup>2</sup> Agānantassa nāpatti. Pāṭittiya LXI, 2, 3 (in the Old Commentary, not ascribed to the Buddha).

<sup>3</sup> Saññā-vimokkhā. I am not sure of the exact meaning of this difficult compound, which has only been found in this passage. Hīna-kumburē (p. 199) has: Mahā ragāneni, kīttāngayen abhāwayen midena bœwin saññā-wimoksha-namwā āpattit atteya, &c. (mid = muk).

two that the Blessed One said: "There is no offence to him who acts in ignorance<sup>1</sup>."

'Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the dilemma as to sins in ignorance.]

[THE BUDDHA AND HIS FOLLOWERS.]

29. 'Venerable Nâgasena, it was said by the Blessed One: "Now the Tathâgata thinks not, Ânanda, that is he who should lead the brotherhood, or that the Order is dependent upon him<sup>2</sup>." But on the other hand when describing the virtues and the nature of Metteyya, the Blessed One, he said thus: "He will be the leader of a brotherhood several thousands in number, as I am now the leader of a brotherhood several hundreds in number<sup>3</sup>." If the first statement be right, then the second is wrong. If the second passage is right, the first must be false. This too is a double-pointed problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

30. 'You quote both passages correctly, O king. But in the dilemma that you put the sense in the one passage is inclusive, in the other it is not. It is not the Tathâgata, O king, who seeks after a following, but the followers who seek after him.

<sup>1</sup> The Sinhalese has here a further page, giving examples of the two kinds of offences referred to, and drawing the conclusion for each.

<sup>2</sup> Book of the Great Decease, II, 32 (translated in my 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 37), just after the passage quoted above, IV, 2, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Not in any of the published texts. Metteyya is, of course, the Buddha to come, the expected messiah.

[160] It is a mere commonly received opinion, O king, that "This is I," or "This is mine," it is not a transcendental truth<sup>1</sup>. Attachment is a frame of mind put away by the Tathâgata, he has put away clinging, he is free from the delusion that "This is mine," he lives only to be a help to others<sup>2</sup>. Just as the earth, O king, is a support to the beings in the world, and an asylum to them, and they depend upon it, but the broad earth has no longing after them in the idea that "These belong to me"—just so is the Tathâgata a support and an asylum to all beings, but has no longing after them in the idea that "These belong to me." And just as a mighty rain cloud, O king, pours out its rain, and gives nourishment to grass and trees, to cattle and to men, and maintains the lineage thereof, and all these creatures depend for their livelihood upon its rain, but the cloud has no feelings of longing in the idea that "These are mine"—just so does the Tathâgata give all beings to know what are good qualities and maintains them in goodness, and all beings have their life in him, but the Tathâgata has no feelings of longing in the idea that "These are mine." And why is it so? Because of his having abandoned all self-regard<sup>3</sup>.

'Very good, Nâgasena! The problem has been well solved by variety of examples. The jungle has been made open, the darkness has been turned

<sup>1</sup> Sammuti . . . na paramattho.

<sup>2</sup> Upâdâya avassayo hoti.

<sup>3</sup> Attânudi//hiyâ pahînattâ. See the passages quoted by Dr. Morris in the 'Journal of the Pâli Text Society,' 1886, pp. 113, 114.

to light, the arguments of the adversaries have been broken down, insight has been awakened in the sons of the Conqueror.'

---

[Here ends the dilemma as to the Buddha and his following.]

---

[SCHISM.]

31. 'Venerable Nâgasena, your people say: "The Tathâgata is a person whose following can never be broken up." And again they say: "At one stroke Devadatta seduced five hundred of the brethren<sup>1</sup>." If the first be true the second is false, but if the second be correct then the first is wrong. [161] This too is a double-pointed problem, profound, hard to unravel, more knotty than a knot. By it these people are veiled, obstructed, hindered, shut in, and enveloped. Herein show your skill as against the arguments of the adversaries.'

32. 'Both statements, O king, are correct. But the latter is owing to the power of the breach maker. Where there is one to make the breach, a mother will be separated from her son, and the son will break with the mother, or the father with the son and the son with the father, or the brother from the sister and the sister from the brother, or friend from friend. A ship pieced together with timber of all sorts is broken up by the force of the violence of the waves, and a tree in full bearing and full of sap is broken down by the force of the violence of the wind, and gold of the finest sort is divided by

---

<sup>1</sup> Neither of these phrases is to be found in the published texts in these words. But the latter sums up the episode related in the *Kullavagga* VII, 4, 1.



bronze. But it is not the intention of the wise, it is not the will of the Buddhas, it is not the desire of those who are learned that the following of the Tathâgata should be broken up. And there is a special sense in which it is said that that cannot be. It is an unheard-of thing, so far as I know, that his following could be broken up by anything done or taken, any unkindly word, any wrong action, any injustice, in all the conduct, wheresoever or whatsoever, of the Tathâgata himself. In that sense his following is invulnerable. And you yourself, do you know of any instance in all the ninefold word of the Buddha of anything done by a Bodisat which broke up the following of the Tathâgata ?'

'No, Sir. Such a thing has never been seen or heard in the world. It is very good, Nâgasena, what you say : and I accept it so.'

---

[Here ends the dilemma as to schism.]

---

Here ends the Second Chapter.

## BOOK IV. CHAPTER 3.

## [PRECEDENCE OF THE DHARMA.]

1. 'Venerable Nāgasena, it was said by the Blessed One: "For it is the Dhamma, O Vāsettha, which is 'the best in the world'<sup>1</sup>, as regards both what we now see, and what is yet to come<sup>2</sup>." But again (according to your people) the devout layman who has entered the Excellent Way, for whom the possibility of rebirth in any place of woe has passed away, who has attained to insight, and to whom the doctrine is known, even such a one ought to salute and to rise from his seat in token of respect for, and to revere, any member of the Order, though a novice, and though he be unconverted<sup>3</sup>. Now if the Dhamma be the best that rule of conduct is wrong, but if that be right then the first statement must be wrong.

---

<sup>1</sup> This is a quotation from a celebrated verse, which is, as it were, the national anthem of those who, in the struggle for religious and ceremonial supremacy between the Brahmans and the nobles, took the side of the nobles (the Khattiyas). As might be expected it is not seldom found in the Buddhist Suttas, and is often put in the mouth of the Buddha, the most distinguished of these Khattiyas who were transcendental rather than military. It runs: 'The Khattiya is the best in the world of those who observe the rules of exogamous marriage, but of the whole race of men and gods he who has wisdom and righteousness is the best.' See, for instance, the *Ambaṭṭha* Sutta, in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, and the *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī* on that passage. By 'best in the world' is meant 'entitled to take precedence before all others,' not best in the moral sense.

<sup>2</sup> From the *Aggañña* Sutta in the *Dīgha Nikāya*.

<sup>3</sup> I cannot give any authority for this, but it is no doubt correct Buddhism according to the spirit of the *Piṭakas*.

This too is a double-pointed problem. It is now put to you, and you have to solve it.' [162]

2. 'The Blessed One said what you have quoted, and you have rightly described the rule of conduct. But there is a reason for that rule, and that is this. There are these twenty personal qualities, making up the Samanaship of a Samana, and these two outward signs<sup>1</sup>, by reason of which the Samana is worthy of salutation, and of respect, and of reverence. And what are they? The best form of self-restraint, the highest kind of self-control<sup>2</sup>, right conduct, calm manners<sup>3</sup>, mastery over (his deeds and words<sup>4</sup>), subjugation (of his senses<sup>5</sup>), long-suffering<sup>6</sup>, sympathy<sup>7</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Liṅgāni. See above, IV, 1, 61.

<sup>2</sup> Aggo niyamo. Hīnaśi-kumburē takes agga in the sense of Arahātship: 'Niwan dena pratipattiyeṇ yukta bawa.' Niyama is a self-imposed vow.

<sup>3</sup> Vihāra, which the Sinhalese glosses by: 'Sansun iriyā-patha viharanayeṇ yukta bawa,' ('because he continues in the practice of tranquil deportment.')

<sup>4</sup> Samyama. 'Kāya wāk samyamayeṇ yukta bawa.'

<sup>5</sup> Samvaro. 'Indriya samvarayeṇ yukta bawa.'

<sup>6</sup> Khanti, which the Sinhalese repeats.

<sup>7</sup> Soraṭṭam. 'Because he is docile and pleasant of speech,' says the Sinhalese: 'Suwaṭṭa kīkaru bhāwayeṇ yukta bawa.' It is an abstract noun formed from surata, and does not occur in Sanskrit, though Böhtlingk-Roth give one authority for it (under sauratya) from a Buddhist work, the Vyutpatti. It is one of the many instances in which the Buddhist ethics has put new and higher meaning into current phrases, for in Sanskrit literature surata (literally 'high pleasure') is used frequently enough, but almost without exception in an obscene sense. The commentary on Gāṭaka III, 442 only repeats the word. It is there, as here, and in the Vyutpatti, and at Aṅguttara II, 15, 3, always allied with khanti. My translation follows Childers (who probably follows Böhtlingk-Roth); but the Sinhalese gloss here makes me very doubtful as to the exact connotation which the early Buddhists associated with 'high pleasure.'

the practice of solitude<sup>1</sup>, love of solitude<sup>2</sup>, meditation<sup>3</sup>, modesty and fear of doing wrong<sup>4</sup>, zeal<sup>5</sup>, earnestness<sup>6</sup>, the taking upon himself of the precepts<sup>7</sup>, recitation (of the Scriptures)<sup>8</sup>, asking questions (of those wise in the Dhamma and Vinaya), rejoicing in the Sīlas and other (rules of morality), freedom from attachment (to the things of the world), fulfilment of the precepts—and the wearing of the yellow robe, and the being shaven. [163] In the practice of all these things does the member of the Order live. By being deficient in none of them, by being perfect in all, accomplished in all, endowed with all of them does he reach forward to the condition of Arahātship, to the condition of those who have nothing left to learn; he is marching towards the highest of all lands<sup>9</sup>. Thus it is because he sees him to be in the company of the Worthy Ones (the Arahats) that the layman who has already entered on the Excellent Way thinks it worthy in him<sup>10</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> Ekatta-kariyâ = 'Ekalâwa hœsirimen yukta bawa.'

<sup>2</sup> Ekattâbhirati.

<sup>3</sup> Paṭisallanāṃ, not samâdhi. Kittekâgratâ says the Sinhalese.

<sup>4</sup> Hiri-otappam.

<sup>5</sup> Viriyam, 'the zeal of the fourfold effort (pradhâna) towards the making of Arahātship,' is the Sinhalese gloss.

<sup>6</sup> Appamâdo, 'in the search for Arahātship,' says Hinaṭi-kumburê.

<sup>7</sup> Sikkhâ-samâdanam. 'Learning them, investigating their meaning, love of the virtuous law laid down in them,' expands Hinaṭi-kumburê.

<sup>8</sup> Uddero. There is a lacuna here in the Sinhalese. It has nothing more till we come to the shaven head.

<sup>9</sup> Amṛita mahâ avakâsa bhûmiyaṭa says the Sinhalese (p. 205).

<sup>10</sup> Arahati. I have endeavoured to imitate the play upon the words.

reverence and to show respect to the Bhikkhu, though he may be, as yet, unconverted. It is because he sees him to be in the company of those in whom all evil has been destroyed, because he feels that he is not in such society<sup>1</sup>, that the converted layman thinks it worthy of him to do reverence and to show respect to the unconverted Bhikkhu. It is because he knows that he has joined the noblest brotherhood, and that he himself has reached no such state, that the converted layman holds it right to do reverence and to show respect to the unconverted Bhikkhu—because he knows that he listens to the recitation of the Pâtimokkha, while he himself can not—because he knows that he receives men into the Order, and thus extends the teaching of the Conqueror, which he himself is incapable of doing—because he knows that he carries out innumerable precepts, which he himself cannot observe—because he knows that he wears the outward signs of Samanaship, and carries out the intention of the Buddha, while he himself is gone away far from that—because he knows that he, though he has given up his hair and beard, and is unanointed and wears no ornaments, yet is anointed with the perfume of righteousness, while he is himself addicted to jewelry and fine apparel—that the converted layman thinks it right to do reverence, and to show respect to the unconverted Bhikkhu.'

3. 'And moreover, O king, it is because he knows that not only are all these twenty personal qualities which go to make a Samana, and the two outward signs, found in the Bhikkhu, but that he carries them

---

<sup>1</sup> N'atthi me so samayo ti: E sâmagrî lâbhaya ma/a nœtœyi sitâ.

on, and trains others in them, that the converted layman, realising that he has no part in that tradition<sup>1</sup>, in that maintenance of the faith, thinks it right to reverence and to show respect to the converted Bhikkhu. [164] Just, O king, as a royal prince who learns his knowledge, and is taught the duties of a Khattiya, at the feet of the Brahman who acts as family chaplain<sup>2</sup>, when after a time he is anointed king, pays reverence and respect to his master in the thought of his being the teacher, and the carrier on of the traditions of the family, so is it right for the converted Bhikkhu to do reverence and to pay respect to the unconverted Bhikkhu.'

4. 'And moreover, O king, you may know by this fact the greatness and the peerless glory of the condition of the Bhikkhus—that if a layman, a disciple of the faith, who has entered upon the Excellent Way, should attain to the realisation of Arahatsip, one of two results must happen to him, and there is no other—he must either die away on that very day, or take upon himself the condition of a Bhikkhu. For immovable, O king, is that state of renunciation, glorious, and most exalted—I mean the condition of being a member of the Order!'

'Venerable Nâgasena, this subtle problem has been thoroughly unravelled by your powerful and great wisdom. No one else could solve it so unless he were wise as you.'

---

[Here ends the problem as to the precedence of the Dharma.]

---

<sup>1</sup> Âgamo, which the Sinhalese repeats.

<sup>2</sup> Purohita, which the Sinhalese repeats.

## [THE HARM OF PREACHING.]

5. 'Venerable Nāgasena, you Bhikkhus say that the Tathāgata averts harm from all beings, and does them good<sup>1</sup>. And again you say that when he was preaching the discourse based on the simile of the burning fire<sup>2</sup> hot blood was ejected from the mouths of about sixty Bhikkhus. By his delivery of that discourse he did those Bhikkhus harm and not good. So if the first statement is correct, the second is false; and if the second is correct, the first [165] is false. This too is a double-pointed problem put to you, which you have to solve.'

6. 'Both are true. What happened to them was not the Tathāgata's doing, but their own.'

'But, Nāgasena, if the Tathāgata had not delivered that discourse, then would they have vomited up hot blood?'

'No. When they took wrongly what he said, then was there a burning kindled within them, and hot blood was ejected from their mouths.'

'Then that must have happened, Nāgasena, through the act of the Tathāgata, it must have been the Tathāgata who was the chief cause<sup>3</sup> to destroy them. Suppose a serpent, Nāgasena, had crept into an anthill, and a man in want of earth were to break into the anthill, and take the earth of it away. And by his doing so the entrance-hole to the anthill

<sup>1</sup> I cannot give chapter and verse for the words, but the sentiment is common enough.

<sup>2</sup> This is not the Āditta-pariyāya given in the Mahāvagga I, 21, and the Aggikkhandūpama Sutta in the 7th Book of the Aṅguttara.

<sup>3</sup> Adhikāra. Pradhāna is the Sinhalese translation.

were closed up, and the snake were to die in consequence from want of air. Would not the serpent have been killed by that man's action ?'

'Yes, O king.'

'Just so, Nâgasena, was the Tathâgata the prime cause of their destruction.'

7. 'When the Tathâgata delivered a discourse, O king, he never did so either in flattery or in malice. In freedom both from the one and from the other did he speak. And they who received it aright were made wise<sup>1</sup>, but they who received it wrongly, fell. Just, O king, as when a man shakes a mango tree or a jambu tree or a mee tree<sup>2</sup>, such of the fruits on it as are full of sap and strongly fastened to it remain undisturbed, but such as have rotten stalks, and are loosely attached, fall to the ground—[166] so was it with his preaching. It was, O king, as when a husbandman, wanting to grow a crop of wheat, ploughs the field, but by that ploughing many hundreds and thousands of blades of grass are killed—or it was as when men, for the sake of sweetness, crush sugar-cane in a mill, and by their doing so such small creatures as pass into the mouth of the mill are crushed also—so was it that the Tathâgata making wise those whose minds were prepared, preached the Dhamma without flattery and without malice. And they who received it aright were made wise, but they who received it wrongly, fell.'

8. 'Then did not those Bhikkhus fall, Nâgasena, just because of that discourse ?'

<sup>1</sup> *Bugg'hanti*: unto Arahatship adds *Hina/i-kumburê*.

<sup>2</sup> *Madhuka*. See *Gâtaka* IV, 434. The *Sinhalese* (p. 208) has *mîgahak* (*Bassia Latifolia*).



‘How, then, could a carpenter by doing nothing to a piece of timber, and simply laying it by<sup>1</sup>, make it straight and fit for use?’

‘No, Sir. He would have to get rid of the bends out of it, if he wanted it straight and ready for use.’

‘Just so, O king, the Tathâgata could not, by merely watching over his disciples, have opened the eyes of those who were ready to see. But by getting rid of those who took the word wrongly he saved those prepared to be saved. And it was by their own act and deed, O king, that the evil-minded fell; just as a plantain tree, or a bambû, or a she-mule are destroyed by that to which they themselves give birth<sup>2</sup>. And just, O king, as it is by their own acts that robbers come to have their eyes plucked out, or to impalement, or to the scaffold, just so were the evil-minded destroyed by their own act, and fell from the teaching of the Conqueror.’

9. ‘And so [167] with those sixty Bhikkhus, they fell neither by the act of the Tathâgata nor of any one else, but solely by their own deed<sup>3</sup>. Suppose, O king, a man were to give ambrosia<sup>4</sup> to all the people, and they, eating of it, were to become healthy and long-lived and free from every bodily ill. But one man, on eating it, were by his own bad digestion, to

---

<sup>1</sup> Rakkhanto, which Hîna/i-kumburê expands in the sense adopted above.

<sup>2</sup> Plantains and bambûs die when they flower. And it was popular belief in India that she-mules always died if they foaled. See *Kullavagga* VI, 4, 3; VII, 2, 5; *Vimâna Vatthu* 43, 8; *Samyutta Nikâya* VI, 2, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Hîna/i-kumburê here inserts a translation of the whole of the Sutta referred to.

<sup>4</sup> Amatam, with reference, no doubt, to Arahatsip, of which this is also an epithet.

die. Would then, O king, the man who gave away the ambrosia be guilty therein of any offence ?'

'No, Sir.'

'Just so, O king, does the Tathâgata present the gift of his ambrosia to the men and gods in the ten thousand world systems ; and those beings who are capable of doing so are made wise by the nectar of his law, while they who are not are destroyed and fall. Food, O king, preserves the lives of all beings. But some who eat of it die of cholera<sup>1</sup>. Is the man who feeds the hungry guilty therein of any offence ?'

'No, Sir.'

'Just so, O king, does the Tathâgata present the gift of his ambrosia to the men and gods in the ten thousand world systems ; and those beings who are capable of doing so are made wise by the nectar of his law, while they who are not are destroyed and fall.'

'Very good, Nâgasena ! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the dilemma on the harm resulting from preaching.]

[THE SECRETS OF A TATHÂGATA.]

11. [This dilemma treats of one of the thirty bodily signs of a 'great man' (Mahâpurusha) supposed to be possessed by every Tathâgata, but as it deals with matters not usually spoken of in this century, it is best read in the original.]

[THE FOOLISH FELLOW.]

15. [170] 'Venerable Nâgasena, it was said by the Elder Sâriputta, the commander of the faith : "The

<sup>1</sup> Visûkikâya, which Hîna'i-kumburê renders: *Agîrṇa wa wiwekâbâdhayen*. So above, IV, 2, 18.

Tathâgata, brethren, is perfect in courtesy of speech. There is no fault of speech in the Tathâgata concerning which he should have to take care that no one else should know it<sup>1</sup>." And on the other hand the Tathâgata, when promulgating the first Pârâgika on the occasion of the offence of Sudinna the Kalanda<sup>2</sup>, addressed him with harsh words, calling him a useless fellow<sup>3</sup>. And that Elder, on being so called, terrified with the fear of his teacher<sup>4</sup>, and overcome with remorse, was unable to comprehend the Excellent Way<sup>5</sup>. Now if the first statement be correct, the allegation that the Tathâgata called Sudinna the Kalanda a useless fellow must be false. But if that be true, then the first statement must be false. [171] This too is a double-pointed problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

16. 'What Sâriputta the Elder said is true, O king. And the Blessed One called Sudinna a useless fellow on that occasion. But that was not out of rudeness of disposition<sup>6</sup>, it was merely pointing out the real nature (of his conduct) in a way that would do him no harm<sup>7</sup>. And what herein is meant by

<sup>1</sup> I don't know where such a phrase is put into Sâriputta's mouth: but a similar one, as Mr. Trenckner points out, is ascribed to the Buddha at *Ânguttara* VII, 6, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Kalanda-putto, where Kalanda (or Kalandaka as some MSS. of the Vinaya spell it) is the name of the clan (see Pârâgika I, 5, 1), not of the father.

<sup>3</sup> See the whole speech at Pârâgika I, 5, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Garuttâsena. Tâso is not in Childers, but occurs *Gâtaka* III, 177, 202.

<sup>5</sup> There is nothing in the Vinaya account of this result.

<sup>6</sup> *Duṭṭha-kittena*, which *Hīnaṣi-kumburē* repeats.

<sup>7</sup> *Asârambhena yâthâva-lakkhaṇena*. For *yâthâva*, which is not in Childers, see Buddhaghosa in the *Sumaṅgala Vilâsini*, p. 65, and Dhammapâla on *Theri Gâthâ*, 387. *Hīnaṣi-kumburē*

“pointing out the real nature.” If any man, O king, in this birth does not attain to the perception of the Four Truths, then is his manhood (his being born as a man) in vain<sup>1</sup>, but if he acts differently he will become different. Therefore is it that he is called a useless fellow<sup>2</sup>. And so the Blessed One addressed Sudinna the Kalandā with words of truth, and not with words apart from the facts.’

17. ‘But, Nāgasena, though a man in abusing another speaks the truth, still we should inflict a small<sup>3</sup> fine upon him. For he is guilty of an offence, inasmuch as he, although for something real, abused him by the use of words that might lead to a breach (of the peace)<sup>4</sup>.’

‘Have you ever heard, O king, of a people bowing down before, or rising up from their seats in respect for, or showing honour to, or bringing the complimentary presents (usually given to officials) to a criminal?’

‘No, if a man have committed a crime of whatever sort or kind, if he be really worthy of reproof and punishment, they would rather behead him, or tor-

translates: Upadra karaṇa sitakin ut no wanneya, swabhāwa lakshaṇayen maya ehi wadāla kisiwek æt nam, ē swabhāwa lakshaṇaya maya.

<sup>1</sup> Mogham. So at *Gâtaka* III, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Mogha-puriso, the same word as I have translated elsewhere ‘foolish fellow,’ following Childers. But I never think that the word means always and only ‘in vain, useless.’ See *Gâtaka* I, 14; III, 24, 25; *Sutta Nipâta* III, 7, 20; *Mahāvagga* VIII, 1, 5; *Kullavagga* V, 11, 3; *Āṅguttara* II, 5, 10; *Sumaṅgala Vilâsini*, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, ‘a fine of a kahâpana,’ a copper coin worth in our money about a penny. See my ‘Ancient Coins and Measures,’ p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Visum vohâram âkaranto*. The *Sinhalese* (p. 224) has Wen wû wakana wû wyawahârayekin hœsiremin.

ture him<sup>1</sup>, or bind him with bonds, or put him to death, or deprive him of his goods<sup>2</sup>.'

'Did then the Blessed One, O king, act with justice or not?'

'With justice, Sir, and in a most fit and proper way. And when, Nâgasena, they hear of it the world of men and gods will be made tender of conscience, and afraid of falling into sin, struck with awe at the sight of it, and still more so when they themselves associate with wrong-doers, or do wrong.'

18. [172] 'Now would a physician, O king, administer pleasant things as a medicine in a case where all the humours of the body were affected, and the whole frame was disorganised and full of disease?'

'No. Wishing to put an end to the disease he would give sharp and scarifying drugs.'

'In the same way, O king, the Tathâgata bestows admonition for the sake of suppressing all the diseases of sin. And the words of the Tathâgata, even when stern, soften men and make them tender. Just as hot water, O king, softens and makes tender anything capable of being softened, so are the words of the Tathâgata, even when stern, yet as full of benefit, and as full of pity as the words of a father would be to his children. Just, O king, as the drinking of evil-smelling decoctions, the swallowing of nasty drugs, destroys the weaknesses of men's bodies, so are the words of the Tathâgata, even when stern, bringers of advantage and laden with pity. And

<sup>1</sup> Hananti. But *himsât kereti* says the Sinhalese.

<sup>2</sup> *Gâpentî*. Dr. Edward Müller thinks this a misprint for *ghâpentî* (Pâli Grammar, p. 37). *Dhanaya hânayen nirdhanika kereti* is the Sinhalese version.

just, O king, as a ball of cotton falling on a man raises no bruise, so do the words of the Tathâgata, even when stern, do no harm.'

'Well have you made this problem clear by many a simile. Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

---

[End of the dilemma as to the Buddha's harsh words to Sudinna.]

---

[THE TREE TALKING.]

19. 'Venerable Nâgasena, the Tathâgata said :  
 "Brahman! why do you ask an unconscious thing,  
 Which cannot hear you, how it does to-day?  
 Active, intelligent, and full of life,  
 How can you speak to this so senseless thing—  
 This wild Palâsa tree<sup>1</sup>?"

[173] And on the other hand he said :

"And thus the Aspen tree then made reply :

'I, Bhâradvâga, can speak too. Listen to me<sup>2</sup>.'

'Now if, Nâgasena, a tree is an unconscious thing, it must be false that the Aspen tree spoke to Bhâradvâga. But if that is true, it must be false to say that a tree is unconscious. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

20. 'The Master said, Nâgasena, that a tree is unconscious. And the Aspen tree conversed with Bhâradvâga. But that last is said, O king, by a common form of speech. For though a tree being unconscious cannot talk, yet the word "tree" is used

---

<sup>1</sup> Gâtaka III, 24. It is not the Tathâgata, but the Bodisat, who speaks.

<sup>2</sup> Gâtaka IV, 210, where the verses are ascribed to the Buddha.

as a designation of the dryad who dwells therein, and in that sense that "the tree talks" is a well-known expression. Just, O king, as a waggon laden with corn is called a corn-waggon. But it is not made of corn, it is made of wood, yet because of the corn being heaped up in it the people use the expression "corn-waggon." Or just, O king, as when a man is churning sour milk the common expression is that he is churning butter. But it is not butter that he is churning, but milk. Or just, O king, as when a man is making something that does not exist the common expression is that he is making that thing which all the while as yet is not, [174] but people talk of the work as accomplished before it is done. And the Tathâgata, when expounding the Dhamma, does so by means of the phraseology which is in common use among the people.'

'Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the dilemma as to the talking tree.]

[THE BUDDHA'S LAST ILLNESS.]

21. 'Venerable Nâgasena, it was said by the Elders who held the Recitation<sup>1</sup>:

"When he had eaten Kunda's alms,  
The coppersmith's,—thus have I heard,—  
The Buddha felt that sickness dire,  
That sharp pain even unto death<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> The Council of Râgagaha is meant, at which the Pi<sup>ti</sup>akas were recited. All the so-called Councils are exclusively 'Recitations' (Samg<sup>g</sup>âtîyo) in Buddhist phraseology. But 'Council' is the best rendering of the word, as Recitation implies so much that would be unintelligible to the ordinary reader.

<sup>2</sup> Book of the Great Decease, IV, 23.

And afterwards the Blessed One said : " These two offerings of food, Ānanda, equal, of equal fruit, and of equal result, are of much greater fruit and much greater result than any others<sup>1</sup>." Now if sharp sickness fell upon the Blessed One, Nāgasena, after he had partaken of Kunda's alms, and sharp pains arose within him even unto death, then that other statement must be wrong. But if that is right then the first must be wrong. How could that alms, Nāgasena, be of great fruit when it turned to poison, gave rise to disease, [175] put an end to the period of his then existence, took away his life ? Explain this to me to the refutation of the adversaries. The people are in bewilderment about this, thinking that the dysentery must have been caused by his eating too much, out of greediness.'

22. ' The Blessed One said, O king, that there were two almsgivings equal, of equal fruit, and equal result, and of much greater fruit, and much greater result than any others,—that which, when a Tathāgata has partaken of it, he attains to supreme and perfect Buddhahood (Enlightenment), and that when he has partaken of which, he passes away by that utter passing away in which nothing whatever remains behind<sup>2</sup>. For that alms is full of virtue, full of advantage. The gods, O king, shouted in joy and gladness at the thought : " This is the last meal the Tathāgata will take," and communicated a divine power of nourishment to that tender

---

<sup>1</sup> Book of the Great Decease, IV, 57, but with a slightly different reading.

<sup>2</sup> Book of the Great Decease, loc. cit. The Sinhalese gives the whole context in full.



pork<sup>1</sup>. And that was itself in good condition, light, pleasant, full of flavour, and good for digestion<sup>2</sup>. It was not because of it that any sickness fell upon the Blessed One, but it was because of the extreme weakness of his body, and because of the period of life he had to live having been exhausted, that the disease arose, and grew worse and worse—just as when, O king, an ordinary fire is burning, if fresh fuel be supplied, it will burn up still more—or [176] as when a stream is flowing along as usual, if a

<sup>1</sup> *Sûkara-maddava*. There is great doubt as to the exact meaning of this name of the last dish the Buddha partook of. *Maddati* is 'to rub,' or 'to press,' or 'to trample,' and just as 'pressed beef' is ambiguous, so is 'boar-pressed' or 'pork-tender' capable of various interpretations. The exegetical gloss as handed down in the *Mahâ Vihâra* in Anurâdhapure, Ceylon, in the now lost body of tradition called the *Mahâ Aññakathâ*, has been preserved by *Dhammapâla* in his comment on *Udâna* VIII, 5 (p. 81 of Dr. Steinthal's edition for the Pâli Text Society). It means, I think, 'Meat pervaded by the tenderness and niceness of boar's (flesh).' But that is itself ambiguous, and *Dhammapâla* adds that others say the word means not pork or meat at all, but 'the tender top sprout of the bambû plant after it has been trampled upon by swine'—others again that it means a kind of mushroom that grows in ground trodden under foot by swine—others again that it means only a particular kind of flavouring, or sauce. As *Maddana* is rendered by Childers 'withered,' I have translated it in my 'Buddhist Suttas' (pp. 71–73) 'dried boar's flesh.' But the fact is that the exact sense is not known. (*Maddavâni* *pupphâni* at *Dhammapada* 377 is 'withered flowers,' according to Fausbøll. But it may be just as well 'tender flowers,' especially as *Mârdava* in Sanskrit always means 'tender, pitiful,' &c. This is the only passage where the word is known to occur in Pâli apart from those in which *sûkara-maddava* is mentioned.) The *Siṃhalese* here (p. 230) repeats the word and adds the gloss: *E tarunu wû ūru mamsayehi*.

<sup>2</sup> *Gatharaggi-tegassa hitam*. On this curious old belief in an internal fire see my 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 260.

heavy rain falls, it will become a mighty river with a great rush of water—or as when the body is of its ordinary girth, if more food be eaten, it becomes broader than before. So this was not, O king, the fault of the food that was presented, and you can not impute any harm to it.'

23. 'But, venerable Nâgasena, why is it that those two gifts of food are so specially meritorious?'

'Because of the attainment of the exalted conditions which resulted from them<sup>1</sup>.'

'Of what conditions, Nâgasena, are you speaking?'

'Of the attainment of the nine successive states which were passed through at first in one order, and then in the reverse order<sup>2</sup>.'

'It was on two days, was it not, Nâgasena, that the Tathâgata attained to those conditions in the highest degree?'

'Yes, O king<sup>3</sup>.'

'It is a most wonderful thing, Nâgasena, and a most strange, that of all the great and glorious gifts which were bestowed upon our Blessed One<sup>4</sup> not one can be compared with these two alms-givings. Most marvellous is it, that even as those

<sup>1</sup> Dhammânumaggana-samâpatti-varena: which the *Simhalese* merely repeats. For *Anumagganâ* see the text above, p. 62, and *Sumaṅgala Vilâsinî*, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> See the full description in the *Book of the Great Decease*, VI, 11-13. ('*Buddhist Suttas*,' pp. 115, 116.) The *Simhalese* is here greatly expanded (pp. 230-233).

<sup>3</sup> So our author must have thought that the nine *Anupubba-vihâras* occurred also after the alms given to Gotama before he sat under the Bo Tree, but I know of no passage in the *Piṭakas* which would support this belief. Compare the note 2 in vol. i, p. 74 of the '*Vinaya Texts*,' and the passages there quoted.

<sup>4</sup> *Buddha-khette dânam*, 'gifts which had the Buddha as the field in which they were bestowed, or sown.'

nine successive conditions are glorious, even so are those gifts made, by their glory, [177] of greater fruit, and of greater advantage than any others. Very good, Nāgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

---

[Here ends the dilemma as to the Buddha's last illness.]

---

[ADORATION OF RELICS.]

24. 'Venerable Nāgasena, the Tathāgata said: "Hinder not yourselves, Ānanda, by honouring the remains of the Tathāgata<sup>1</sup>." And on the other hand he said:

"Honour that relic of him who is worthy of honour, Acting in that way you go from this world to heaven<sup>2</sup>."

'Now if the first injunction was right the second must be wrong, and if the second is right the first must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

25. 'Both the passages you quote were spoken by the Blessed One. But it was not to all men, it was to the sons of the Conqueror<sup>3</sup> that it was said: "Hinder not yourselves, Ānanda, by honouring the remains of the Tathāgata<sup>4</sup>." Paying reverence is not the work of the sons of the Conqueror, [178] but rather the grasping of the true nature of all

---

<sup>1</sup> Book of the Great Decease, V, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Not found in any of the Pīṭaka texts as yet published.

<sup>3</sup> Gīṇa-puttāṇam. That is, the members of the Order.

<sup>4</sup> Here again Hīnaśī-kumburē goes into a long account of the attendant circumstances (pp. 233, 234).

compounded things, the practice of thought, contemplation in accordance with the rules of *Satipatthâna*, the seizing of the real essence of all objects of thought, the struggle against evil, and devotion to their own (spiritual) good. These are things which the sons of the Conqueror ought to do, leaving to others, whether gods or men, the paying of reverence <sup>1</sup>.

26. 'And that is so, O king, just as it is the business of the princes of the earth to learn all about elephants, and horses, and chariots, and bows, and rapiers, and documents, and the law of property <sup>2</sup>, to carry on the traditions of the Khattiya clans, and to fight themselves and to lead others in war, while husbandry, merchandise, and the care of cattle are the business of other folk, ordinary Vessas and Suddas.—Or just as the business of Brahmins and their sons is concerned with the *Rig-veda*, the *Yagur-veda*, the *Sâma-veda*, the *Atharva-veda*, with the knowledge of lucky marks (on the body), of legends <sup>3</sup>, *Purâṇas*, lexicography <sup>4</sup>, prosody, phonology, verses, grammar, etymology, astrology, interpretation of omens, and of dreams, and of signs, study of the six *Vedāṅgas*, of eclipses of the sun and moon, of the prognostications to be drawn from the flight of comets, the thunderings of the gods, the junctions of planets, the fall of meteors, earthquakes, conflagrations, and signs in the heavens and on the earth, the study of arithmetic, of cas-

<sup>1</sup> This is really only an expansion and a modernisation of the context of the passage quoted.

<sup>2</sup> *Lekha-muddâ*. See the note above on I, 1, 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Itihâsa*, 'the *Bhârata* and the *Râmâyana*,' says the *Simhalese*.

<sup>4</sup> 'Of names of trees and so on,' says *Hīnaśi-kumburê*.

uistry, of the interpretation of the omens to be drawn from dogs, and deer, and rats, and mixtures of liquids, and the sounds and cries of birds—while husbandry, merchandise, and the care of cattle are the business of other folk, ordinary Vessas and Suddas. So it was, O king, in the sense of “Devote not yourselves to such things as are not your business, but to such things as are so” that the Tathâgata was speaking [179] when he said: “Hinder not yourselves, Ânanda, by honouring the remains of the Tathâgata.” And if, O king, he had not said so, then would the Bhikkhus have taken his bowl and his robe, and occupied themselves with paying reverence to the Buddha through them<sup>1</sup>!

‘Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.’

[Here ends the dilemma as to reverence to relics.]

[THE SPLINTER OF ROCK.]

27. ‘Venerable Nâgasena, you Bhikkhus say that: “When the Blessed One walked along, the earth, unconscious though it is, filled up its deep places, and made its steep places plain<sup>2</sup>.” And on the other hand you say that a splinter of

<sup>1</sup> This certainly looks as if our author did not know anything of the worship paid to the supposed bowl of the Buddha, or of the feast, the Patta-maha, held in its honour. The passage may therefore be used as an argument for the date of the book. Fâ-Hien saw this bowl-worship in full force at Peshawar about 400 A. D. See Chapter xii of his travels (Dr. Legge’s translation, pp. 35-37).

<sup>2</sup> Not found as yet in the Piṭakas.

rock grazed his foot<sup>1</sup>. When that splinter was falling on his foot why did it not, then, turn aside? If it be true that the unconscious earth makes its deep places full and its steep places plain for him, then it must be untrue that the splinter of rock hurt his foot. But if the latter statement be true, then the first must be false. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

28. 'Both statements, O king, are true. But that splinter of rock did not fall of itself<sup>2</sup>, it was cast down through the act of Devadatta. Through hundreds of thousands of existences, O king, had Devadatta borne a grudge against the Blessed One<sup>3</sup>. It was through that hatred that he seized hold of a mighty mass of rock, and pushed it over with the hope that it would fall upon the Buddha's head. But two other rocks came together, and intercepted it before it reached the Tathâgata, and by the force of their impact a splinter was torn off, and fell in such a direction that it struck [180] the Blessed One's foot.'

29. 'But, Nâgasena, just as two rocks intercepted that mighty mass, so could the splinter have been intercepted.'

'But a thing intercepted, O king, can escape, slip through, or be lost—as water does, through the fingers, when it is taken into the hand—or milk, or buttermilk, or honey, or ghee, or oil, or fish curry,

<sup>1</sup> Kullavagga VII, 3, 9. Compare the *Samyutta Nikâya* I, 4, 8; IV, 2, 3 (pp. 27 and 110 of M. Léon Feer's edition for the Pâli Text Society).

<sup>2</sup> Attaro dhammatâya.

<sup>3</sup> So above, IV, 2, 64, and below, IV, 4, 41.

or gravy—or as fine, subtle, minute, dusty grains of sand do, through the fingers, if you close your fist on them—or as rice will escape sometimes when you have taken it into your fingers, and are putting it into your mouth.’

30. ‘Well, let that be so, Nāgasena. I admit that the rock was intercepted. But the splinter ought at least to have paid as much respect to the Buddha as the earth did.’

‘There are these twelve kinds of persons, O king, who pay no respect—the lustful man in his lust, and the angry man in his malice, and the dull man in his stupidity, and the puffed-up man in his pride, and the bad man in his want of discrimination, and the obstinate man in his want of docility, and the mean man in his littleness, and the talkative man in his vanity, and the wicked man in his cruelty, and the wretched man in his misery, and the gambler [181] because he is overpowered by greed, and the busy man in his search after gain. But that splinter, just as it was broken off by the impact of the rocks, fell by chance<sup>1</sup> in such a direction that it struck against the foot of the Blessed One—just as fine, subtle, and minute grains of sand, when carried away by the force of the wind, are sprinkled down by chance in any direction they may happen to take. If the splinter, O king, had not been separated from the rock of which it formed a part, it too would have been intercepted by their meeting together. But, as it was, it was neither fixed on the earth, nor did it remain stationary in the air, but fell whithersoever

---

<sup>1</sup> Animitta-kata-disâ, which the *Siṃhalese* (p. 238) merely repeats.

chance directed it, and happened to strike against the Blessed One's foot—just as dried leaves might fall if caught up in a whirlwind. And the real cause of its so striking against his foot was the sorrow-working deed<sup>1</sup> of that ungrateful, wicked, Devadatta.'

'Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the dilemma as to the splinter grazing the Buddha's foot.]

[THE SAMANA.]

31. 'Venerable Nâgasena, the Blessed One said: "A man becomes a Samana by the destruction of the Âsavas<sup>2</sup>." But on the other hand he said:

"The man who has these dispositions four

Is he whom the world knows as Samana<sup>3</sup>."

And in that passage these are the four dispositions referred to—long-suffering, temperance in food, renunciation<sup>4</sup>, and the being without the attachments<sup>5</sup> (arising from lust, ill-will, and dulness). Now these four dispositions are equally found in those who are still defective, in whom [182] the

<sup>1</sup> Dukkânubhâvanâ—the sorrow being Devadatta's subsequent existence in purgatory.

<sup>2</sup> That is 'of sensuality, individuality, delusion, and ignorance.' I don't know which is the passage referred to.

<sup>3</sup> Also not traced as yet in the texts.

<sup>4</sup> Vipphânâ, not in Childers, but see Sutta Nipâta V, 14, 4, 5. Hīna-kumburē (p. 239) renders it ālaya hōrfma.

<sup>5</sup> Âkinkañña, not having the three kiñkanas mentioned. Hīna-kumburē (p. 239) takes it to mean the practice of the Âkiñcāyatana meditation. But if so that would surely have been the word used.



Âsavas have not yet been completely destroyed. So that if the first statement be correct, the second is wrong, and if the second be right the first must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

32. 'Both statements, O king, were made by the Blessed One. But the second was said of the characteristics of such and such men; the first is an inclusive statement—that all in whom the Âsavas are destroyed are Samanas. And moreover, of all those who are made perfect by the suppression of evil, if you take them in regular order one after the other, then the Samana in whom the Âsavas are destroyed is acknowledged to be the chief—just, O king, as of all flowers produced in the water or on the land, the double jasmine<sup>1</sup> is acknowledged to be the chief, all other kinds of flowers of whatever sort are merely flowers, and taking them in order it is the double jasmine that people most desire and like. Or just, O king, as of all kinds of grain, rice is acknowledged to be the chief, all other kinds of grain, of whatever sort, [183] are useful for food and for the support of the body, but if you take them in order, rice is acknowledged as the best.'

'Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

---

[Here ends the dilemma as to what constitutes a Samana.]

---

<sup>1</sup> Varsikâ (Dâsaman mal, jasminum zambac).

## [THE BUDDHA'S EXULTATION.]

33. 'Venerable Nâgasena, the Blessed One said : " If, O Bhikkhus, any one should speak in praise of me, or of our religion (Dhamma), or of the Order, you should not thereupon indulge in joy, or delight, or exultation of mind<sup>1</sup>". And on the other hand the Tathâgata was so delighted, and pleased, and exultant at the deserved praise bestowed on him by Sela the Brahman, that he still further magnified his own goodness in that he said :

" A king am I, Sela, the king supreme  
Of righteousness. The royal chariot wheel  
In righteousness do I set rolling on—

That wheel that no one can turn back again<sup>2</sup>!"  
Now if the passage first quoted be right then must the second be wrong, but if that be right then must the first be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

34. [184] 'Both your quotations, O king, are correct. But the first passage was spoken by the Blessed One with the intention of setting forth truthfully, exactly, in accordance with reality, and fact, and

<sup>1</sup> From the Brahma-gâla Sutta in the Dîgha Nikâya (I, 1, 5).

<sup>2</sup> From the Sela Sutta in the Sutta Nipâta (III, 7, 7). Professor Fausbøll in his translation of this stanza (at vol. x, p. 102 of the 'Sacred Books of the East') draws attention to the parallel at John xviii. 37. 'Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born. And for this cause came I into the world that I should bear witness unto the truth'—where 'truth,' if one translated the verse into Pâli, would be correctly rendered by Dhamma, 'righteousness, religion, truth, essential quality.' Professor Fausbøll's version of the stanza runs : 'I am a king, O Sela, an incomparable religious (Dhamma-râga) king, with justice (Dhamma). I turn the wheel, a wheel that is irresistible.'

sense, the real nature, and essence, and characteristic marks of the Dhamma. And the second passage was not spoken for the sake of gain or fame, nor out of party spirit, nor in the lust of winning over men to become his followers. But it was in mercy and love, and with the welfare of others in view, conscious that thereby three hundred young Brahmans would attain to the knowledge of the truth, that he said: "A king am I, Sela, the king supreme of righteousness."

'Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the problem as to exultation of mind.]

#### [KINDNESS AND PUNISHMENT.]

35. 'Venerable Nâgasena, the Blessed One said: "Doing no injury to any one

Dwell full of love and kindness in the world<sup>1</sup>."

And on the other hand he said: "Punish him who deserves punishment<sup>2</sup>, favour him who is worthy of favour." [185] Now punishment, Nâgasena, means the cutting off of hands or feet, flogging<sup>3</sup>, casting into bonds, torture<sup>4</sup>, execution, degradation in rank<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> From the 521st Gâtaka.

<sup>2</sup> The crux lies in the ambiguity of this phrase as will be seen below.

<sup>3</sup> Vadha, which is ambiguous, and means also 'killing.' The Sinhalese repeats the word.

<sup>4</sup> Kâraṇā, which Hīnaśī-kumburê renders *tœlîmaya*, 'flogging.'

<sup>5</sup> Santati-vikopanam, literally 'breach of continuity.' Hīnaśī-kumburê explains it to mean 'injury to the duration of life,' and this may be the author's meaning, as he is fond of heaping together a string of words, some of which mean the same thing. But as

Such a saying is therefore not worthy of the Blessed One, and he ought not to have made use of it. For if the first injunction be right then this must be wrong, and if this be right then the injunction to do no injury to any one, but to dwell full of love and kindness in the world, must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

36. 'The Blessed One, great king, gave both the commands you quote. As to the first, to do no injury to any one, but to live full of love and kindness in the world—that is a doctrine approved by all the Buddhas. And that verse is an injunction, an unfolding of the Dhamma, for the Dhamma has as its characteristic that it works no ill. And the saying is thus in thorough accord with it. But as to the second command you quote that is a special use of terms [which you have misunderstood. The real meaning of them is: "Subdue that which ought to be subdued, strive after, cultivate, favour what is worthy of effort, cultivation, and approval"]. The proud heart, great king, is to be subdued, and the lowly heart cultivated—the wicked heart to be subdued, and the good heart to be cultivated—carelessness of thought is to be subdued, and exactness of thought to be cultivated—[186] he who is given over to wrong views is to be subdued, and he who has attained to right views is to be cultivated—he who is not noble<sup>1</sup> is to be subdued, and the noble one is

---

santati means also 'lineage, descent,' the phrase may equally well refer to the sort of punishment I have ventured to put into the text.

<sup>1</sup> Ariyo and anariyo used technically in the sense of one who has not, and one who has, entered upon the Noble Eightfold Path.

to be cultivated—the robber<sup>1</sup> is to be subdued, and the honest brother is to be cultivated.’

37. ‘Let that be so, Nāgasena. But now, in that last word of yours, you have put yourself into my power, you have come round to the sense in which I put my question. For how, venerable Nāgasena, is the robber to be subdued by him who sets to work to subdue him?’

‘Thus, great king—if deserving of rebuke let him be rebuked, if of a fine let him be fined, if of banishment let him be banished, if of death let him be put to death.’

‘Is then, Nāgasena, the execution of robbers part of the doctrine laid down by the Tathāgatas?’

‘Certainly not, O king.’

‘Then why have the Tathāgatas laid down that the robber is to be taught better?’

‘Whosoever, great king, may be put to death, he does not suffer execution by reason of the opinion put forth by the Tathāgatas. He suffers by reason of what he himself has done. But notwithstanding that the doctrine of the Dhamma has been taught (by the Buddhas)<sup>2</sup>, would it be possible, great king, for a man who had done nothing wrong, and was walking innocently along the streets, to be seized and put to death by any wise person?’

‘Certainly not.’

---

<sup>1</sup> Coro probably here used figuratively of a member of the Order who is unworthy of it, and injures believing laymen. So the word is used, for instance, in the introductory story (in the Sutta Vibhaṅga) to the fourth Pārāgikā—where four sorts of such religious ‘robbers’ are distinguished (compare our ‘wolf in sheep’s clothing’). But the king takes it literally.

<sup>2</sup> The three words in brackets are Hīnaśī-kumburē’s gloss.

‘But why?’

‘Because of his innocence.’

‘Just so, great king, since the thief is not put to death through the word of the Tathâgata, but only through his own act, how can any fault be rightly found on that account with the Teacher?’

‘It could not be, Sir.’

‘So you see the teaching of the Tathâgatas is a righteous teaching.’

‘Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.’

---

[Here ends the problem as to kindness and punishment.]

---

[THE DISMISSAL OF THE ELDERS.]

38. ‘Venerable Nâgasena, it was said by the Blessed One :

“Anger I harbour not, nor sulkiness<sup>1</sup>.”

But on the other hand the Tathâgata dismissed the Elders Sâriputta and Moggallâna, together with the brethren who formed their company of disciples<sup>2</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> From the Dhaniya Sutta in the Sutta Nipâta (I, 2, 2).

<sup>2</sup> The episode here referred to will be found in the *Magghima Nikâya*, No. 67. *Hînaśi-kumburê* gives it in full. The Buddha was staying at the *Âmalakî* garden near the Sâkya town called *Kâtumâ*. There the two elders with their attendant 500 disciples came to call upon him. The resident Bhikkhus received them with applause, and a great hubbub arose. The Buddha enquired what that noise was, like the chattering of fishermen when a net full of fishes was drawn to shore. *Ânanda* told him. Thereupon the Buddha called the brethren together, made a discourse to them on the advantages of quiet, and ‘sent away’ the visitors. They went to the public rest-house in the town. The town’s folk enquired why, and

How now, Nāgasena, [187] was it in anger that the Tathāgata sent away<sup>1</sup> the disciples, or was it in pleasure? Be so good as to explain to me how this was<sup>2</sup>. For if, Nāgasena, he dismissed them in anger, then had the Tathāgata not subdued all liability to anger in himself. But if it was in pleasure, then he did so ignorantly, and without due cause. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

39. 'The Blessed One did say, O king :

" Anger I harbour not, nor sulkiness."

And he did dismiss the Elders with their disciples. But that was not in anger. Suppose, O king, that a man were to stumble against some root, or stake, or stone, or potsherd, or on uneven ground, and fall upon the broad earth. Would it be that the broad earth, angry with him, had made him fall ?'

' No, indeed, Sir. The broad earth feels neither anger against any man nor delight. It is altogether

---

when they heard the reason, went to the Buddha, and obtained his forgiveness for the offending brethren. The incident is the basis of another question below, IV, 4, 41.

<sup>1</sup> *Paṇāmesi* means, in the technical legal phraseology of the Buddhist canon law, 'formally dismissed, sent away, did not allow them any more to be his disciples.' On this technical meaning of the term, compare *Mahāvagga* I, 2, 27, and *Kullavagga* XII, 2, 3. (Childers does not give this use of the word.) But it is difficult to imagine the circumstances under which the Buddha could so have dismissed his two principal disciples. So I think we must take the word in a less formal sense—such, for instance, as we find in *Thera Gāthā* 511, 557.

<sup>2</sup> *Etam tāva gānāhi imam nāmāti*. I follow Hīnaś-kumburē's rendering (p. 244) of this difficult phrase, according to which there ought to be a full stop in the text after *paṇāmesi*, and these words are supposed to be addressed to Nāgasena by Milinda. But I am not at all satisfied that he is right, and the text may be corrupt.

free from ill-will, neither needs it to fawn on any one. It would be by reason of his own carelessness that that man stumbled and fell.'

'Just so, great king, do the Tathâgatas experience neither anger against, nor pride in any man. Altogether free are the Tathâgatas, the Arahât-Buddhas, alike from ill-will, and from the need to fawn on any one. And those disciples were sent away by reason of what they themselves had done. So also the great ocean endures not association with any corpse. Any dead body there may be in it that does it promptly cast up, and leave high and dry on the shore<sup>1</sup>. But is it in anger that it casts it up?'

'Certainly not, Sir. The broad ocean feels neither anger against any, nor does it take delight in any. It seeks not in the least to please any, and is altogether free from the desire to harm.'

'Just so, great king, do the Tathâgatas feel neither anger against any man, nor do they place their faith in any man. The Tathâgatas, the Arahât-Buddhas, are quite set free from the desire either to gain the goodwill of any man, or to do him harm. And it was by reason of what they themselves had done that those disciples were sent away. Just as a man, great king, who stumbles against the ground is made to fall, so is he who stumbles in the excellent teaching of the Conqueror made to go away. Just as a corpse in the great ocean is cast up, [188] so is he who stumbles in the excellent teaching of the Conqueror sent away. And when the Tathâgata sent those disciples away it was for their good, and their

---

<sup>1</sup> This supposed fact is already the ground of a comparison in the *Kullavagga* IX, 1, 3, 4 ('*Vinaya Texts*,' III, 303).



gain, their happiness, and their purification, and in order that in that way they should be delivered from birth, old age, disease, and death.'

'Very good, Nāgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

---

[Here ends the problem as to the dismissal of  
the Elders.]

---

Here ends the Third Chapter.

## BOOK IV. CHAPTER 4.

## [THE MURDER OF MOGGALLÂNA.]

1. 'Venerable Nâgasena, it has been said by the Blessed One: "This is the chief, O Bhikkhus, of those of my disciples in the Order who are possessed of the power of Iddhi, I mean Moggallâna<sup>1</sup>." But on the other hand they say his death took place by his being beaten to death with clubs, so that his skull was broken, and his bones ground to powder, and all his flesh and nerves bruised and pounded together<sup>2</sup>. Now, Nâgasena, if the Elder, the great Moggallâna, had really attained to supremacy in the magical power of Iddhi, then it cannot be true that he was beaten to death with clubs<sup>3</sup>. But if his death was on that wise, then the saying that he was chief of those possessed of Iddhi must be wrong. How could he who was not even able, by his power of Iddhi, to prevent his own murder, be worthy nevertheless to stand as succour to the world of gods and men? This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

2. 'The Blessed One did declare, O king, that Moggallâna was chief among the disciples in power

---

<sup>1</sup> From the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* I, xiv, 1 (page 23 of Dr. Morris's edition for the Pāli Text Society).

<sup>2</sup> Parikatto, which the *Siṃhalese* version renders *garhâ wemin*.

<sup>3</sup> 'By robbers,' adds *Hīnaśi-kumburê*, so there is no question of martyrdom.

of Iddhi. And he was nevertheless beaten to death by clubs. But that was through his being then possessed by the still greater power of Karma<sup>1</sup>.

3. 'But, venerable Nāgasena, [189] are not both of these things appurtenant to him who has the power of Iddhi—that is the extent of his power, and the result of his Karma—both alike unthinkable? And cannot the unthinkable be held back by the unthinkable? Just, Sir, as those who want the fruits will knock a wood apple<sup>2</sup> down with a wood apple, or a mango with a mango, so ought not the unthinkable in like manner to be subject to restraint by the unthinkable?'

'Even among things beyond the reach of the imagination, great king, still one is in excess above the other, one more powerful than the other. Just, O king, as the monarchs of the world are alike in kind, but among them, so alike in kind, one may overcome the rest, and bring them under his command—just so among things beyond the grasp of the imagination is the productive effect of Karma by far the most powerful. It is precisely the effect of Karma which overcomes all the rest, and has them under its rule; and no other influence is of any avail to the man in whom Karma is working out its inevitable end<sup>3</sup>. It is as when, O king, any man has committed an offence against the law<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Kammādhigahitenāpi, which the *Siṃhalese* merely repeats. Compare the use of *adhigaṇhāti* at *Āṅguttara Nikāya* V, 31 (*adhigaṇhāti taṃ tena*, 'surpasses him in that'), and see below.

<sup>2</sup> *Kapittham* (*Feronia Elephantum*), which the *Siṃhalese* renders *Diwul gedī*.

<sup>3</sup> 'No good action has an opportunity at the time when evil Karma is in possession of a man,' says *Hīnaśi-kumburē* (p. 250).

<sup>4</sup> *Pakarane aparaggāṭi*, literally 'against the book,' the book

Neither his mother nor his father, neither his sisters nor his brother, neither his friends nor his intimate associates can protect him then. He has fallen therein under the power of the king who will issue his command respecting him. And why is that so? Because of the wrong that he has done. So is it precisely the effect of Karma which overcomes all other influences, and has them under its command, and no other influence can avail the man in whom Karma is working out its inevitable end. It is as when a jungle fire has arisen on the earth, then can not even a thousand pots of water avail to put it out, but the conflagration overpowers all, and brings it under its control. And why is that so? Because of the fierceness of its heat. So is it precisely the effect of Karma which overcomes all other influences, and has them under its command; and no other influence can avail the man in whom Karma is working out its inevitable end. That is why the venerable one, great king, the great Moggallāna, when, at a time when he was possessed by Karma, he was being beaten to death with clubs, was yet unable to make use of his power of Iddhi<sup>1</sup>.

‘Very good, Nāgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.’

[Here ends the problem as to the murder of Moggallāna.]

of the law being, no doubt, understood. But the *Siṃhalese* has ‘against any one.’

<sup>1</sup> Iddhiyā samannāhāro nāho si. See the use of this word, which is not in Childers, at p. 123 of the *Sumaṅgala* (on *Dīgha* I, 3, 24). The *Siṃhalese* goes on to much greater length than the *Pāli*, giving the full religious life history of the famous disciple (pp. 250, 251).

## [ON SECRET DOCTRINE.]

4. [190] 'Venerable Nâgasena, it was said by the Blessed One: "The Dhamma and the Vinaya (Doctrine and Canon Law) proclaimed by the Tathâgata shine forth when they are displayed, and not when they are concealed<sup>1</sup>." But on the other hand the recitation of the Pâtimokkha and the whole of the Vinaya Piṭaka are closed and kept secret<sup>2</sup>. So that if, Nâgasena, you (members of the Order) carried out what is just, and right, and held of faith in the teaching of the Conqueror then would the Vinaya shine forth as an open thing. And why would that be so? Because all the instruction therein, the discipline, the self-control, the regulations as to moral and virtuous conduct, are in their essence full of truth and righteousness, and redounding to emancipation of heart. But if the Blessed One really said that the Dhamma and Vinaya proclaimed by the Tathâgata shine forth when displayed and not when kept secret, then the saying that the recitation of the Pâtimokkha and the whole of the Vinaya must be kept secret must be wrong. And if that be right, then the saying of the Blessed One must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

5. 'It was said, O king, by the Blessed One that the Dhamma and Vinaya proclaimed by the Tathâ-

<sup>1</sup> From the *Ânguttara Nikâya* III, 124 (vol. i, p. 283 of Dr. Morris's edition for the Pâli Text Society).

<sup>2</sup> In the Vinaya (*Mahâvagga* II, 16, 8) it is laid down that the Pâtimokkha (the rules of the Order) is not to be recited before laymen. I know of no passage in the Piṭakas which says that it, or the Vinaya, is to be kept secret.

gata shine forth when displayed, and not when kept secret. And on the other hand the recitation of the Pâtimokkha and the whole of the Vinaya Piṭṭaka are kept close and secret<sup>1</sup>. But this last is not the case as regards all men. They are only kept secret up to a certain limit. And the recitation of the Pâtimokkha is kept secret up to that certain limit on three grounds—firstly because that is the traditional custom<sup>2</sup> of previous Tathâgatas, secondly out of respect for the Truth (Dhamma), and thirdly out of respect for the position of a member of the Order<sup>3</sup>.

6. 'And as to the first it was the universal custom, O king, of previous Tathâgatas for the recitation of the Pâtimokkha to take place in the midst of the members of the Order only, to the exclusion of all others. Just, O king, as the Kshatriya secret formulas (of the nobles) are handed down among the nobles alone, and that this or that is so is common tradition among the nobles<sup>4</sup> of the world and kept secret from all others—[191] so was this the universal custom of previous Tathâgatas, that the recitation of the Pâtimokkha should take place among the

---

<sup>1</sup> This is, so far as I know, the earliest mention of this being the case. There is nothing in the Pâtimokkha itself (see my translation of this list of offences against the rules of the Order in vol. i of the 'Vinaya Texts' in the S.B.E.) as to its recitation taking place in secret, and nothing in the Vinaya as to its being kept secret. But the regulations in the Vinaya as to the recitation of the Pâtimokkha forbade the actual presence of any one not a member of the Order, and as a matter of fact any one not such a member is excluded in practice during its recitation now in Ceylon. But it would be no offence in a layman to read the Vinaya, and learned laymen who have left the Order still do so.

<sup>2</sup> *Vamsa* (repeated in the *Siṃhalese*).

<sup>3</sup> *Bhikkhu-bhūmiyâ* (also repeated in the *Siṃhalese*, p. 252).

<sup>4</sup> *Khaṇḍīyânam* (but the *Siṃhalese* has *Sakyayangê*).

members of the Order only, and be kept secret from all others. And again, just as there are several classes of people, O king, known as distinct in the world—such as wrestlers, tumblers, jugglers, actors, ballet-dancers, and followers of the mystic cult of the sun and moon, of the goddess of fortune and other gods<sup>1</sup>. And the secrets of each of these sects are handed on in the sect itself, and kept hidden from all others. Just so with the universal custom of all the Tathâgatas that the recitation of the Pâtimokkha should take place before the members of the Order only, and be kept secret from all others. This is why the recitation of the Pâtimokkha is, up to that extent, kept secret in accordance with the habit of previous Tathâgatas.'

7. 'And how is it that the Pâtimokkha is kept secret, up to that extent, out of reverence for the Dhamma? The Dhamma, great king, is venerable and weighty. He who has attained to proficiency in it may exhort another in this wise: "Let not this Dhamma so full of truth, so excellent, fall into the hands of those unversed in it, where it would be despised and contemned, treated shamefully, made a game of, and found fault with. Nor let it fall into the hands of the wicked who would deal with it in all respects as badly as they." It is thus, O king, that the recitation of the Pâtimokkha is, up to that

---

<sup>1</sup> There are twenty classes of these people mentioned in the text, and the meaning of most of the names is obscure. The *Simhalese* simply repeats them all, adding only the word *bhaktiyo*, 'believers in,' to the names of the various divinities. The classing together of jugglers, ballet-dancers, and followers of the numerous mystic cults, so numerous in India, is thoroughly Buddhistic, and quite in the vein of Gotama himself—as, for instance, in the *Mahâ Sîla* (see my 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 196).

extent, kept secret out of reverence for the Dhamma. For if not, then it would be like the best, most costly, and most rare red sandal wood of the finest kind, which when brought to Savara (that city of the outcast *Kandâlas*<sup>1</sup>) is despised and contemned, treated shamefully, made game of, and found fault with.'

8. [192] 'And how is it that the Pâtimokkha is kept secret, up to that extent, out of reverence for the position of a member of the Order? The condition of a Bhikkhu, great king, is in glory beyond the reach of calculation by weight, or measure, or price. None can value it, weigh it, measure it. And the recitation of the Pâtimokkha is carried on before the Bhikkhus alone, lest any one who has occupied that position should be brought down to a level with the men of the world. Just, O king, as if there be any priceless thing, in vesture or floor covering, in elephants, chargers, or chariots, in gold or silver or jewels or pearls or women, or in unsurpassable strong drink<sup>2</sup>, all such things are the appanage of kings—just so, O king, whatever is most priceless in the way of training, of the traditions of the Blessed One, of learning, of conduct, and of the virtues of righteousness and self-control—all these are the appanages of the Order of Bhikkhus. This is why the recitation of the Pâtimokkha is, to that extent, kept secret<sup>3</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> Added from the Simhalese.

<sup>2</sup> *Niggita-kamma-surâ*, rendered in the Simhalese (p. 254), *gaya-grîhita-kṛtya-surâ-pânayen*.

<sup>3</sup> It will be noticed that there is no mention here (in a connection where, if it had then existed, it would almost certainly have been referred to) of any Esoteric Buddhism. So above, at



‘Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.’

[Here ends the problem as to the secrecy in which the Vinaya is kept.]

[THE TWO KINDS OF FALSEHOOD.]

9. ‘Venerable Nâgasena, it has been said by the Blessed One that a deliberate lie is an offence of the greatest kind (involving exclusion from the Order <sup>1</sup>).

IV, 1, 8, it is stated that a good Buddhist teacher should keep nothing secret from his pupil. And even in so old a text as the ‘Book of the Great Decease’ (Chap. II, § 32, p. 36 of my translation in the ‘Buddhist Suttas’), it is said of the Buddha himself that he had ‘no such thing as the closed fist of a teacher who keeps some things back.’ This passage is itself quoted above at IV, 2, 4, as the basis of one of Milinda’s questions; and is entirely accepted by Nâgasena, that is, by our author. The fact is that there has never been any such thing as esoteric teaching in Buddhism, and that the modern so called esoteric Buddhism is neither esoteric nor Buddhism. Its tenets, so far as they are Indian at all, are perfectly accessible, are well known to all those who choose to study the books of Indian mysticism, and are Hindu, not Buddhist. They are, indeed, quite contradictory to Buddhism, of which the authors of what they ignorantly call Esoteric Buddhism know but very little—that little being only a portion of those beliefs which have been common ground to all religious teachers in India. If one doctrine—more than any other—is distinctive of Buddhism, it is the ignoring, in ethics, of the time-honoured belief in a soul—that is, in the old sense, in a separate creature inside the body, which flies out of it, like a bird out of a cage, when the body dies. Yet the Theosophists, who believe, I am told, in seven souls inside each human body (which would be worse according to true Buddhism than seven devils), still venture to call themselves Buddhists, and do not see the absurdity of their position!

<sup>1</sup> Sampagâna-musâvâda pâragikâ. This is curious as according to the Pâtimokkha it is Pâṭittiya, not Pâragikâ. Compare Pâragikâ 4 with Pâṭittiya 1. (‘Vinaya Texts,’ S. B. E., vol. iii, pp. 5 and 32.)

And again he said: "By a deliberate lie a Bhikkhu commits a minor offence, one that ought to be the subject of confession made before another (member of the Order)<sup>1</sup>." Now, venerable Nāgasena, what is herein the distinction, what the reason, that by one lie a Bhikkhu is cast out of the Order, and by another he is guilty only of an offence that can be atoned for. If the first decision be right, then the second must be wrong; but if the second be right, then the first must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

10. [193]<sup>2</sup> 'Both your quotations, O king, are correct<sup>3</sup>. But a falsehood is a light or heavy offence according to the subject matter. For what do you think, great king? Suppose a man were to give another a slap with his hand, what punishment would you inflict upon him?'

'If the other refused to overlook the matter, then neither should we be able to pardon his assailant<sup>4</sup>, but should mulct him in a penny or so<sup>5</sup>.'

'But on the other hand, suppose it had been you

<sup>1</sup> I cannot trace these identical words in the Piṭaka texts. But the general sense of them is exactly in agreement with the first Pāṭiṭiya rule.

<sup>2</sup> Hīnaśi-kumburê here inserts a summary of the Introductory Story (in the Sutta Vibhaṅga) to the 4th Pārāgikā. All this (pp. 254-256) stands in his version for lines 1-3 on p. 193 of the Pāli text.

<sup>3</sup> The Pāli repeats them word for word. As I have pointed out above, they are not really correct.

<sup>4</sup> So Hīnaśi-kumburê, who must have had a different reading, and I think a better one, before him.

<sup>5</sup> A kaḥāpaṇa. See the discussion of the value of this coin in my 'Ancient Coins and Measures,' pp. 3, 4.

yourself that he had given the blow to, what would then be the punishment ?'

'We should condemn him to have his hands cut off, and his feet cut off, and to be skinned alive<sup>1</sup>, and we should confiscate all the goods in his house, and put to death all his family to the seventh generation on both sides.'

'But, great king, what is the distinction? Why is it that for one slap of the hand there should be a gentle fine of a penny, while for a slap given to you there should be so fearful a retribution ?'

'Because of the difference in the person (assaulted).'

'Well! just so, great king, is a falsehood a light or a heavy offence according to the attendant circumstances.'

'Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the problem as to the degree of offence in falsehood.]

#### [THE BODISAT'S CONSIDERATION.]

11. 'Venerable Nâgasena, it has been said by the Blessed One in the discourse on the essential conditions<sup>2</sup>: "Long ago have his parents been destined for each Bodisat, and the kind of tree he is to select for his Bo tree, and the

<sup>1</sup> *Yâva sîsam kalîrakkheggam kkedâpeyyâma*, which the Sinhalese merely repeats. It is literally 'We should have him "bambû-sprout-cut" up to his head.' What this technical term may mean is not exactly known—possibly having slits the shape of a bambû sprout cut all over his body.

<sup>2</sup> *Dhammatâ-dhamma-pariyâye*. I don't know where this is to be found.

Bhikkhus who are to be his two chief disciples, and the lad who is to be his son, and the member of the Order who is to be his special attendant." But on the other hand he said: "When yet in the condition of a god in the Tusita heaven the Bodisat makes the eight Great Investigations—he investigates the time (whether the right moment had come at which he ought to be re-born as a man), and the continent (in which his birth is to take place), and the country (where he is to be re-born), and the family (to which he is to belong), and the mother (who is to bear him), and the period (during which he was to remain in the womb), and the month (in which his birthday shall come), and his renunciation (when it shall be)<sup>1</sup>. [194] Now, Nāgasena, before knowledge is ripe there is no understanding, but when it has reached its summit there is no longer any need to wait for thinking a matter over<sup>1</sup>, for there is nothing outside the ken of the omniscient mind. Why then should the Bodisat investigate the time, thinking to himself: "In what moment shall I be born<sup>2</sup>?" And for the same reason why should he investigate the family, thinking to him-

---

<sup>1</sup> These eight Investigations (Vilokanāni) have not yet been found in the Piṭaka texts. But, when relating the birth of the historical Buddha, the *Gāṭaka* commentary (vol. i, p. 48, of Professor Fausböll's edition) mentions the first six of them (substituting *okāsa* for *desa*), and calls them, oddly enough, the Five Great Investigations. In the corresponding passage in the *Lalita Vistara* only the first four are mentioned. The last two of the above eight seem very forced.

<sup>2</sup> *Nimesantaram na āgameti*, for which *Hinañ-kumburê* (p. 256 at the end) has *nivesantara*. Neither word occurs elsewhere.

self: "In what family shall I be born?" And if, Nāgasena, it is a settled matter who shall be the parents of the Bodisat, then it must be false that he "investigated the family." But if that be true, then must the other saying be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

12. 'It was both a settled matter, O king, who should be the parents of the Bodisat, and he did investigate into the question as to which family he was to be born into. But how did he do so? He thought over the matter as to whether his parents should be nobles or Brahmans. With respect to eight things, O king, should the future be investigated before it comes to pass. A merchant, O king, should investigate goods before he buys them—an elephant should try with its trunk a path it has not yet trod—a cartman should try a ford he has not yet crossed over—a pilot should test a shore he has not yet arrived at, and so guide the ship—a physician should find out the period of life which his patient has lasted<sup>1</sup> before he treats his disease—a traveller should test the stability of a bambû bridge<sup>2</sup> before he mounts on to it—a Bhikkhu should find out how much time has yet to run before sun turn before he begins to eat his meal—and Bodisats, before they are born, should investigate the question whether it would be right for them to be born in the family of a noble or of a Brahman.

<sup>1</sup> Âyum oloketvâ, which the *Sinhalese* (p. 257) repeats. This implied meaning is doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> Uttara-setu, a word which does not occur elsewhere. Hīnañ-kumburê renders it He-danda, which Clough explains as a foot-bridge usually made of a single tree.

These are the eight occasions on which investigation ought to precede action.'

'Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

---

[Here ends the problem as to the Bodisat's consideration.]

---

[ON SUICIDE.]

13. [195] 'Venerable Nâgasena, it has been said by the Blessed One : "A brother is not, O Bhikkhus, to commit suicide. Whosoever does so shall be dealt with according to the law<sup>1</sup>." And on the other hand you (members of the Order) say : "On whatsoever subject the Blessed One was addressing the disciples, he always, and with various similes, preached to them in order to bring about the destruction of birth, of old age, of disease, and of death. And whosoever overcame birth, old age, disease, and death, him did he honour with the highest praise<sup>2</sup>." Now if the Blessed One forbade suicide that saying of yours must be wrong, but if not then the prohibition of suicide must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

14. 'The regulation you quote, O king, was laid down by the Blessed One, and yet is our saying you refer to true. And there is a reason for this, a

---

<sup>1</sup> Literally 'is not to throw himself down,' and I think 'from a precipice' is to be understood, especially as the nearest approach to the words quoted, that is the passage in the Sutta Vibhaṅga on the 3rd Pârâgika (III, 5, 13), has that meaning.

<sup>2</sup> Here again the passage referred to is not known.

reason for which the Blessed One both prohibited (the destruction of life), and also (in another sense) instigated us to it.'

'What, Nâgasena, may that reason be?'

'The good man, O king, perfect in uprightness, is like a medicine to men<sup>1</sup> in being an antidote to the poison of evil, he is like water to men in laying the dust and the impurities of evil dispositions, he is like a jewel treasure to men in bestowing upon them all attainments in righteousness, he is like a boat to men inasmuch as he conveys them to the further shore of the four flooded streams (of lust, individuality, delusion, and ignorance)<sup>2</sup>, he is like a caravan owner to men in that he brings them beyond the sandy desert of rebirths, he is like a mighty rain cloud to men in that he fills their hearts with satisfaction, he is like a teacher to men in that he trains them in all good, he is like a good guide to men in that he points out to them the path of peace. It was in order that so good a man as that, one whose good qualities are so many, so various, so immeasurable, [196] in order that so great a treasure mine of good things, so full of benefit to all beings, might not be done away with, that the Blessed One, O king, out of his mercy towards all beings, laid down that injunction, when he said: "A brother is not, O Bhikkhus, to commit suicide. Whosoever does so shall be dealt with according to the law." This is the reason for which the Blessed One prohibited (self-slaughter). And it was said, O king,

<sup>1</sup> Sattânam, in which gods are included.

<sup>2</sup> The four oghas; also called Âsavas. The former term is used of them objectively, the latter subjectively.

by the Elder Kumâra Kassapa, the eloquent, when he was describing to Pâyâsi the Râganya the other world: "So long as Samanas and Brahmans of uprightness of life, and beauty of character, continue to exist—however long that time may be—just so long do they conduct themselves to the advantage and happiness of the great masses of the people, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men!<sup>1</sup>"

15. 'And what is the reason for which the Blessed One instigated us (to put an end to life)? Birth, O king, is full of pain, and so is old age, and disease, and death. Sorrow is painful, and so is lamentation, and pain, and grief, and despair. Association with the unpleasant is painful, and separation from the pleasant<sup>2</sup>. The death of a mother is painful, or of a father, or a brother, or a sister, or a son, or a wife, or of any relative. Painful is the ruin of one's family, and the suffering of disease, and the loss of wealth, and decline in goodness, and the loss of in-

---

<sup>1</sup> This Kumâra Kassapa is said at *Ânguttara* I, xiv, 3 to have been the most eloquent of the early disciples. Another eloquent little outburst of his is preserved for us in verses 201 and 202 of the *Therâ Gâthâ*. 'O for the Buddhas, and their doctrines! O for the achievements of our Master! Thereby may the disciple realise the Truth. Through countless æons of time has Selfness followed on Selfness. But this one is now the last. This aggregation (of mental and material qualities which forms me now again into an individuality) is at last the end, the end of the coming and going of births and deaths. There will be no rebirth for me!' But where the verses are so full of allusions to the deepest Buddhist psychology, it is impossible to reproduce in English the vigour of the original Pâli. Selfness (*Sakkâya*) is the condition of being a separate individual.

<sup>2</sup> All this is from the celebrated discourse, the 'Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness' (in 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 148).



sight. Painful is the fear produced by despots, or by robbers, or by enemies, or by famine, or by fire, or by flood, or by the tidal wave, or by earthquake, or by crocodiles or alligators. Painful is the fear of possible blame attaching to oneself, or to others, the fear of punishment, the fear of misfortune. Painful is the fear arising from shyness in the presence of assemblies of one's fellows, painful is anxiety as to one's means of livelihood, painful the foreboding of death. [197] Painful are (the punishments inflicted on criminals), such as being flogged with whips, or with sticks, or with split rods, having one's hands cut off, or one's feet, or one's hands and feet, or one's ears, or one's nose, or one's ears and nose. Painful are (the tortures inflicted on traitors)—being subjected to the Gruel Pot (that is, having boiling gruel poured into one's head from the top of which the skull bone has been removed<sup>1</sup>)—or to the Chank Crown<sup>2</sup> (that is, having the scalp rubbed with gravel till it becomes smooth like a polished shell)—or to the Râhu's Mouth<sup>3</sup> (that is, having one's mouth held open by iron pins, and oil put in it, and a wick lighted therein)—or to the Fire Garland<sup>4</sup> or to the Hand Torch<sup>5</sup> (that is, being made a living torch, the whole body, or the arms only, being wrapped up in oily cloths, and set on fire)—or to the Snake Strips<sup>6</sup> (that is, being skinned in strips from the neck to the hips, so that the skin falls in strips round the legs)—or to the Bark Dress<sup>7</sup> (that is, being skinned alive from the neck downwards, and having each strip of

<sup>1</sup> *Bilaṅga-thālikam.*

<sup>2</sup> *Saṅkha-mundikam.*

<sup>3</sup> *Râhu-mukham.*

<sup>4</sup> *Goti-mâlakam.*

<sup>5</sup> *Haṭṭha-paggotikam.*

<sup>6</sup> *Eraka-vattikam.*

<sup>7</sup> *K'iraka-vâsikam.*

skin as soon as removed tied to the hair, so that these strips form a veil around one)—or to the Spotted Antelope<sup>1</sup> (that is, having one's knees and elbows tied together, and being made to squat on a plate of iron under which a fire is lit)—or to the Flesh-hooks<sup>2</sup> (that is, being hung up on a row of iron hooks)—or to the Pennies<sup>3</sup> (that is, having bits cut out of the flesh, all over the body, of the size of pennies)—or to the Brine Slits<sup>4</sup> (that is, having cuts made all over one's body by means of knives or sharp points, and then having salt and caustic liquids poured over the wounds)—or to the Bar Turn<sup>5</sup> (that is, being transfixed to the ground by a bar of iron passing through the root of the ear, and then being dragged round and round by the leg)—or to the Straw Seat<sup>6</sup> (that is, being so beaten with clubs that

<sup>1</sup> *Eneyyakam*.

<sup>2</sup> *Balisa-mamsikam* (so the Sinhalese, Mr. Trenckner reads *Balisa*).

<sup>3</sup> *Kahâpanakam*.

<sup>4</sup> *Khârâpatikkhakam*.

<sup>5</sup> *Paligha-parivattikam*.

<sup>6</sup> *Palâla-pîthakam*. I follow throughout Hînañi-kumburê's interpretation (pp. 260, 261) of these pretty names, which could be well matched in the West. That some Indian kings were cruel in the extreme is no doubt true. But it must not be supposed that this list gives the names of well-known punishments. It is merely a string of technical terms which is repeated by rote whenever tortures have to be specified. And the meaning of its terms was most likely unknown to the very people who so used them. For the whole list (which is taken by our author from the Pâli *Piṭakas*) is explained by Buddhaghosa in his commentary, the *Manoratha Pîṭakā*, on *Āṅguttara* II, 1, 1, as edited by Dr. Morris at pp. 113, 114 of the first edition of his *Āṅguttara* for the Pâli Text Society, 1884. But Buddhaghosa's explanations differ from Hînañi-kumburê's in several details; and to nearly half the names he gives alternative meanings, quite contradictory to those that he gives first. So the list had its origin some centuries (say 400–500) B.C., and was certainly

the bones are broken, and the body becomes like a heap of straw)—or to be anointed with boiling oil, or to be eaten by dogs, or to be impaled alive, or to be beheaded. Such and such, O king, are the manifold and various pains which a being caught in the whirlpool of births and rebirths has to endure. Just, O king, as the water rained down upon the Himālaya mountain flows, in its course along the Ganges, through and over rocks and pebbles and gravel, whirlpools and eddies and rapids<sup>1</sup>, and the stumps and branches of trees which obstruct and oppose its passage,—just so has each being caught in the succession of births and rebirths to endure such and such manifold and various pains. Full of pain, then, is the continual succession of rebirths, a joy is it when that succession ends. And it was in pointing out the advantage of that end, the disaster involved in that succession, that the Blessed One, great king, instigated us to get beyond birth, and old age, and disease, and death by the realisation of the final end of that succession of rebirths. This is the sense, O king, which led the Blessed One to instigate us (to put an end to life).'

‘Very good, Nâgasena ! Well solved is the puzzle (I put), well set forth are the reasons (you alleged). That is so, and I accept it as you say.’

---

[Here ends the problem as to suicide.]

---

not understood in the fifth century A. D. ; and was probably therefore unintelligible also, at least in part, to our author.

<sup>1</sup> Ūmika-vaṅka-kaḍḍika. I don't pretend to understand this last word. Dr. Morris, at p. 92 of the 'Pāli Text Society's Journal' for 1884, suggests *velika*. Perhaps it was simply *adika* after all, with or without *m* euphonic.

## [A LOVING DISPOSITION.]

16. [198] 'Venerable Nāgasena, it has been said by the Blessed One: "Eleven advantages, O brethren, may be anticipated from practising, making a habit of, enlarging within one, using as a means of advancement, and as a basis of conduct, pursuing after, accumulating, and rising well up to the very heights of the emancipation of heart, arising from a feeling of love (towards all beings)<sup>1</sup>. And what are these eleven? He who does so sleeps in peace, and in peace does he awake. He dreams no sinful dreams. He becomes dear to men, and to the beings who are not men<sup>2</sup>. The gods watch over him. Neither fire, nor poison, nor sword works any harm to him. Quickly and easily does he become tranquillised. The aspect of his countenance is calm. Undismayed does he meet death, and should he not press through to the Supreme Condition (of Arahātship), then is he sure of rebirth in the Brahma world<sup>3</sup>." But on the other hand you (members of

<sup>1</sup> This same string of words, except the first, is used of the Iddhi-pādas in the Book of the Great Decease, III, 3 (p. 40 of vol. xi of the S. B. E.). The words 'towards all beings' are not in the text. But this is the meaning of the phrase used, and not love to men only, as would be understood if they were not inserted in the translation.

<sup>2</sup> Amanussa. This means, not the gods, but the various spirits on the earth, nayads, dryads, fairies, &c. &c. As here, so again below, IV, 4, 41, the amanussā are opposed to the devatā, mentioned in the next clause here. In older texts the devatā include the amanussā.

<sup>3</sup> From the *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, *Ekādaśa Nipāta*; quoted in full, with the context, in the Introductory Story to the 169th *Gāṭaka* (vol. ii, pp. 60, 61 of Professor Fausböll's edition).

the Order) say that "Sâma the Prince, while dwelling in the cultivation of a loving disposition toward all beings, and when he was (in consequence thereof) wandering in the forest followed by a herd of deer, was hit by a poisoned arrow shot by Piliyakkha the king, and there, on the spot, fainted and fell<sup>1</sup>." Now, venerable Nâgasena, if the passage I have quoted from the words of the Blessed One be right, then this statement of yours must be wrong. But if the story of Prince Sâma be right, then it cannot be true that neither fire, nor poison, nor sword can work harm to him who cultivates the habit of love to all beings. This too is a double-edged problem, so subtle, so abstruse, so delicate, and so profound, that the thought of having to solve it might well bring out sweat over the body even of the most subtle-minded of mortals. This problem is now put to you. Unravel this mighty knot<sup>2</sup>. Throw light upon this matter<sup>3</sup> to the accomplishment of the desire of those sons of the Conqueror who shall arise hereafter<sup>4</sup>.

'The Blessed One spake, O king, as you have quoted. And Prince Sâma dwelling in the cultivation of love, and thus followed by a herd of deer when he was wandering in the forest, was hit by the poisoned arrow shot by king Piliyakkha, and then and there fainted and fell. But there is a reason for that. [199] And what is the reason? Simply that those virtues (said in the passage you quoted

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Trenckner points out that this story is given in the 540th Gâtaka.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 105 of the text.

<sup>3</sup> *Kakkhum dehi*. So also p. 95 of the text.

<sup>4</sup> *Nibbâhana*; not in Childers, but see p. 119 of the text.

to be in the habit of love) are virtues not attached to the personality of the one who loves, but to the actual presence of the love that he has called up in his heart<sup>1</sup>. And when Prince Sâma was upsetting the water-pot, that moment he lapsed from the actual feeling of love. At the moment, O king, in which an individual has realised the sense of love, that moment neither fire, nor poison, nor sword can do him harm. If any men bent on doing him an injury come up, they will not see him, neither will they have a chance of hurting him. But these virtues, O king, are not inherent in the individual, they are in the actual felt presence of the love that he is calling up in his heart.'

'Suppose, O king, a man were to take into his hand a Vanishing Root of supernatural power; and that, so long as it was actually in his hand, no other ordinary person would be able to see him. The virtue, then, would not be in the man. It would be in the root that such virtue would reside that an object in the very line of sight of ordinary mortals could, nevertheless, not be seen. Just so, O king, is it with the virtue inherent in the felt presence of love that a man has called up in his heart.'

'Or it is like the case of a man [200] who has entered into a well-formed mighty cave. No storm of rain, however mightily it might pour down, would be able to wet him. But that would be by no virtue inherent

---

<sup>1</sup> Bhânanâ is really more than 'cultivation.' It is the actual, present, felt sense of the particular moral state that is being cultivated (in this case, of love). I have elsewhere rendered it 'meditation': but as the ethical doctrine, and practice, are alike unknown to us, we have no word that exactly reproduces the connotation of the Pâli phrase.

in the man. It would be a virtue inherent in the cave that so mighty a downpour of rain could not wet the man. And just so, O king, is it with the virtue inherent in the felt presence of love that a man has called up in his heart<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This is no quibble. The early Buddhists did believe in the power of a subjective love over external circumstances. It is true that the best known instances in which this power is represented as having been actually exercised, are instances of the power of love over the hearts of other beings, and hence, indirectly, over their actions. Thus when Devadatta had had the fierce, manslaying elephant Nālāgiri let loose against the Buddha (*Kullavagga* VII, 3, 11, 12), Gotama is said to have permeated him with his love, and the elephant then went up to him only to salute him, and allowed himself to be stroked, and did no harm. And when the five disciples had intended, when he went to Benares, to show him no respect, the Buddha, in like manner, is said to have 'concentrated that feeling of his love which was able to pervade generally all beings in earth and heaven,' and to have 'directed it specially towards them.' Then 'the sense of his love diffused itself through their hearts. And as he came nearer and nearer, unable any longer to adhere to their resolve, they rose from their seats, and bowed down before him, and welcomed him with every mark of reverence and of respect' ('Buddhist Birth Stories,' vol. i, p. 112).

And when he wished to convert Roga the Mallian, the Buddha is said, in like manner, to have 'suffused him with the feeling of his love.' And then Roga, 'overcome by the Blessed One by the sense of his love—just as a young calf follows the kine, so did he go from apartment to apartment' seeking the Blessed One (*Mahāvagga* VI, 36, 4).

And again, when the Bhikkhus told the Buddha of a brother having been killed by a snake-bite, he is represented (in the *Kullavagga* V, 6) to have said: 'Now surely that brother had not let his love flow out over the four royal kinds of serpents. Had he done so, he would not have died of the bite of a snake.' And then he is said to have enjoined the use of a poem of love to snakes (set out in the text quoted) as a safeguard against snake-bite. This goes really much further than the other instances, but no case is given of that safeguard having been actually used successfully. And I know of no case in the Pāli Piṭakas of the felt presence

‘Most wonderful is it, Nâgasena, and most strange how the felt presence of love has the power of warding off all evil states of mind <sup>1</sup>.’

‘Yes! The practice of love is productive of all virtuous conditions of mind both in good (beings) and in evil ones. To all beings whatsoever, who are in the bonds of conscious existence <sup>2</sup>, is this practice of love of great advantage, and therefore ought it to be sedulously cultivated.’

---

[Here ends the problem as to the power of love.]

---

[DEVADATTA.]

17. ‘Venerable Nâgasena, is the consequence the same to him who does good and to him who does evil, or is there any difference in the two cases?’

‘There is a difference, O king, between good and evil. Good works have a happy result, and lead to Sagga <sup>3</sup>, and evil works have an unhappy result, and lead to Niraya <sup>4</sup>.’

---

of the feeling of love being said to have actually counteracted either fire, or poison, or sword.

It is noteworthy that the *Simhalese* inserts here six pages (265-271) of matter not found in the Pâli. But as it gives at length the story of Prince Sâma, it is taken, I presume, from the *Gâtaka* book.

<sup>1</sup> This is something quite different from what was said before.

<sup>2</sup> Ye viññâna-baddhâ, sabbesam, which the *Simhalese* takes as a gloss on ‘good and evil ones,’ and renders viññâna prati wû da. But I prefer Mr. Trenckner’s punctuation.

<sup>3</sup> That is to a temporary life in heaven.

<sup>4</sup> That is to life in a temporary hell (or purgatory).



‘But, venerable Nâgasena, your people say that Devadatta was altogether wicked, full of wicked dispositions, and that the Bodisat<sup>1</sup> was altogether pure, full of pure dispositions<sup>2</sup>. And yet Devadatta, through successive existences<sup>3</sup>, was not only quite equal to the Bodisat, but even sometimes superior to him, both in reputation and in the number of his adherents.

18. ‘Thus, Nâgasena, when Devadatta became the Purohita (family Brâhman, royal chaplain) of Brahmadatta, the king, in the city of Benares, then the Bodisat was a wretched *Kandâla* (outcast)<sup>4</sup> who knew by heart a magic spell. And by repeating his spell he produced mango fruits out of season<sup>5</sup>. This

<sup>1</sup> Bodhi-satto (Wisdom-Child). The individual who (through virtue practised in successive lives) was becoming the Buddha.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Wicked’ and ‘pure’ are in the Pâli *kañhe* and *sukka*, literally, ‘dark’ and ‘light.’ The only other passage I recollect where these names of colours are used in an ethical sense is the 87th verse of the Dhammapada. Professor Max Müller there renders: ‘A wise man should leave the dark state (of ordinary life), and follow the bright state (of the Bhikshu),’ (S. B. E., vol. x, p. 26.) But the words should certainly be translated: ‘A wise man should put away wicked dispositions, and cultivate purity of heart.’ Bhâvetha could never refer to adopting or following any outward profession. It is exclusively used of the practice, cultivation, of inward feelings. And the commentary, which is quoted by Professor Fausböll, takes the passage in the Dhammapada in that sense, just as *Hīnañi-kumburê* (p. 271) does here.

<sup>3</sup> Bhavetha bhavetha, which would be more accurately rendered ‘in the course of his gradual becoming.’

<sup>4</sup> *Kavaka-kandâla*. The *Kandâlas* are a well-known caste still existing in India—if indeed that can rightly be called a caste which is beneath all others. *Khavaka* is not in Childers, but is applied below (p. 256 of our text) to Mâra, the Buddhist Satan. See also the next note.

<sup>5</sup> This is not a summary of the 309th *Gâtaka*, for it differs from that story as published by Professor Fausböll (vol. iii, pp.

is one case in which the Bodisat was inferior to Devadatta in birth, [201] inferior to him in reputation.'

19. 'And again, when Devadatta became a king, a mighty monarch of the earth<sup>1</sup>, living in the enjoyment of all the pleasures of sense, then the Bodisat was an elephant, decked with all manner of ornaments that the king might make use of them. And the king, being put out of temper at the sight of his graceful and pleasant style of pace and motion, said to the elephant trainer with the hope of bringing about the death of the elephant: "Trainer, this elephant has not been properly trained, make him perform the trick called 'Sky walking.'" In that case too the Bodisat was inferior to Devadatta,—was a mere foolish animal<sup>2</sup>.'

20. 'And again, when Devadatta became a man who gained his living by winnowing grain<sup>3</sup>, then

---

217-30), and also from the older and shorter version contained in the Old Commentary on the Pâtimokkha (on the 69th Sakhiya, Vinaya IV, pp. 203, 204). [The name of that story in Professor Fausböll's edition is *Khavaka-Gâtaka*, but throughout the story itself the word *Kandâla* is used in the passages corresponding to those in which Professor Fausböll has *Khapaka* (sic),—a coincidence which throws light on our author, *Khavaka-kandâla*.] The story here referred to is the Amba Gâtaka (No. 474) in which the word *Khavaka* does not occur.

<sup>1</sup> 'Of Magadha,' says Hînaśi-kumburê (p. 272).

<sup>2</sup> This is the 122nd Gâtaka, there called the Dummedha Gâtaka. The king has the elephant taken to the top of the Vepulla mountain outside Râgagaha. Then having made him stand first on three feet, then on two, then on one, he demands of the trainer to make him stand in the air. Then the elephant flies away to Benares!

<sup>3</sup> Pavane na//hâyiko. But as Hînaśi-kumburê renders all this: 'a farmer in Benares who gained his living by husbandry,' I would suggest pavanena //hâyiko as the right reading.

the Bodisat was a monkey called "the broad earth." Here again we have the difference between an animal and a man, and the Bodisat was inferior in birth to Devadatta <sup>1</sup>.'

21. 'And again, when Devadatta became a man, by name Sonuttara, a Nesâda (one of an outcast tribe of aborigines, who lived by hunting), and was of great strength and bodily power, like an elephant, then the Bodisat was the king of elephants under the name of the "Six-tusked." And in that birth, the hunter slew the elephant. In that case too Devadatta was the superior <sup>2</sup>.'

22. 'And again, when Devadatta became a man, a wanderer in the woods, without a home, then the Bodisat was a bird, a partridge who knew the Vedic hymns. And in that birth too the woodman killed the bird. So in that case also Devadatta was the superior by birth <sup>3</sup>.'

23. 'And again, when Devadatta became the king of Benares, by name Kalâbu, then the Bodisat was an ascetic who preached kindness to animals. And the king (who was fond of sport), enraged with the ascetic, had his hands and feet cut off like so many bambû sprouts <sup>4</sup>. In that birth, too, Deva-

<sup>1</sup> I cannot unfortunately trace this story among the *Gâtakas*.

<sup>2</sup> I do not know which *Gâtaka* is here referred to.

<sup>3</sup> This must be the 438th *Gâtaka*, there called the Tittira *Gâtaka*. In the summary Devadatta is identified with the hypocritical ascetic who killed and ate the wise partridge.

<sup>4</sup> This is the 313th *Gâtaka*, there called the Khanti-vadi *Gâtaka*. The royal sportsman has first the skin, and then the hands and feet of the sage cut off, to alter his opinions. But the sage simply says that his love to animals is not in his skin, or in his limbs, but in his heart. Then the earth swallows up the cruel monarch, and the citizens bury the body of the sage with all honour. In the summary Kalâbu, the king, is identified with Devadatta.

datta was the superior, both in birth and in reputation among men.'

24. 'And again, when Devadatta became a man, a woodman, then the Bodisat was Nandiya the monkey king. And in that birth too the man killed the monkey, and his mother besides, and his younger brother. So in that case also it was Devadatta who was the superior in birth <sup>1</sup>.'

25. 'And again, when Devadatta became a man, a naked ascetic, by name Kârambhiya, then the Bodisat was a snake king called "the Yellow one." So in that case too it was Devadatta [202] who was the superior in birth <sup>2</sup>.'

26. 'And again, when Devadatta became a man, a crafty ascetic with long matted hair, then the Bodisat was a famous pig, by name "the Carpenter." So in that case too it was Devadatta who was the superior in birth <sup>3</sup>.'

27. 'And again, when Devadatta became a king among the Ketas, by name Sura Parikara <sup>4</sup>, who had the power of travelling through the air at a level above men's heads <sup>5</sup>, then the Bodisat was a Brah-

<sup>1</sup> This is the 222nd *Gâtaka*, there called the *K'ûla Nandiya Gâtaka*.

<sup>2</sup> This is probably the 518th *Gâtaka*. See Mr. Trenckner's note.

<sup>3</sup> This must be the 492nd *Gâtaka*, the *Takkha-sûkara Gâtaka*, in which the hero is a learned pig who helps the carpenter in his work, and the villain of the story is a hypocrite ascetic with matted hair. But it should be added that though in the summary (Fausbøll, vol. iv, p. 350) Devadatta is identified with the ascetic, the Bodisat is identified, not with the learned pig, but with the dryad.

<sup>4</sup> He is called *Upakara* both in the 422nd *Gâtaka* (of which this is a summary) and in the *Sumaṅgala* (p. 258). The *Gâtaka* (III, 454) also gives a third variation, *Apaṭara*.

<sup>5</sup> *Purisamatto gagane vehâsaṅgamo*. The *Gâtaka* says simply *uparikaro*, which must mean about the same.

man named Kapila. So in that case too it was Devadatta who was the superior in birth and in reputation.'

28. 'And again, when Devadatta became a man, by name Sâma, then the Bodisat was a king among the deer, by name Ruru. So in that case too it was Devadatta who was the superior in birth <sup>1</sup>.'

29. 'And again, when Devadatta became a man, a hunter wandering in the woods, then the Bodisat was a male elephant, and that hunter seven times broke off and took away the teeth of the elephant. So in that case too it was Devadatta who was the superior in respect of the class of beings into which he was born <sup>2</sup>.'

30. 'And again, when Devadatta became a jackal who wanted to conquer the world <sup>3</sup>, and brought the kings of all the countries in India under his control, then the Bodisat was a wise man, by name Vidhura. So in that case too it was Devadatta who was the superior in glory.'

31. 'And again, when Devadatta became the

<sup>1</sup> This must be the 482nd *Gâtaka*. It is true that the man is there called Mahâ Dhanaka (Fausböll, vol. iii, p. 255), and the Bodisat is not specially named Ruru, nor is he a king of the herd, but is only a stag of the kind of deer called Ruru, who lives alone. But a comparison of the poetical version of the same story in the *Kariyâ Piṭaka* II, 6 (p. 87 of Dr. Morris's edition for the Pâli Text Society) shows that the same story is here referred to.

<sup>2</sup> This is the 72nd *Gâtaka*, the *Silava Nâga Gâtaka*. (Fausböll, vol. i, p. 319.)

<sup>3</sup> *Khattiya-dhammo*; literally, 'who had the nature of a Kshatriya.' This expression is not found in the *Gâtaka* referred to, No. 241 (vol. ii, p. 242 and foll. in Professor Fausböll's edition), and the Bodisat is there called *purdhita* not *pandita*, and his name is not given as Vidhura. The jackal also came to grief in his attempt to conquer Benares. But there is no doubt as to that story, the *Sabba Dâḥa Gâtaka* being the one here quoted.

elephant who destroyed the young of the Chinese partridge, then the Bodisat was also an elephant, the leader of his herd. So in that case they were both on a par<sup>1</sup>.

32. 'And again, when Devadatta became a yak-kha, by name Unrighteous, then the Bodisat too was a yak-kha, by name Righteous. So in that case too they were both on a par<sup>2</sup>.'

33. 'And again, when Devadatta became a sailor, the chief of five hundred families, then the Bodisat too was a sailor, the chief of five hundred families. So in that case too they were both on a par<sup>3</sup>.'

34. 'And again, when Devadatta became a caravan leader, the lord of five hundred waggons, then the Bodisat too was a caravan leader, the lord of five hundred waggons. So in that case too they were both on a par<sup>4</sup>.'

35. [203] 'And again, when Devadatta became a king of deer, by name Sâkha, then the Bodisat was a king of deer, by name Nigrodha. So in that case too they were both on a par<sup>5</sup>.'

36. 'And again, when Devadatta became a commander-in-chief, by name Sâkha, then the Bodisat

<sup>1</sup> This is the 357th *Gâtaka* (Fausböll, vol. iii, pp. 174) and which is one of those illustrated on the Bharhut Tope (Cunningham, Plate 109).

<sup>2</sup> In the *Gâtaka* text (No. 457, Fausböll, vol. iv, pp. 100 and foll.), there are both *devaputtâ*, 'gods,' not *yakkhâ*. This is by no means the only instance of the term *yakkha* being used of gods.

<sup>3</sup> I cannot trace this story in the printed text of the *Gâtakas*.

<sup>4</sup> This is the *Apannaka Gâtaka* (No. 1, vol. i, pp. 98 and foll. in Professor Fausböll's edition), translated in the 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' vol. i, pp. 138-145.

<sup>5</sup> The *Nigrodha Miga Gâtaka* (No. 12, vol. i, pp. 145 and foll. in Fausböll), translated in 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' vol. i, pp. 198 and following.

was a king, by name Nigrodha. So in that case too they were both on a par<sup>1</sup>.

37. 'And again, when Devadatta became a brahman, by name *Khandahâla*, then the Bodisat was a prince, by name *Kanda*. So in that case that *Khandahâla* was the superior<sup>2</sup>.'

38. 'And again, when Devadatta became a king, by name Brahmadatta, then the Bodisat was his son, the prince called Mahâ Paduma. In that case the king had his son cast down seven times, from the precipice from which robbers were thrown down. And inasmuch as fathers are superior to and above their sons, in that case too it was Devadatta was the superior<sup>3</sup>.'

39. 'And again, when Devadatta became a king, by name Mahâ Patâpa, then the Bodisat was his son, Prince Dhamma-pâla; and that king had the hands and feet and head of his son cut off. So in that case too Devadatta was the superior<sup>4</sup>.'

40. 'And now again, in this life, they were in the Sâkya clan, and the Bodisat became a Buddha, all wise, the leader of the world, and Devadatta having left the world to join the Order founded by Him who is above the god of gods, and having attained to the powers of Iddhi, was filled with lust to become himself the Buddha. Come now, most venerable Nâgasena! Is not all that I have said true, and just, and accurate?'

<sup>1</sup> The Nigrodha Gâtaka (No. 445, Fausböll, vol. iv, pp. 37 and foll.).

<sup>2</sup> I cannot trace this story among the published Gâtakas.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Mahâ Paduma Gâtaka (No. 472, Fausböll, vol. iv, pp. 187-195). It was a case of Joseph and Potiphar's wife.

<sup>4</sup> This tragical story is No. 358 in the Gâtaka collection (Fausböll, vol. iii, pp. 177-182).

41. 'All the many things which you, great king, have now propounded, are so, and not otherwise.'

'Then, Nāgasena, unless black and white are the same in kind, it follows that good and evil bear equal fruit.'

'Nay, not so, great king! Good and evil have not the same result. Devadatta was opposed by everybody. No one was hostile to the Bodisat. And the hostility which Devadatta felt towards the Bodisat, that came to maturity and bore fruit in each successive birth. And so also as Devadatta, when he was established in lordship over the world, [204] was a protection to the poor, put up bridges and courts of justice and rest-houses for the people, and gave gifts according to his bent to Samānas and Brahmans, to the poor and needy and the way-farers, it was by the result of that conduct that, from existence to existence, he came into the enjoyment of so much prosperity. For of whom, O king, can it be said that without generosity and self-restraint, without self-control and the observance of the Upasatha<sup>1</sup>, he can reach prosperity?

'And when, O king, you say that Devadatta and the Bodisat accompanied one another in the passage from birth to birth, that meeting together of theirs took place not only at the end of a hundred, or a thousand, or a hundred thousand births, but was in fact constantly and frequently taking place through an immeasurable period of time<sup>2</sup>. For you should regard that matter in the light of the comparison drawn by the Blessed One between the case of the

<sup>1</sup> The Buddhist Sabbath, on which see my 'Manual of Buddhism,' pp. 139-141.

<sup>2</sup> So also above, IV, 2, 64, and IV, 3, 28.



purblind tortoise and the attainment of the condition of a human being. And it was not only with Devadatta that such union took place. Sâriputta the Elder also, O king, was through thousands of births the father, or the grandfather, or the uncle <sup>1</sup>, or the brother, or the son, or the nephew, or the friend of the Bodisat; and the Bodisat was the father, or the grandfather, or the uncle, or the brother, or the son, or the nephew, or the friend of Sâriputta the Elder.

‘All beings in fact, O king, who, in various forms as creatures, are carried down the stream of transmigration, meet, as they are whirled along in it, both with pleasant companions and with disagreeable ones—just as water whirled along in a stream meets with pure and impure substances, with the beautiful and with the ugly.

‘And when, O king, Devadatta as the god, had been himself Unrighteous, and had led others into unrighteousness of life, he was burnt in purgatory for an immeasurable period of time <sup>2</sup>. [205] But the Bodisat, who, as the god, had been himself Righteous, and had led others into righteousness of life, lived in all the bliss of heaven for a like immeasurable period of time. And whilst in this life, Devadatta, who had plotted injury against the Buddha, and had created a schism in the Order, was swallowed up by the earth, the Tathâgata,

---

<sup>1</sup> That is ‘father’s younger brother.’ The Pâli has no word for uncle generally, the whole scheme of relationship being different from ours, and the various sorts of uncles having, in the Pâli scheme, different and distinct names.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Fifty-seven ko/is and sixty hundreds of thousands of years,’ says the text, with touching accuracy.

knowing all that can be known, arrived at the insight of Buddhahood<sup>1</sup>, and was completely set free (from the necessity of becoming) by the destruction of all that leads to re-existence.'

'Very good, Nāgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say<sup>2</sup>.'

---

[Here ends the dilemma as to Devadatta's superiority to the Bodisat in previous births.]

---

<sup>1</sup> So Hīnaṣi-kumburē, who takes sabbadhamme as accusative to *buggāhitvā*, and understands the phrase as above translated.

<sup>2</sup> This discussion is very interesting, both as a specimen of casuistry, and as an exposition of orthodox Buddhist belief. And it is full of suggestion if taken as a statement of the kind of reason which led the Buddhist editors of the earlier folk-lore to identify Devadatta with the characters referred to by king Milinda. But the facts are that those editors, in using the old stories and legends for their ethical purposes, always identified Devadatta with the cruel person in the story, and paid no heed to the question whether he was superior or not in birth or in the consideration of the world, to the person they identified with the Bodisat. In searching through the four volumes of the published *Gātakas*, and the proof-sheets of the fifth volume with which Professor Fausböll has favoured me, for the purpose of tracing the stories referred to by our author, I find that Devadatta appears in sixty-four of them, and that in almost every one of these sixty-four he is either superior in birth, or equal to the character identified with the Bodisat. This is not surprising, for it is not unusually the superiors in birth who are guilty of the kind of cruelty and wickedness which the Buddhist editors would ascribe to Devadatta. So that our author, had he chosen to do so, might have adduced many other instances of a similar kind to those he actually quotes. I add in an appendix the full list of the Devadatta stories in the *Gātakas*. It is clear our author had before him a version of the *Gātaka* book slightly different from our own, as will be seen from the cases pointed out in the notes in which, as to names or details, the story known to him differs from the printed text. And also that here (as at III, 6, 2) he would have been able to solve his own dilemma much better if he had known more of the history of those sacred books on the words of which it is based.

## [WOMEN'S WILES.]

42. 'Venerable Nāgasena, it has been said by the Blessed One :

"With opportunity, and secrecy,

And the right woo'r, all women will go wrong—

Aye, failing others, with a cripple even<sup>1</sup>."

But on the other hand it is said: "Mahosadha's wife, Amarâ, when left behind in the village while her husband was away on a journey, remained alone and in privacy, and regarding her husband as a man would regard his sovran lord, she refused to do wrong, even when tempted with a thousand pieces<sup>2</sup>." Now if the first of these passages be correct, the second must be wrong; and if the second be right, [206] the first must be wrong. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

43. 'It is so said, O king, as you have quoted, touching the conduct of Amarâ, Mahosadha's wife. But the question is would she have done wrong, on receipt of those thousand pieces, with the right man: or would she not have done so, if she had had the opportunity, and the certainty of secrecy, and a suitable wooer? Now, on considering the matter, that lady Amarâ was not certain of any of these

<sup>1</sup> It is not meant that men would not. But that is too clear to be even worthy of mention, whereas with regard to women the question is worth discussion. Our author is mistaken in ascribing this verse to the Buddha. It is only found (as has been pointed out by Mr. Trenckner) in a *Gâtaka* story, No. 536, and is a specimen, not of Buddhist teaching, but of Indian folk-lore. There is a very similar sentiment in *Gâtakâ*, No. 62 (vol. i, p. 289).

<sup>2</sup> This story will be found in the *Ummagga Gâtaka*, No. 546.

things. Through her fear of censure in this world the opportunity seemed to her not fit, and through her fear of the sufferings of purgatory in the next world. And because she knew how bitter is the fruit of wrong-doing, and because she did not wish to lose her loved one, and because of the high esteem in which she held her husband, and because she honoured goodness, and despised ignobleness of life, and because she did not want to break with her customary mode of life—for all these reasons the opportunity seemed to her not fit.

‘And, further, she refused to do wrong because, on consideration, she was not sure of keeping the thing secret from the world. [207] For even could she have kept it secret from men, yet she could not have concealed it from spirits<sup>1</sup>—even could she have kept it secret from spirits, yet she could not have concealed it from those recluses who have the power of knowing the thoughts of others—even could she have kept it secret from them, yet she could not have concealed it from those of the gods who can read the hearts of men—even could she have kept it secret from the gods, yet she could not have escaped, herself, from the knowledge of her sin—even could she have remained ignorant of it herself, yet she could not have kept it secret from (the law of the result which follows on) unrighteousness<sup>2</sup>. Such were the

<sup>1</sup> Fairies, nayad, dryads, &c. &c.—not gods.

<sup>2</sup> Adhammena raho na labheyya. I am in great doubt as to the real meaning of these words, which Hīnaś-kumburê (p. 286) renders merely adharmayen rahasak no labannê. They look very much like a kind of personification of Karma. The phrase is really very parallel to the saying in Numbers xxxii. 23, ‘Be sure your sin will find you out’—namely, in its results—and is as true ethically as it is difficult grammatically.

various reasons which led her to abstain from doing wrong because she could not be sure of secrecy.

‘And, further, she refused to do wrong because, on consideration, she found no right wooer. Mahosadha the wise, O king, was endowed with the eight and twenty qualities. And which are those twenty-eight? He was brave, O king, and full of modesty, and ashamed to do wrong, he had many adherents, and many friends, he was forgiving, he was upright in life, he was truthful, he was pure in word, and deed and heart<sup>1</sup>, he was free from malice, he was not puffed up, he felt no jealousy<sup>2</sup>, he was full of energy, he strove after all good things<sup>3</sup>, he was popular with all men, he was generous, he was friendly<sup>4</sup>, he was humble in disposition, he was free from guile, he was free from deceit, he was full of insight, he was of high reputation, he had much knowledge, he sought after the good of those dependent on him, his praise was in all men’s mouths, great was his wealth, and great his fame. Such were the twenty-eight qualities, O king, with which Mahosadha, the wise, was endowed. And it was because she found no wooer like unto him that she did no wrong<sup>5</sup>.’

<sup>1</sup> Soḷeyya-sampanno, which Hīnaśi-kumburê renders *suvaḷa guṇayen samanwibawa*: that is, ‘compliant, attentive to what is said.’ But I prefer to take the expression in the sense explained at length in *Anguttara* III, 119. See also *Gâtaka* I, 214; *Milinda*, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Anusuyyako. See *Gâtaka* II, 192, and *Milinda*, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> Âyûhako. Hīnaśi-kumburê (p. 286) renders this word, which is only found here, by *Dhana piris rœs kirim cettaya*, ‘one who has heaped up goods and men.’ But see *Milinda*, p. 181, and Dr. Morris in the *Pāli Text Society’s Journals* for 1885 and 1886.

<sup>4</sup> Sakhilo, ‘kindly in speech,’ says the *Simhalese*.

<sup>5</sup> This is all very well, but it does not confirm, it explains away, the supposed quotation from the Buddha’s words.

‘Very good, Nāgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.’

[Here ends the dilemma as to the wickedness of women<sup>1</sup>.]

[ON THE FEARLESSNESS OF THE ARAHATS.]

44. ‘Venerable Nāgasena, it was said by the Blessed One: “The Arahats have laid aside all fear and trembling<sup>2</sup>.” But on the other hand when, in the city of Rāgagaha, they saw Dhana-pālaka, the man-slaying elephant, bearing down upon the Blessed

<sup>1</sup> The position of women in India, at the time when Buddhism arose, was, theoretically, very low. The folk tales are full of stories turning on the wiles of women, and the Hindoo law-books seem never tired of the theme of her uncleanness, her weakness, and her wickedness. But, except in matters of property, the bark was I think worse than the bite. Among the people, in the homes of the peasantry, the philippics of the Brahmin priests were not much regarded, and the women led lives as pleasant as those of their male relations, and shared in such mental and physical advantages as their male relations enjoyed. The influence of Buddhism must have been felt in two directions. In the first place the importance attached to the celibate life must have encouraged the kind of view taken of women among Catholics in mediæval times (the Brahmin view being much akin to those that were promulgated by Luther). On the other hand the fact that women were admitted to the Order, and that the still higher aim of Arahatship was held to be attainable by them, must have helped to encourage a high esteem for women. We have many instances of women who were credited with the insight of Arahatship. A whole treatise in the Buddhist sacred books, the Theri Gāthā, is devoted to hymns and poems ascribed to them, and many of these reach a very high level of intelligent and spiritual emotion.

<sup>2</sup> I do not know the exact passage referred to, but there are many of similar tendency in the sacred books. See, for instance, Dhammapada, verses 39, 188, 214, 351, and 385; and Sutta Nipāta, verses 15, 70, 212, 621, and 965.

One, all the five hundred Arahats forsook the Conqueror and fled, one only excepted, Ānanda the Elder<sup>1</sup>. Now how was it, Nāgasena? Did those Arahats run away from fear—or did they run away willing to let the Blessed One be destroyed, and thinking: “(Our conduct) will be clear (to him) from the way in which he himself will act<sup>2</sup>,” [208] or did they run away with the hope of watching the immense and unequalled mighty power which the Tathāgata would exhibit? If, Nāgasena, what the

<sup>1</sup> Here again we have a variation between our author's words and those of the Piṭakas. In the *Kullavagga* VII, 3, 11, 12 (translated in pp. 247–250 of vol. iii of the ‘Vinaya Texts’ in the ‘Sacred Books of the East’), we have the oldest versions of this story; and there the elephant is called, not Dhana-pālaka, but Nālāgiri, and the number of attendant disciples (who are not called Arahats) is not given as five hundred. The Buddha is simply said to have entered Rāgagaha ‘with a number of Bhikkhus.’ Nothing also is said, either of their running away, or of Ānanda's remaining behind. It is, no doubt, an easily explicable and very pretty alteration of the story, which exhibits Ānanda, the beloved disciple, as acting in this way. But it is none the less an alteration.

It should be added that Nālāgiri (it should be Nālāgiri) in the Vinaya text is a personal name of the elephant, but may be derived from its place of origin. (See the references to a famous elephant named Na/āgiri in the Megha Dūta and Naḍāgiri in the Kathā Sarit Sāgara XI, 42, XII, 10, XIII, 7, 29. But Pāṇini VI, 3, 117, gives the latter as the name of a mountain.) So while there may be a variation in the legend, it may also be that we have only two names for the same elephant, just as one might speak of the Shetland pony (named) Brownie. And the stanza quoted below (p. 410 of the Pāli text) shows that the name Dhana-pālaka was given already in older texts to the Nālāgiri elephant.

<sup>2</sup> Paññāyissati sakena kammena, ‘It will be plain to the Buddha (that is, he will be able to judge of our motives) from his own kindness and goodness,’ according to the Sinhalese (p. 287). But the expression is a very strange one, and perhaps, after all, it merely means, ‘The matter will turn out according to his Karma.’

Blessed One said as to the Arahats being devoid of fear be true, then this story must be false. But if the story be true, then the statement that the Arahats have put away fear and trembling must be false. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

45. 'The Blessed One did say, O king, that Arahats have put away all fear and trembling, and five hundred Arahats, save only Ânanda, did, as you say, run away when the elephant Dhana-pâlaka bore down upon the Tathâgata that day in Râga-gaha. But that was neither out of fear, nor from willingness to let the Blessed One be destroyed. For the cause by which Arahats could be made to fear or tremble has been destroyed in them, and therefore are they free from fear or trembling. Is the broad earth, O king, afraid at people digging into it, or breaking it up, or at having to bear the weight of the mighty oceans and the peaked mountain ranges?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'But why not?'

'Because there is no cause in the broad earth which could produce fear or trembling.'

'Just so, O king. And neither is there any such cause in Arahats. And would a mountain peak be afraid of being split up, or broken down, or made to fall, or burnt with fire?'

'Certainly not, Sir.'

'But why not?' [209]

'The cause of fear or trembling does not exist within it.'

'And just so, O king, with Arahats. If all the creatures of various outward form in the whole



universe<sup>1</sup> were, together, to attack one Arahāt in order to put him to fear, yet would they bring about no variation in his heart. And why? Because there is neither condition nor cause for fear (in him, whence fear could arise). Rather, O king, was it these considerations that arose in the minds of those Arahats: "To-day when the best of the best of men, the hero among conquerors, has entered into the famous city, Dhana-pālaka the elephant will rush down the street. But to a certainty the brother who is his special attendant will not forsake him who is above the god of gods. But if we should not go away, then neither will the goodness of Ānanda be made manifest, nor will the elephant actually approach<sup>2</sup> the Tathāgata. Let us then withdraw. Thus will great masses of the people attain to emancipation from the bonds of evil, and the goodness of Ānanda be made manifest." It was on the realisation of the fact that those advantages would arise from their doing so, that the Arahats withdrew to every side.'

'Well, Nāgasena, have you solved the puzzle. That is so. The Arahats feared not, nor did they tremble. But for the advantages that they foresaw they withdrew on every side.'

---

[Here ends the problem as to the panic of the Arahats.]

---

<sup>1</sup> Literally, 'In the hundreds of thousands of world systems.'

<sup>2</sup> A//hānam-anavakāsataya, 'Because of the absence of condition and opportunity.'

[ON CAUSING THE OMNISCIENT ONE TO CHANGE HIS MIND.]

46. 'Venerable Nâgasena, your people say that the Tathâgata is all wise<sup>1</sup>. And on the other hand they say: "When the company of the members of the Order presided over by Sâriputta and Moggallâna had been dismissed by the Blessed One<sup>2</sup>, then the Sâkyas of Kâtumâ and Brahmâ Sabanipati, by means of the parables of the seed and of the calf, gained the Buddha over, and obtained his forgiveness, and made him see the thing in the right light<sup>3</sup>." Now how was that, Nâgasena? Were those two parables unknown to him that he should be [210] appeased and gained over to their side, and brought to see the matter in a new light? But if he did not already know them, then, Nâgasena, he was not all-wise. If he did know them, then he must have dismissed those brethren rudely and violently<sup>4</sup> in order to try them; and therein is his unkindness made manifest. This too is a double-edged problem now put to you, and you have to solve it.'

47. 'The Tathâgata, O king, was all-wise, and yet, pleased at those parables, he was gained over by them, he granted pardon to the brethren he had sent

<sup>1</sup> This question is also discussed above, III, 6, 2.

<sup>2</sup> This episode has already been referred to above, and will be found set out in full in the *Kâtumâ Sutta*, No. 67, in the *Magghima Nikâya* (pp. 456-462 of Mr. Trenckner's edition for the Pâli Text Society).

<sup>3</sup> *Nigghattam akamsu*. Compare *Gâtaka*, vol. i, p. 495.

<sup>4</sup> *Okassa pasayha*, which the *Simhalese* (p. 289) renders *âkaddhanaya ko'a abhibhavanaya karanâ*. See Dr. Morris in the 'Journal of the Pâli Text Society,' 1887, p. 148.

away, and he saw the matter in the light (in which the intercessors on their behalf wished him to see it). For the Tathâgata, O king, is lord of the Scriptures. It was with parables that had been first preached by the Tathâgata himself<sup>1</sup> that they conciliated him, pleased him, gained him over, and it was on being thus gained over that he signified his approval (of what they had said). It was, O king, as when a wife conciliates, and pleases, and gains over her husband by means of things that belong to the husband himself; and the husband signifies his approval thereof. Or it was, O king, as when the royal barber conciliates and pleases and gains over the king when he dresses the king's head with the golden comb<sup>2</sup> which belongs to the king himself, and the king then signifies his approval thereof. Or it was, O king, as when an attendant novice, when he serves his teacher with the food given in alms which his teacher has himself brought home, conciliates him and pleases him and gains him over, and the teacher then signifies his approval thereof.'

'Very good, Nâgasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say.'

[Here ends the problem as to the all-wise Buddha being gained over by intercession<sup>3</sup>.]

Here ends the Fourth Chapter.

<sup>1</sup> This is quite correct. They are in the fourth book of the *Ânguttara Sutta*, No. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Paṇaka*, a word only found in this passage. *Hīnaśi-kumburê* (p. 280 at the end) renders it *raṇ paṇâwen*.

<sup>3</sup> Other cruxes arising out of the dogma of the Buddha's omniscience are discussed above, III, 6, 2.

## APPENDIX.

### DEVADATTA IN THE GĀTAKAS.

No. of Gātaka.	Character filled by Devadatta.	Character filled by the Bodisat.
1	Merchant	Merchant
3	"	"
11	Deer (Kāḷa)	His father
12	Deer (Sākha)	Deer (Nigrodha)
20	Water sprite	Monkey
21	Hunter	Kurunga deer
33	Quail	Quail
51	Minister	King
57	Crocodile	Monkey king
58	Monkey king	His son
72	Woodman	Elephant
73	King	King
113	Jackal	Tree god
122	King	Elephant
131	Piliya	Samkha
139	Fisherman	Tree god
141	Chameleon	Iguana
142	Drunkard	Jackal
143	Jackal	Lion
160	Vinḷaka (a crow)	King of Videha
168	Hawk	Quail
174	Monkey	Brahman
184	Groom	Minister
193	Cripple	King Paduma
194	King	Countryman
204	Crow	Crow
206	Hunter	Kurunga deer
208	Crocodile	Monkey
210	Bird	Bird
220	Unjust judge	Just judge
221	Hunter	Elephant
222	"	Nandiya (monkey king)
231	Elephant trainer	Elephant trainer

---

240	King Pingala	Prince
241	Jackal	Minister
243	Musician	Musician
277	Ascetic	Pigeon
294	Jackal	Tree god
295	"	" "
303	Lion	Bird
313	King Kalābu	Kundaka (a brahman)
326	Brahman	God
329	Kālabāhu (a woodman)	Parrot
335	Jackal	Lion
342	Crocodile	Monkey
353	Pingiya (a purohit)	Teacher
357	Mad elephant	Elephant king
358	King Patāpa	His son
367	Doctor	Hag
389	Crow	Brahman
397	Jackal	Lion
404	Monkey king	Monkey king
416	King of Benares	His son
422	King of Ketiya	Brahman
438	Ascetic	Partridge
445	Sākha (a minister)	Nigrodha (a king)
448	Hawk	Cock
457	Adhamma (a god)	Dhamma (a god)
466	Carpenter	Carpenter
472	King of Benares	Prince Paduma
482	Man	Ruru deer
503	Thief	Parrot
505	Ascetic	Prince Somanassa
506	Snake charmer	Snake king

---

64 in all.

Professor Fausbøll has kindly allowed me to look at the advance sheets of his fifth volume, so that the above list is complete down to No. 513. There may be a few more instances in the remaining 37 Gātakas not yet printed.

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page xiii. *Srī-wardhana-pura*. It should have been pointed out that this city is not (as stated by Emerson Tennant at vol. i, p. 414 of his 'Ceylon') the same as the modern town of Kandy, but was in the Kurunægalla district, and (as pointed out by Mr. K. James Pohath in the 'Ceylon Orientalist,' vol. iii, p. 218) about three and a half miles distant from the modern Damba-deniya.

P. 2, note 2. Mr. Trenckner in his 'Pāli Miscellany' (London, 1879) has translated and annotated the whole of Book I, that is, to the end of p. 39 of this translation.

P. 6, line 1, read 'to Tissa the Elder, the son of Moggali.'

P. 10, note 1. It is strange that when it occurred to me that §§ 10-14 are an early interpolation I failed to notice the most important, and indeed almost conclusive argument for my suggestion. It is this, that the closing words of § 14 are really in complete contradiction to the opening words, and that they look very much as if they had been inserted, after the interpolation, to meet the objection to it which would at once arise from the expression in § 16, that the venerable Assagutta 'heard those words of King Milinda.' As it originally stood the words he heard were those of § 10. After the interpolation these words had to be reinserted at the end of § 14, in spite of their being in contradiction to the context.

Pp. 14 foll., for 'Rohana' read 'Rohana.'

Pp. 15, 16. This whole episode as to the charge of lying is repeated by Buddhaghosa (in the Introduction to his *Samanta Pāsādikā*, p. 296 of vol. iii of Oldenberg's *Vinaya*), but as having happened to Siggava in connection with the birth of Moggali-putta Tissa. A modern author would be expected to mention his source, but Buddhaghosa makes no reference whatever to the *Milinda*. Perhaps the episode is common stock of Buddhist legend, and we shall find it elsewhere.

P. 32, line 1, add after 'Quietism' 'and the discourse on losses (*Parābhava Suttanta*).' [See p. xxix, where the reference is supplied.]

P. 53. 'Virtue's the base.' It should have been pointed out that this is the celebrated verse given by the Ceylon scholars to Buddhaghosa as the theme of the test essay he was to write as a proof of his fitness. If he succeeded in the essay they would then entrust him with all their traditions for him to recast in Pāli. The 'Path of Purity,' which opens with this verse, was the result.

P. 185, § 49. On the question discussed in this section the curious may compare what is said by Sir Thomas Brown in his 'Enquiries into Vulgar and Common Errors,' Book VII, Chapter xvi (p. 304 of the London edition of 1686). He gives several instances of supposed cases of conception without sexual connection mentioned in western writers, and comes to the conclusion, apropos of the supposed generation of the magician Merlin by Satan, that 'generations by the devil are very improbable.'

---

I had desired to dedicate this translation of the Milinda to Mr. Trenckner, to whose self-denying labours, spread over many years, we owe the edition of the Pāli text on which the translation is based, and without which the translation would not have been attempted. But I am now informed that any dedication of a single volume in the series of the 'Sacred Books of the East' is not allowable, as it would conflict with the dedication of the entire series. Had I known this when the Introduction was being written, a more suitable acknowledgment of the debt due to Mr. Trenckner than the few words on page xv, would have been made at the close of the Introductory remarks. I am permitted therefore to add here what was intended to appear in the dedication as an expression of the gratitude which all interested in historical research must feel to a scholar who has devoted years of labour, and of labour rendered valuable by the highest training and critical scholarship, to a field of enquiry in which the only fruit to be gathered is knowledge.

## INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

- Abhidharma Kośa Vyākhyâ, quoted, page xxvi.
- Agathokles, king of Baktria, xxii.
- Agita, the teacher, 8, 41.
- Ākesines, the river, xlv.
- Āiravatî, the river, xlv, 171.
- Ālakamandâ, city of the gods, 3.
- Alasanda (Alexandria), on the Indus, xxiii, 127.
- Amarâ, Mahosadha's wife, 294.
- Amara-sekara, Mr. C. A. M., xii.
- Amara-sekara, Mr. N. M., xii.
- Ānanda, the teacher, 163, 191, 257.
- Anantakâya, attendant on Menander, probably = Antiochos, xix, xlii, 48.
- Anuruddha, the Sâkyan, 163.
- Apollodotus, king of Baktria, xix, xlii.
- Archebios, king of Baktria, xxii.
- Ariano-pâli, legends on coins, xxi.
- Āsâlba, a month, 171.
- Asiknî, the river, xlv.
- Asipâsâ, a caste, xlv.
- Asoka, emperor of India, xxxvii, xlii, 182.
- Asokârâma, near Patna, xliii, 26.
- Assagutta of the Vattaniya hermitage, xxv, xliii.
- Āsvagupta, not the same as last, xxv.
- Ātibissara, = Devadatta, 167.
- Aviki, purgatory, xl, 9.
- Āyupâla, of the Sâṅkheyya hermitage, a Buddhist teacher, xxv, xliii, 30 foll.
- Barygaza, in Gujarat, xx.
- Benares, 31.
- Benfey, Professor, quoted, xxvi.
- Bhaddasâla, the general, xliii, 292.
- Bhaddi-(or Bhāsi-)puttâ, a caste, xlv.
- Bhaddiya, the Sâkyan, 163.
- Bhagu, the Sâkyan, 163.
- Bharukakka, men of, xliii, 331.
- Bindumati, a courtesan, xliii, 182.
- Bird, Major, quoted, xxvi.
- Brahmâ, the god, 118, 301.
- Brahma-world, heaven, 126.
- Buddhaghosa's 'Path of Purity,' xi, 306; his quotations of the Milinda, xiv-xvii.
- Budh Gâyâ, in Behar, 9.
- Burgess, Dr., quoted, xxvi.
- Burmese translations of the 'Questions of Milinda,' xi, xvi.
- Burnouf, quoted, xxvi.
- Bu-ston, a Tibetan work, quoted, xxvi.
- Ceylon, xi, xiv; its literature, xiii.
- Childers, Professor, quoted, xlv, 185, 230, 244.
- Cunningham, General, quoted, xi.
- Dâgabas, sepulchral heaps, xx.
- Dânava, Titan, 216.
- Daramisipola, a Ceylon scholar, xiii.
- Devadatta, the heresiarch, 153, 163 foll., 193, 249, 282 foll., 303.
- Devamantiya, = Demetrios, xix, xliii, 22, 24, 37, 47.
- Dhamma-kitti, author of the Saddhamma Saṅgaha, xxvii.
- Dhammakkhanda. See Madhurasatora.
- Dhammapâla, quoted, 244.
1. Dhamma-rakkhita. See Daramisipola.
2. Dhamma-rakkhita, one of Nâgasena's teachers, xxv, xliii, 16, 18.
- Dhana-phâlaka, elephant, 297.
- Dinna, attendant on king Milinda, 87.
- Divyâvadâna, quoted, xxv.
- Ekasâraka, a Brahman, 172.
- Elijah, his 'Act of Truth,' 185.
- Eukratides, king of Baktria, xxiii.
- Fâ-Hien, the traveller, 248.
- Fausbøll, Professor, quoted, 244, 253.



- Gandhâra, the country, xliii, 327, 331.  
 Gangâ, the Ganges river, xlv, 5, 171, 182.  
 Gardiner, Professor, quoted, xxi.  
 Garuḍas, snake-eating birds, 38, 175.  
 Gopâla-mâtâ, queen, 172.  
 Guṇânanda. See Mohorri-watte.  
 Guttila, musician, 172.
- Hardy, Rev. R. Spence, quoted, xxvi, 40, 61, 64, 77.  
 Himâlayas, mountains, 11, 171, 278.  
 Hînarî-kumburê Sumaṅgala, translates the Milinda into Siṃha-lese, xii, xiii.  
 Hydaspes, the river Bihat, xlv.  
 Hypanis (the Sutelj), xix.
- Indra, the god, 37.  
 Indus, river, 171.  
 Isamos (the Jumna), xix.  
 Itihâsas, 6, 247.
- Jains, their founder, 8.  
 Jâli, Vessantara's son, 174.  
 Jumna, river. See Isamos, Yamunâ.  
 Justin, quoted, xix.
- Kâbul, Menander's coins found there, xx.  
 Kadphises, a coin of his referred to, xxii.  
 Kaṅgaṅala, in the Terai, 14, 18.  
 Kâlâbu, king, 286.  
 Kalanda, a clan, 238.  
 Kalasi, a town on an island in the Indus, xxiii, xliii, 83, 127.  
 Kali-devatâ, a sect so called, xlv.  
 Kandabhâgâ, the river, xlv, 171.  
 Kandaḡutta, king, xliii, 292.  
 Kârambhiya, ascetic, 287.  
 Karisi. See Kalasi.  
 Kashmîr, Menander's coins found there, xx, xliii, 82.  
 Kassapa, the Buddha, 4, 173.  
 Kathâ Sarit Sâgara, quoted, 298.  
 Kâtumâ, a Sâkyan town, 257, 301.  
 Kern, Professor, quoted, xxvi.  
 Ketumatî, a mansion in heaven, 11.  
 Khugguttarâ, 122.  
 Kimbila, the Sâkyan, 163.  
 Kîna, perhaps China, xliii, 121, 327, 331, 359.  
 Kîññî, a Brahman woman, 153.
- Kirtti Sñ Râga-simha, king of Ceylon, xii, xiii.  
 Kola-parrana, seaport, xliii, 359.  
 Kolumbara, its stuffs, 3.  
 Kumâra Kassapa, 275.  
 Kunda, the coppersmith, 242.  
 Kuvera, the god, 37.
- Lassen, Professor, quoted, xlv.  
 Legge, Professor, his version of Fâ-Hien, 248.  
 Liwera, Mr. A., xiii.  
 Lokâyatas, a sect so called, 7.
- Maddî, wife to Vessantara, 174.  
 Madhura, the city, xliii, 331.  
 Madhurasat-tora, a Buddhist scholar, xiii.  
 Mahâ-bhârata, called an Itihâsa, 247.  
 Mahâsena, a god, 11.  
 Mahî, the river, xlv, 171.  
 Mahosadha and his wife, 294.  
 Makkhali (of the cowshed), 8.  
 Mallikâ, queen, 172.  
 Mâlunkya-putta, 204 foll.  
 Manibhaddâ, a caste so called, xlvi, 191.  
 Mañkura, attendant on Menander, xx, 29, 30, 48.  
 Mandhâtâ, king, 172.  
 Manoratha Pîrasa, quoted, xiv.  
 Mâra, the Evil One, 219.  
 Masâra, mountain, 177.  
 Mathurâ, Menander's coins found there, xx.  
 Megha Dûta, quoted, 298.  
 Menander-Milinda, identity of the names, xviii; notices of in classical writers, xix; coins of, xx-xxii; date and birthplace of, xxiii; his conversion to Buddhism, xxv-xxvii.
- Mendis, Mr. L., xiii.  
 Milinda, the Questions of, in Ceylon, xii, xiii; in Buddhaghosa, xiv-xvi; MSS. of, xvii; is a religious romance, xvii; the charm of its style, xviii.  
 Milinda Prashnaya, xii.  
 Moggallâna, his death, 261 foll.  
 Mohorri-watte Guṇânanda, a Buddhist scholar, xii.  
 Morris, the Rev. Dr., quoted, xiv, xv, 46, 65, 174, 278, 301.

- Müller, Prof. Ed., quoted, xlv, 179, 240.
- Nāgarguna, founder of the Mahāyāna school, xxv; identified wrongly with Nāgasena, xxvi.
- Nāgasena, xxv, xxvi, and passim.
- Nāgesa, epithet of Patañjali, xxvi.
- Nāgiri, elephant and mountain, 298.
- Nanda, the Brahman, 153.
- Nandaka, an ogre, 153.
- Nandiya, monkey king, 287.
- Nesāda, outcasts, 286.
- Nigantha Nāta-putta, founder of the Jain sect, 8.
- Nikumba, the country, xliii, 327.
- Nimi, king, 172.
- Nyāya philosophy, 6.
- Pabbatā, a caste so called, xlvii, 191.
- Pāṭittiya rules, xli.
- Pakudha Kakāyana, the teacher, 8, 42.
- Pāli Text Society, xxv, xxvii, xl, xlv, 46, 65.
- Pāṇini, quoted, 298.
- Papañka Sūdani, quoted, xv.
- Pāragika offences, xli.
- Pāraliputta, the modern Patna, 26, 182.
- Patañjali, not the same as Nāgasena, xxvi.
- Pātimokkha, xli.
- Pātimokkha, recitation of, 264 foll.
- Pāyāsi the Rāganya, 275.
- Phanin, epithet of Patañjali, xxvi.
- Piliyakkha, king, 280.
- Piris, Mr. K., xii.
- Plutarch, quoted, xix, xxii.
- Pragāpati, the god, 37.
- Punnā, slave girl, 172.
- Punna, a servant, 172.
- Pūrāna Kassapa, the teacher, 8, 9, 41.
- Purānas, 6, 247.
- Rāgagaha, 191, 298; council held at, 242.
- Rāhula, son of the Buddha, 32.
- Rakkhita-tala, in the Himālayas, xliii, 6, 12, 18.
- Rāmāyana, called an Itihāsa, 247.
- Roga, the Mallian, 282.
1. Rohana, a Buddhist teacher mentioned in the Ānguttara, xxv.
2. Rohana, Nāgasena's teacher, xxv, xliii.
- Sabba-dinna, attendant on Menander, xix, xliii, 20, 47, 56.
- Saddhamma Saṃgaha, a Pāli historical work, xxvii.
- Sādhina, king, 172.
- Sāgala, capital of Baktria, xviii, xliii, 2, 23.
- Saka, a country, xliii, 327, 331.
- Sākha, general, 291.
- Sakka, king of the gods, 12.
- Sākyan, member of the clan, 153.
- Sallet, Alfred von, quoted, xxi.
- Sāma, prince, 280 foll., 288.
- Saṅgaya, the teacher, 8.
- Saṅkheyya, a hermitage, xliii, 17, 22.
- Sāṅkhyā philosophy, 6.
- Santushita, a god, 37.
- Sarabhū, the river, xlv, 171.
- Sarasaṅkara. See Weliwira.
- Sarassatī, the river, xlv, 171.
- Savara, city of the Kāṇḍālas, 267.
- Schiefner, Prof., quoted, xxvi.
- Siamese translations, &c., of the 'Questions of Milinda,' xi, xvi, xvii, xxiv.
- Sindhu, the Indus river, xlv.
- Sineru, king of mountains, 152, 176.
- Sivaka, 195.
- Sivi, king, 179.
1. Sonuttara, a Brahman, xliii, 14.
2. Sonuttara, an outcast, 286.
- Srī-wardhana-pura, a city in Ceylon, xliii, 305.
- Sthūpas. See Dāgabas.
- Strabo, quoted, xix.
- Strato, king of Baktria, xxii.
- Subhadda, recluse, 186.
- Sudinna, of the Kalanda clan, 238.
- Sumana, garland maker, 172.
- Sumaṅgala Vīlāsini, quoted, xiv, xv, 131, 263.
- Suppabuddha, a Sākyan, 153.
- Suppiyā, devotee, 172.
- Suratba, Surat, xliii, 331, 359.
- Sutta Nipāta, xlii.
- Suvanna-bhūmi, the country, xliii, 359.
- Suyāma, a god, 37.
- Sy-Hermaios, king of Baktria, xxii.
- Takkola, the place, xliii, xlv, 359.
- Theosophists, sect of, 268.

- Tissa, son of Moggallî, 6.  
 Tissa-thera, a writer, xliii, 71.  
 Trenckner, Mr., xv-xix, xxiv, xxxi, 25, 28, 32, 49, 80, 175, 179, 294, 306.  
 Tusita heaven, 271.  
 Ūhâ, a river, xliii, 70.  
 Upâli, the barber, 163.  
 Uposatha Ârâma, in Ceylon, xliii.  
 Uttarakuru, 3.  
 Valêshika philosophy, 6.  
 Vaṅga, Bengal, xliii, 359.  
 Varuṇa, the god, 37.  
 Vattaniya, a hermitage, xliii, 10-16.  
 Vedas, the four, 6, 247; the three, 17, 34.  
 Vegayanta, palace of the gods, 11.  
 Vessantara, the king, 170 foll.  
 Vessavana, king of the fairies, 38.  
 Vetravatî, the river, xliv, 171.  
 Vidhura, sage, 288.  
 Vigamba-vatthu, a hermitage, xliii, 12.  
 Vilâta, a country, xliii, 327, 331.  
 Vitamsâ, the river, xliv, 171.  
 Vitandas, a sect so called, 7.  
 Weber, Prof., quoted, xxv.  
 Wenzel, Dr., quoted, xxv, xxvi.  
 Wilson, H. H., quoted, xxi.  
 Wœliwira Saranaṅkara, a Buddhist scholar, xii, xiii.  
 Yakkha, ogre, 38, 176.  
 Yâma, the god, 37.  
 Yamunâ, the Jumna river, xliv, 171.  
 Yavana, Bactria, xliii, 327, 331.  
 Yoga philosophy, 6.  
 Yonakas, the Greeks (Ionians) attendant on Menander, xix, xlii, 1, 4, 20, 68.  
 Yugandhara, a peak of the Himâlayas, 12.  
 Zoilos, king of Bactria, xxii.

## INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

- Acrobats, page 53.  
 'Act of Truth,' 180 foll.  
 Alkaline wash, in medicine, 168.  
 Alms, customs of the Buddhist Order in regard to, 14-16, 20.  
 Alms-halls, 2. See Rest-houses.  
 Altruism, Buddhist, 174.  
 Ambrosia, 35, 236.  
 Animals, their reasoning powers, 51.  
 Arahat, the great, is Buddha, 8; others, 11, 12; their knowledge of others' thoughts, 18, 23; nature of their wisdom, 29; does not fear death, 70; description of, 157; have no fear, 206 foll., 297 foll.  
 Arahatship, above ordinary morality, 25; its seven conditions, 52, 58; the highest of all lands, 227.  
 Architects, 2, 53.  
 Arithmetic, 6, 91.  
 Army, its four divisions, 7, 54, 60, 62.  
 Arts and sciences, the nineteen, &c., 6.  
 Aspiration of reward, on doing a good act, 5; duty of, 55.  
 Association of ideas, 89-92.  
 Assurance of salvation, the Arahat's final, 65.  
 Astrologer, the royal, 31, 247.  
 Astronomy, 6.  
 Atonement, 14.  
 Baby, is it the same as the grown man? 63.  
 Bambû, simile of the giant-, 155 foll.; dies in reproduction, 236.  
 Barber, 19, 302.  
 Barley reapers, simile of, 51.  
 Bathing places, public, 140.  
 Becoming, 83; sorrow of, 149; freedom from, 293.  
 Boat, similes of, 124, 227.  
 Body, the thirty-two parts of the human, 42; the love of the, 114; bodily marks, the, 32, 117, 237; made of four elements, 194.  
 Bones, hundred leagues long, 130.  
 Book, 123; of the law, 262.  
 Brahman, works in the fields, 15; duties of a, 247.  
 Brand marks, on cattle, 122.  
 Breath, no soul in the, 48.  
 Bridges, 140, 272, 291.  
 Brooms, 4.  
 Buddha, the, is incomparable, 108; is not still alive, 144 foll.; gifts to, 144 foll.; distinction between *Paññaka*- and Perfect-Buddhas, 158; the best of men, 178; sinlessness of, 191.  
 Burning glass, 85.  
 Calf, similes of, 282, 301.  
 Carpenter, simile of, 236.  
 Carriages, 3, 91.  
 Carter, should test a ford, 272.  
 Casuists, 7; casuistry no branch of education, 17.  
 Cat's eye, the gem, 177.  
 Cattle, brand marks on, 122.  
 Cauterising a wound, 168, 211.  
 Ceremonies, observed by kings on visiting *Samanas*, 30, 31, 37, 49.  
 Character, of the ideally good layman, 296.  
 Chariot, simile of, 43; parts of, 44.  
 Charms, intoning of, 181.  
 City, description of a wealthy, 2; foundation of, 53; with one gateway, simile of, 90.  
 Clocks, want of, 7.  
 Clod, thrown in the air, simile of, 194.  
 Cloth goods, 3.  
 Combs for the hair, 19.  
 Comets, 247.  
 'Confections,' 42, 83, 205, 207.  
 Contact, 92.  
 Conversion, what it consists in, 25.  
 Conveyancing, as an art, 6.  
 Copper ware, 3, 96.

- Cotton stuffs, 159.  
 Counting. See Arithmetic; by the finger-joints, 91.  
 Courtesan, story of, 183 foll.  
 Courts of justice, 291.  
 Criminal, the condemned, similes of, 165-6, 211.  
 Crops, estimation of growing, 91.  
 Cymbals, simile of, 93.  
 Dacoits, 33.  
 Dart, simile of the perfect, 159.  
 Dead body, always cast up by the sea, 259.  
 Death, the fear of, 206-212, 278, 279.  
 Death of the Buddha, the legend of, explained, 242 foll.  
 Delusion of self, 207, 226.  
 Dependents, kindness to, 138.  
 Dice-playing, 103.  
 Digestion, 193, 236.  
 Diseases, ninety-eight kinds of, 152; caused in ten ways (one of which is medical treatment), 192; cured by Pirit, 225.  
 Divination, practised by Brahmans, 247.  
 'Divine Ear,' the, 11.  
 'Divine Eye,' the, 26, 179.  
 Divining other people's thoughts, 18, 23.  
 Dreams, interpretation of, 247.  
 Drugs, five kinds of, 69.  
 Drum, simile of, 149.  
 Dryads, 242.  
 Ear, the divine, 11.  
 Earth, the broad, similes of, 52, 150, 194, 258, 299.  
 Earthquakes, 170 foll.  
 Eclipses, 247.  
 Education, 17, 50, 63.  
 Egoism, delusion of, 207, 226.  
 Elements, the four, 194.  
 Elephants, 3, 38, 126, 211, 267, 272.  
 Embroidery, 134.  
 Embryo, four stages of the, 63, 105.  
 Esoteric teaching, none in Buddhism, 138, 142, 267.  
 Estimating growing crops, 91.  
 Eunuchs, cannot keep a secret, 141.  
 Evil, origin of. See Pain. Conquest of, by good, 174.  
 Excitement, condemned, 143.  
 Exorcism, 38.  
 Eye, the Divine, 26.  
 'Eye of the Truth,' 25.  
 Fairies, 38.  
 Faith, 52, 56.  
 Fans, 148.  
 Finger-joints, used to count with, 91.  
 Fire, similes of, 73, 146, 188, 234, 244.  
 Fire-extinguishing apparatus, 68.  
 Fire-stick apparatus, 85.  
 Flame, simile of, 64.  
 Flavours, the six, 88.  
 Flood, simile of, 2, 56.  
 Floor coverings, 267.  
 Food, Indian idea of, 26.  
 Fossil bones, 130.  
 Future life, the craving after, condemned, 174, 200.  
 Garlands, habit of wearing, 19.  
 Gayal, kind of buffalo, 211.  
 Gems, various kinds of, 177.  
 Generosity, the mighty power of, 173-5.  
 Gestation, period of, is ten months, 16.  
 Ghee, 65, 75, 161, 249.  
 Gold and silver, 3, 59, 267.  
 Grammar, 17.  
 Granary, 65, 161.  
 Guilds of traders, 3.  
 Hair, the sixteen impediments of wearing, 19; hair-dyeing and shampooing, &c., *ibid*.  
 Head-splitting, belief as to, 222.  
 Heads of houses, 209.  
 Health and wealth, explained, 97.  
 Hell, none in Buddhism. See Purgatory.  
 Hen and eggs, similes of, 76, 77, 80.  
 Highwaymen, 32, 222.  
 Honey, the man in the trough of, 88; the drink of, 95; slips through the fingers, 249.  
 Horripilation, 38.  
 Horses, 3; the swift, simile of, 199.  
 House-building, 57, 83; house of life, 207.  
 Humours, the three, in medicine, 168, 191.  
 Husbandry, 215, 235, 247, 285.  
 Iddhi, powers of, 261.  
 Ideas, mark of, 94; association of, 89-92.

- Income, simile of, 187.  
 Indeterminate questions, 205.  
 Individuality, 40-45, 50, 64, 67.  
 Indivisibility, denied, 132.  
 Insight, the eight causes of its ripening, 141, and see Conversion.  
 Intoxicating drinks, 41.  
 Investigation, characteristic of, 96;  
     why the Buddha investigates, 272.  
 Invisible, story of the magician, 217;  
     root to make one, 281.  
 Iron, 70.  
 Jasmine, the chief of flowers, 252.  
 Javelins, 69.  
 Karma, 3, 12, 18, 32, 41, 71, 80, 103,  
     163, 191, 214, 262-4.  
 King of kings, the mythical, 162, 177,  
     199.  
 Kings, their manner of discussing,  
     46; their tyranny, 50; their  
     greed, 203; they take the best  
     of everything, 267.  
 Lamps, 61, 64, 67, 73, 110.  
 Lancet, surgeon's, 168-9, 211.  
 Law, of property, 247. See Peace,  
     breach of, and Conveyancing,  
     and Punishments, and Book.  
 Laymen, includes the gods, 32.  
 Learning by heart, 17, 22, 28, 34,  
     123, 172.  
 Letter-writing, 67.  
 Leviathan, 187.  
 Lexicography, 17.  
 Lie, a deliberate, excludes from the  
     Order, 268.  
 Lions, 135, 211.  
 Log, the dry, simile of, 214.  
 Looking-glass, 86, 189.  
 Lord of a village, 208.  
 Lotions, medicinal, 211, 215.  
 Lotus flower, simile of, 117.  
 Love to all beings, 138, 279 foll.; of  
     teacher to pupil, 142; duty of,  
     254.  
 Lucky marks, 32, 117, 237, 247.  
 Magic, 6, 181, 217.  
 Mandolin and its parts, 84.  
 Market places, 2, 53.  
 Marks on the body, as omens of  
     future greatness, 17.  
 Marriage by purchase, 74.  
 Medicine, 6, 191, 197, 214. See  
     Physician, Surgery.  
 Meditation, 13, 18, 52, 196 foll.  
 Memory, 120-122.  
 Merchant, should test goods, 272.  
 Milk and butter, simile of, 65, 75.  
 Mindfulness, 52, 58.  
 Minds, seven classes of, 154.  
 Ministers of state, the six, 171.  
 Miracles at conception of Nāgasena,  
     14.  
 Money, 17, 59, 134, 267.  
 Mules die in giving birth, 236.  
 Music, 6.  
 Muslim, of Benares, 3.  
 Mutilation, of criminals, 63, 166,  
     270, 276.  
 Name, soul not implied in, 41.  
 'Name-and-form,' 71 foll., 77.  
 Nirvāṇa, a state of mind to be at-  
     tained in, and which ends with,  
     this life, 36, 41, 78, 106. See  
     Arahatship.  
 Novice, the intractable, 4; Nāga-  
     sena becomes a, 20; his duties  
     as, 24, 302.  
 Ocean, taste of, 131, 133; always  
     casts up a dead body, 259.  
 Offences, conscious and unconscious,  
     224.  
 Official gratitude, 76, 93, 197.  
 Ogres, 38.  
 Oil, for the hair, 19.  
 Ointment, for a wound, 168.  
 Omens, interpretation of, 247.  
 Omniscience of the Buddhas, 117,  
     154-162, 271, 301 foll.  
 Pain, origin of, 83, 191, 195.  
 Paṭṭheka-Buddhas, 158.  
 Peace, breach of the, in law, 239.  
 Perception, characteristic of, 95, 132.  
 Perseverance, 52.  
 Physician, 68, 69, 112, 165, 168,  
     211, 40, 272.  
 Pilot, should test the shore, 272.  
 Pipers, 48.  
 Pirit, 213.  
 Pledge, deposit of, 123.  
 Poison, simile of, 94; antidotes to,  
     215; love counteracts, 279.  
 Pork, the Buddha's last meal of, 244  
     foll.

- Posthumous honours, 144 foll.  
 Potter and the pots, simile of, 84.  
 Precepts, abolition of the minor, 202.  
 Present to a king, simile of, 220.  
 Prophecy, 6, 185.  
 Punishments, 63, 223, 239, 254, 269.  
 Punkahs, 148.  
 Pupil, his duty to his teacher, 144.  
 Purgatory, 94, 101, 125, 163, 167, 206, 210, 283.  
 Purity, the power of, 173.  
 Purohita, family chaplain, 282.
- Rain, three seasons of, 171; produced by charms, 181.  
 Rain water, similes of, 90, 226, 245, 274, 278.  
 Rams, simile of two butting, 92.  
 Reasoning contrasted with wisdom, 50.  
 Recognition, mark of perception, 132.  
 Reflection, characteristic of, 95.  
 Re-incarnation, 207, and see next.  
 Re-individualisation, 50, 72-75.  
 Relationship, scheme of, 292.  
 Relics, of the Buddha, 144 foll., 246.  
 Renunciation, 31, 49, 98, 251, 271.  
 Rest-houses, public, 291.  
 Rhinoceros, 38.  
 Rice, simile of cartload of, 154; simile of boiling, 176; is the chief of all grains, 252.  
 Robber, figuratively, of a bad monk, 256.
- Sandal-wood dust, 29.  
 Schism, 163, 227.  
 Scholars, their manner of discussing, 46.  
 Schooling, 63, and see Education.  
 Season, the rainy, 7, 24.  
 Secret wisdom, 139.  
 Sects, 3, 7, 8, 144, 266.  
 Seed-fruit-seed, succession of, 80.  
 Seed, simile of, 301.  
 Seeds, edible, 161.  
 Sensation, results of a, 82, 83, 89, 92; characteristics of, 93; kinds of, 194.  
 Shadow of a man, 45; abiding under another's, 137.  
 Shampooing the hair, 19.
- Ship, simile of, 227.  
 Shops, 2, 3.  
 Shrines, god-haunted, 140.  
 Sins, the five, 41; will find you out, 295.  
 Snake-charmers, 38, 212, 215.  
 Snakes, 211.  
 Snoring, how to stop, 131.  
 Snow, 70.  
 Son in the faith, 142.  
 Sophists, 7.  
 Sorrow, 125, and see Pain.  
 Soul, no such thing as, 40-45, 48, 67, 86-89, 111, 132.  
 Spells, 6.  
 Splinter of rock, incident of, 193 foll., 249 foll.  
 State officials, the six, 171.  
 Suffering, cause of, see Pain; various kinds of, 275.  
 Sugar, 72; sugar mill, 235.  
 Suggestion, as source of memory, 121.  
 Suicide, 69, 273.  
 Surgery, 168.  
 Swallowed up by the earth, 152.  
 Syrups and sweetmeats, 3.
- Tank, simile of the full, 187.  
 Taxation, 208.  
 Teacher, his fees, 17, 25; his duties to his pupil, 142.  
 Thought-perception, 89.  
 Tidal-wave, 276.  
 Time, definition of, 77; root of, 79; ultimate point of, 80-82.  
 To pay, 177.  
 Torture, 239; various kinds of death with, 276, 277.  
 Transmigration, 111, 118, 120.  
 Travellers, hospitality towards, 161.  
 Treasurer, the royal, 59.  
 Trees, disciples compared to, 151; simile of the barren, 162; talking trees, dilemma of, 241.  
 Trumpeters, 48.  
 Truth, is the most minute of all things, 132; its power, 182.  
 Turbans, 138.  
 Tutor's fees, 17.  
 Twirling-stick, 85, 146.
- Uncle, no word for in Pāli, 292.  
 Unguents, for the hair, 19.

- Vanishing root, 281.  
Village organisation, 208-9.  
Vow, the eightfold, of a layman, 138.
- Waggons, 3, 27; parts of, 44; simile of path of, 91; of load of rice, 154; breaking up of, 173; reckoned among valuable things, 267.
- Wandering teachers, 7, 34.  
Water-clearing gem, 55.  
Water, earth rests on, 106, 175.  
Water-pot, the regular, 106.  
Weapons, 69.  
Wheel of victory, 162; of the kingdom of righteousness, 31, 253.
- Wife. See Marriage.  
Wind, simile of, 147-8; as medical term, 191.  
Wisdom, distinct from reasoning, 50; mark of, 51, 61; of Arahats, 29; seven kinds of, 128.  
Women, put before men, 83; their fickleness, 141; in the Order, 187; reckoned among valuable things, 267; their wives, 294; their management of their husbands, 302. See Marriage.  
Woollen stuffs, 3, 28, 159.  
Worms in the body, 151.  
Wound, treatment of, 168.  
Writing a letter, 67.
-





TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS  
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zaid.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.	II Class.									
		III Class.									
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis . . . . .	k			क	ک	گ	ک	ک	כ	k	
2 " aspirata . . . . .	kh			ख	خ	خ	خ	خ	כ	kh	
3 Media . . . . .	g			ग	گ	گ	گ	گ	ג		
4 " aspirata . . . . .	gh			घ	غ	غ	غ	غ	ג		
5 Gutturo-labialis . . . . .	q				ق	ق	ق	ق	ק		
6 Nasalis . . . . .	h (ng)			ङ	{ 3 (ng) ङ (n) }						
7 Spiritus asper . . . . .	h			ह	ه (h)	ه	ه	ه	ה	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		क	ع	ع	ع			k	
14 " aspirata . . . . .		kh		ख	ع	ع	ع			kh	
15 Media . . . . .		g		ग	ع	ع	ع				
16 " aspirata . . . . .		gh		घ	ع	ع	ع				
17 " Nasalis . . . . .		ñ		ङ	ع	ع	ع				

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis . . . . .	y			य	𐬵	𐬵	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper . . . . .		(y)			𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	...
20 " lenis . . . . .		(y)			𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	...
21 " asper assibilatus . . . . .		s		श	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	...
22 " lenis assibilatus . . . . .		z			𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis . . . . .	t			त	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	t
24 " aspirata . . . . .	th			थ	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	th
25 " assibilata . . . . .	d		TH	द	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	...
26 Media . . . . .	dh			ध	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	...
27 " aspirata . . . . .					𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	...
28 " assibilata . . . . .			DH		𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	...
29 Nasalis . . . . .	n			न	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	n
30 Semivocalis . . . . .	l			ल	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	l
31 " mollis 1 . . . . .		l		ळ	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	...
32 " mollis 2 . . . . .			L		𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	...
33 Spiritus asper 1 . . . . .	s			स	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	s
34 " asper 2 . . . . .			s (ʃ)		𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	...
35 " lenis . . . . .	z				𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	z
36 " asperimus 1 . . . . .			z (ʒ)		𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	z
37 " asperimus 2 . . . . .			z (ʒ)		𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	zh

Dentales modificatae  
(linguales, &c.)

38 Tenuis . . . . .	t	...	ठ	...	...	...
39 " aspirata . . . . .	th	...	ठ	...	...	...
40 Media . . . . .	d	...	ड	...	...	...
41 " aspirata . . . . .	dh	...	ड	...	...	...
42 Nasalis . . . . .	n	...	ण	...	...	...
43 Semivocalis . . . . .	r	...	र	...	...	...
44 " fricata . . . . .	r	...	...	...	...	...
45 " diacritica . . . . .	...	R	...	...	...	...
46 Spiritus asper . . . . .	sh	...	ष	...	...	...
47 " lenis . . . . .	zh	...	...	...	...	...

## Labiales.

48 Tenuis . . . . .	p	...	प	...	...	...
49 " aspirata . . . . .	ph	...	फ	...	...	...
50 Media . . . . .	b	...	ब	...	...	...
51 " aspirata . . . . .	bh	...	भ	...	...	...
52 Tenuissima . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...
53 Nasalis . . . . .	m	...	म	...	...	...
54 Semivocalis . . . . .	w	...	...	...	...	...
55 " aspirata . . . . .	hw	...	...	...	...	...
56 Spiritus asper . . . . .	f	...	...	...	...	...
57 " lenis . . . . .	v	...	व	...	...	...
58 Anusvāra . . . . .	...	...	वं	...	...	...
59 Visarga . . . . .	h	...	ः	...	...	...

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis . . . . .	0									ā
2 Laryngo-palatalis . . . . .	ē									ā
3 " labialis . . . . .	ö									ā
4 Gutturalis brevis . . . . .	a			अ	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	ا	א	ā
5 " longa . . . . .	ā	(a)		आ	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	آ	א	ā
6 Palatalis brevis . . . . .	i			इ	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	ي	י	i
7 " longa . . . . .	ī	(i)		ई	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	י	י	ī
8 Dentalis brevis . . . . .	li			उ				و		
9 " longa . . . . .	lī			ऊ						
10 Lingualis brevis . . . . .	ri			र						
11 " longa . . . . .	rī			ऋ						
12 Labialis brevis . . . . .	u			उ	𐬄	𐬄	𐬄	و	ו	u
13 " longa . . . . .	ū	(u)		ऊ	𐬅	𐬅	𐬅	و	ו	ū
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis . . . . .	e			ए	𐬆	𐬆	𐬆	ه	ה	e
15 " longa . . . . .	é (ai)	(e)		ऐ	𐬇	𐬇	𐬇	ه	ה	é
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis . . . . .	āi	(ai)		आ	𐬈	𐬈	𐬈	آ	א	āi
17 " " . . . . .	ei (ēi)			इ	𐬉	𐬉	𐬉	ي	י	ei, éi
18 " " . . . . .	oi (ōu)			उ	𐬊	𐬊	𐬊	و	ו	o
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis . . . . .	o			ओ	𐬋	𐬋	𐬋	و	ו	o
20 " longa . . . . .	ō (au)	(o)		आ	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	آ	א	āu
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis . . . . .	āu	(au)		आ	𐬍	𐬍	𐬍	آ	א	āu
22 " " . . . . .	eu (ēu)			इ	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎	ي	י	
23 " " . . . . .	ou (ōu)			उ	𐬏	𐬏	𐬏	و	ו	
24 Gutturalis fracta . . . . .	ä			अ	𐬐	𐬐	𐬐	ا	א	
25 Palatalis fracta . . . . .	ī			इ	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	ي	י	
26 Labialis fracta . . . . .	ū			उ	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	و	ו	
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta . . . . .	ö			ओ	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	و	ו	

# Clarendon Press, Oxford.



## I. LITERATURE AND PHILOLOGY.

### SECTION I.

#### DICTIONARIES, GRAMMARS, ETC.

**ANGLO-SAXON.** An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, based on the MS. Collections of the late JOSEPH BOSWORTH, D.D., Professor of Anglo-Saxon, Oxford. Edited and enlarged by Prof. T. N. TOLLER, M.A. Parts I-III. A—SAR. 4to. 15s. each. Part IV. *In the Press*.

**ARABIC.** A Practical Arabic Grammar. Part I. Compiled by A. O. GREEN, Brigade Major, Royal Engineers. *Second Edition, Enlarged.* Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**CELTIC.** Ancient Cornish Drama. Edited and translated by E. NORRIS, with a Sketch of Cornish Grammar, an Ancient Cornish Vocabulary, etc. 2 vols. 1859. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

The Sketch of Cornish Grammar separately, stitched, 2s. 6d.

**CHINESE.** A Handbook of the Chinese Language. By JAMES SUMMERS. 1863. 8vo. half bound, 1l. 8s.

**ENGLISH.** A New English Dictionary, on Historical Principles: founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society. Vol. I. A and B. Imperial 4to. half morocco, 2l. 12s. 6d. .

Part IV. Section II. C—CASS (beginning of Vol. II.) 5s.

Part V. CASS—CLIVY. 12s. 6d.

Part VI. *In the Press*.

Edited by JAMES A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., with the assistance of many Scholars and men of Science.

Vol. III (E, F, and G). Part I. Edited by HENRY BRADLEY. *In the Press*.

---

Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: HENRY FROWDE, Amen Corner, E.C.

**ENGLISH, continued.**

**ENGLISH.** An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language. By W. W. SKEAT, Litt.D. *Second Edition.* 4to. 2l. 4s.

— A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language. By W. W. SKEAT, Litt.D. *Third Edition.* Crown 8vo. 5s. 6d.

— A Concise Dictionary of Middle English, from A.D. 1150 to 1580. By A. L. MAYHEW, M.A., and W. W. SKEAT, Litt. D. Crown 8vo. half roan, 7s. 6d.

**GREEK.** A Greek-English Lexicon, by H. G. LIDDELL, D.D., and ROBERT SCOTT, D.D. *Seventh Edition, Revised and Augmented throughout.* 4to. 1l. 16s.

— An intermediate Greek-English Lexicon, abridged from LIDDELL and SCOTT's Seventh Edition. Small 4to. 12s. 6d.

— A Greek-English Lexicon, abridged from Liddell and Scott's 4to. edition, chiefly for the use of Schools. Square 12mo. 7s. 6d.

— A copious Greek-English Vocabulary, compiled from the best authorities. 1850. 24mo. 3s.

— **Etymologicon Magnum.** Ad Codd. mss. recensuit et notis variorum instruxit T. GAISFORD, S.T.P. 1848. fol. 1l. 12s.

— **Suidæ Lexicon.** Ad Codd. mss. recensuit T. GAISFORD, S.T.P. Tomi III. 1834. fol. 2l. 2s.

**HEBREW.** The Book of Hebrew Roots, by ABU 'L-WALID MARWÂN IBN JANÂH, otherwise called RABBÎ YÔNÂH. Now first edited, with an appendix, by Ad. NEUBAUER. 1875. 4to. 2l. 7s. 6d.

— A Treatise on the use of the Tenses in Hebrew. By S. R. DRIVER, D.D. *Second Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**ICELANDIC.** An Icelandic-English Dictionary, based on the MS. collections of the late RICHARD CLEASBY. Enlarged and completed by G. VIGFÚSSON, M.A. With an Introduction, and Life of Richard Cleasby, by G. WEBBE DASENT, D.C.L. 4to. 3l. 7s.

— A List of English Words the Etymology of which is illustrated by comparison with Icelandic. Prepared in the form of an Appendix to the above. By W. W. SKEAT, Litt.D. stitched, 2s.

— An Icelandic Primer, with Grammar, Notes, and Glossary. By HENRY SWEET, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

— An Icelandic Prose Reader, with Notes, Grammar and Glossary, by Dr. GUDBRAND VIGFÚSSON and F. YORK POWELL, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

- 
- LATIN.** A Latin Dictionary, founded on Andrews' edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary, revised, enlarged, and in great part rewritten by CHARLTON T. LEWIS, Ph.D., and CHARLES SHORT, LL.D. 4to. 1l. 5s.
- A School Latin Dictionary. By CHARLTON T. LEWIS, Ph.D. Small 4to. 18s.
- Scheller's Dictionary of the Latin Language, revised and translated into English by J. E. RIDDLE, M.A. 1835. fol. 1l. 1s.
- Contributions to Latin Lexicography. By HENRY NETTLESHIP, M.A. 8vo. 21s.
- MELANESIAN.** The Melanesian Languages. By ROBERT H. CODRINGTON, D.D., of the Melanesian Mission. 8vo. 18s.
- RUSSIAN.** A Grammar of the Russian Language. By W. R. MORFILL, M.A. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- SANSKRIT.** A Practical Grammar of the Sanskrit Language, arranged with reference to the Classical Languages of Europe, for the use of English Students, by Sir M. MONIER-WILLIAMS, D.C.L. *Fourth Edition.* 8vo. 15s.
- A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Etymologically and Philologically arranged, with special reference to Greek, Latin, German, Anglo-Saxon, English, and other cognate Indo-European Languages. By Sir M. MONIER-WILLIAMS, D.C.L. 4to. 4l. 14s. 6d.
- Nalopákhyanam. Story of Nala, an Episode of the Mahá-Bhárata: the Sanskrit text, with a copious Vocabulary, and an improved version of Dean MILMAN's Translation, by Sir M. MONIER-WILLIAMS, D.C.L. *Second Edition, Revised and Improved.* 8vo. 15s.
- Sakuntalā. A Sanskrit Drama, in Seven Acts. Edited by Sir M. MONIER-WILLIAMS, D.C.L. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 21s.
- SYRIAC.** Thesaurus Syriacus: collegerunt Quatremère, Bernstein, Lorsch, Arnoldi, Agrell, Field, Roediger: edidit R. PAYNE SMITH, S.T.P. Vol. I, containing Fasc. I-V, sm. fol. 5l. 5s.  
Fasc. VI. 1l. 1s. Fasc. VII. 1l. 11s. 6d. Fasc. VIII. 1l. 16s.
- The Book of Kalilah and Dimnah. Translated from Arabic into Syriac. Edited by W. WRIGHT, LL.D. 8vo. 21s.
- 

*BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARIES.*

- Cotton's Typographical Gazetteer. 1831. 8vo. 12s. 6d.
- Typographical Gazetteer. Second Series. 1866. 8vo. 12s. 6d.
- Ebert's Bibliographical Dictionary, translated from the German. 4 vols. 1837. 8vo. 1l. 10s.
- 

London: HENRY FROWDE, Amen Corner, E.C.



## SECTION II.

## ANGLO-SAXON AND ENGLISH.

HELPS TO THE STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE AND  
LITERATURE.

**A NEW ENGLISH DICTIONARY** on Historical Principles, founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society. Imperial 4to. Parts I-IV, price 12s. 6d. each.

Vol. I (A and B), half morocco, 2l. 12s. 6d.

Vol. II (C and D). *In the Press.*

Part IV, Section 2, C—CASS, beginning Vol. II, price 5s.

Part V, CASS—CLIVY, price 12s. 6d.

Edited by JAMES A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., sometime President of the Philological Society; with the assistance of many Scholars and Men of Science.

Vol. III (E, F, and G). Part I. Edited by Mr. HENRY BRADLEY. *In the Press.*

**Bosworth and Toller.** An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, based on the MS. collections of the late JOSEPH BOSWORTH, D.D. Edited and enlarged by Prof. T. N. TOLLER, M.A., Owens College, Manchester. Parts I-III. A—SAR. 4to. stiff covers, 15s. each. Part IV. *In the Press.*

**Earle.** A Book for the Beginner in Anglo-Saxon. By JOHN EARLE, M.A. *Third Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

— The Philology of the English Tongue. *Fourth Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Mayhew and Skeat.** A Concise Dictionary of Middle English, from A.D. 1150 to 1580. By A. L. MAYHEW, M.A., and W. W. SKEAT, Litt. D. Crown 8vo. half roan, 7s. 6d.

**Skeat.** An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, arranged on an Historical Basis. By W. W. SKEAT, Litt.D. *Second Edition.* 4to. 2l. 4s.

A Supplement to the First Edition of the above. 4to. 2s. 6d.

— A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language. *Third Edition.* Crown 8vo. 5s. 6d.

— Principles of English Etymology. First Series. The Native Element. Crown 8vo. 9s.

Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- 
- Sweet.** An Anglo-Saxon Primer, with Grammar, Notes and Glossary. By HENRY SWEET, M.A. *2nd Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- An Anglo-Saxon Reader. In Prose and Verse. With Grammatical Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. *Sixth Edition, Revised and Enlarged.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 8s. 6d.
- A Second Anglo-Saxon Reader. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- Old English Reading Primers :
- I. Selected Homilies of Ælfric. Stiff covers, 1s. 6d.
- II. Extracts from Alfred's Orosius. Stiff covers, 1s. 6d.
- First Middle English Primer, with Grammar and Glossary. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.
- Second Middle English Primer. Extracts from Chaucer, with Grammar and Glossary. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.
- History of English Sounds from the Earliest Period. With full Word-Lists. 8vo. 14s.
- A Primer of Phonetics. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Elementarbuch des Gesprochenen Englisch. Grammatik, Texte und Glossar. *Second Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo., stiff covers, 2s. 6d.
- Tancock.** An Elementary English Grammar and Exercise Book. By O. W. TANCOCK, M.A. *Second Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.
- An English Grammar and Reading Book, for Lower Forms in Classical Schools. *Fourth Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

---

**Saxon Chronicles.** Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel (787-1001 A.D.). A Revised Text. Edited, with Introduction, Critical Notes, and Glossary, by CHARLES PLUMMER, M.A., on the basis of an Edition by JOHN EARLE, M.A. Crown 8vo., stiff covers, 3s.

**Specimens of Early English.** A New and Revised Edition. With Introduction, Notes, and Glossarial Index.

Part I. From Old English Homilies to King Horn (A.D. 1150 to A.D. 1300). By R. MORRIS, LL.D. *Ed. 2.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 9s.

Part II. From Robert of Gloucester to Gower (A.D. 1298 to A.D. 1393). By R. MORRIS, LL.D., and W. W. SKEAT, Litt. D. *Third Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Specimens of English Literature,** from the 'Ploughmans Crede' to the 'Shepheardes Calender' (A.D. 1394 to A.D. 1579). With Introduction, Notes, and Glossarial Index. By W. W. SKEAT, Litt. D. *Fourth Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Typical Selections** from the best English Writers, with Introductory Notices. In 2 vols. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. each.

Vol. I. Latimer to Berkeley.

Vol. II. Pope to Macaulay.

---

London: HENRY FROWDE, Amen Corner, E.C.

*A SERIES OF ENGLISH CLASSICS.*

(CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.)

**Ormulum**, The, with the Notes and Glossary of Dr. R. M. WHITE. Edited by R. HOLT, M.A. 2 vols. Extra fcap. 8vo. 1*l.* 1*s.*

**CHAUCER.**

I. The Prologue, the Knightes Tale, The Nonne Preestes Tale; from the Canterbury Tales. Edited by R. MORRIS, LL.D. A New Edition, with Collations and Additional Notes by W. W. SKEAT, Litt.D. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

II. The Prioresses Tale; Sir Thopas; The Monkes Tale; The Clerkes Tale; The Squieres Tale, &c. Edited by W. W. SKEAT, Litt.D. *Third Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

III. The Tale of the Man of Lawe; The Pardoneres Tale; The Second Nonnes Tale; The Chanouns Yemannes Tale. By W. W. SKEAT, Litt.D. *New Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

IV. Minor Poems. Edited by W. W. SKEAT, Litt.D. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

V. The Legend of Good Women. By W. W. SKEAT, Litt.D. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

**Langland**, W. The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman, in three Parallel Texts; together with Richard the Redeless. By WILLIAM LANGLAND (about 1362-1399 A.D.). Edited from numerous Manuscripts, with Preface, Notes, and a Glossary, by W. W. SKEAT, Litt.D. 2 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

— The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman, by WILLIAM LANGLAND. Edited, with Notes, by W. W. SKEAT, Litt.D. *Fourth Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

**Gamelyn**, the Tale of. Edited, with Notes, Glossary, &c., by W. W. SKEAT, Litt.D. Extra fcap. 8vo. Stiff covers, 1*s.* 6*d.*

**WYCLIFFE.**

I. The Books of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon: according to the Wycliffite Version made by NICHOLAS DE HEREFORD, about A.D. 1381, and Revised by JOHN PURVEY, about A.D. 1388. With Introduction and Glossary by W. W. SKEAT, Litt.D. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

II. The New Testament in English, according to the Version by JOHN WYCLIFFE, about A.D. 1380, and Revised by JOHN PURVEY, about A.D. 1388. With Introduction and Glossary by W. W. SKEAT, Litt.D. Extra fcap. 8vo. 6*s.*

**Minot** (Laurence). Poems. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by JOSEPH HALL, M.A., Head Master of the Hulme Grammar School, Manchester. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Oxford: Clarendon Press.

**Spenser's Faery Queene.** Books I and II. Designed chiefly for the use of Schools. With Introduction and Notes by G. W. KITCHIN, D.D., and Glossary by A. L. MATHEW, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. each.

**Hooker.** Ecclesiastical Polity, Book I. Edited by R. W. CHURCH, M.A. *Second Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. [See also p. 43.]

**OLD ENGLISH DRAMA.**

I. York Plays.—The Plays performed by the Crafts or Mysteries of York, on the day of Corpus Christi, in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries; now first printed from the unique manuscript in the library of Lord Ashburnham. Edited, with Introduction and Glossary, by LUCY TOULMIN SMITH. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

II. The Pilgrimage to Parnassus, with the Two Parts of the Return from Parnassus. Three Comedies performed in St. John's College, Cambridge, A.D. MDXCVII–MDCI. Edited from MSS. by W. D. MACRAY, M.A., F.S.A. Medium 8vo. Bevelled Boards, Gilt top, 8s. 6d.

III. Marlowe's Edward II. With Introduction, Notes, &c. By O. W. TANCOCK, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. Paper covers, 2s.; cloth, 3s.

IV. Marlowe and Greene. Marlowe's Tragical History of Dr. Faustus, and Greene's Honourable History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay. Edited by A. W. WARD, Litt. D. *New and enlarged Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 6s. 6d.

**SHAKESPEARE.** Select Plays. Extra fcap. 8vo. stiff covers.

Edited by W. G. CLARK, M.A., and W. ALDIS WRIGHT, D.C.L.

The Merchant of Venice. 1s.                      Macbeth. 1s. 6d.

Richard the Second. 1s. 6d.                      Hamlet. 2s.

Edited by W. ALDIS WRIGHT, D.C.L.

The Tempest. 1s. 6d.                      Midsummer Night's Dream. 1s. 6d.

As You Like It. 1s. 6d.                      Coriolanus. 2s. 6d.

Julius Cæsar. 2s.                      Henry the Fifth. 2s.

Richard the Third. 2s. 6d.                      Twelfth Night. 1s. 6d.

King Lear. 1s. 6d.                      King John. 1s. 6d.

**Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist;** a popular Illustration of the Principles of Scientific Criticism. By R. G. MOULTON, M.A. *Second Edition, Enlarged.* Crown 8vo. 6s.

**Bacon.**

I. Advancement of Learning. Edited by W. ALDIS WRIGHT, D.C.L. *Third Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

II. The Essays. With Introduction and Notes. By S. H. REYNOLDS, M.A. *In preparation.*

London: HENRY FROWDE, Amen Corner, E.C.

**MILTON.**

- I. *Areopagitica*. With Introduction and Notes. By JOHN W. HALES, M.A. *Third Edition*. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s.  
 II. *Poems*. Edited by R. C. BROWNE, M.A. In two Volumes. *Fifth Edition*. Extra fcap. 8vo. 6s. 6d.  
 Sold separately, Vol. I. 4s.; Vol. II. 3s.

*In paper covers :*

- Lycidas*, 3d. *L'Allegro*, 3d. *Il Penseroso*, 4d. *Comus*, 6d.  
 III. *Paradise Lost*. Book I. Edited by H. C. BEECHING, B.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. stiff covers, 1s. 6d.; in Parchment, 3s. 6d.  
 IV. *Samson Agonistes*. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by J. CHURTON COLLINS, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. stiff covers, 1s.

**Bunyan.**

- I. *The Pilgrim's Progress*, *Grace Abounding*, *Relation of the Imprisonment of Mr. JOHN BUNYAN*. Edited, with Biographical Introduction and Notes, by E. VENABLES, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 5s. In Parchment, 6s.  
 II. *Holy War*, &c. *In the Press*.

**Clarendon.**

- I. *History of the Rebellion*. Book VI. Edited by T. ARNOLD, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.  
 II. *Characters and Episodes of the Great Rebellion*. Selections from Clarendon. Edited by G. BOYLE, M.A., Dean of Salisbury. Crown 8vo., gilt top, 7s. 6d. [See also p. 44.]

**Dryden.** *Select Poems*. (*Stanzas on the Death of Oliver Cromwell; Astræa Redux; Annus Mirabilis; Absalom and Achitophel; Religio Laici; The Hind and the Panther.*) Edited by W. D. CHRISTIE, M.A. *Second Edition*. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

— *An Essay of Dramatic Poesy*. Edited, with Notes, by THOMAS ARNOLD, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

**Locke.** *Conduct of the Understanding*. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, &c., by T. FOWLER, D.D. *Second Edition*. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.**Addison.** *Selections from Papers in the Spectator*. With Notes. By T. ARNOLD, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d. In Parchment, 6s.**Steele.** *Selections from the Tatler, Spectator, and Guardian*. Edited by AUSTIN DOBSON. Extra fcap. 8vo. 5s. In Parchment, 7s. 6d.**Pope.** *Select Works*. With Introduction and Notes. By MARK PATTISON, B.D.

- I. *Essay on Man*. Extra fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.  
 II. *Satires and Epistles*. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.

**Parnell.** *The Hermit*. Paper covers, 2d.

Oxford: Clarendon Press.

**Gray.** Selected Poems. Edited by EDMUND GOSSE, M.A.  
Extra fcap. 8vo. In Parchment, 3s.

— *The same*, together with Supplementary Notes for  
Schools by FOSTER WATSON, M.A. *Stiff covers*, 1s. 6d.

— Elegy, and Ode on Eton College. Paper covers, 2d.

**Goldsmith.**

I. Selected Poems. Edited with Introduction and Notes, by  
AUSTIN DOBSON. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. In Parchment, 4s. 6d.

II. The Traveller. Edited by G. BIRKBECK HILL, D.C.L.  
*Stiff covers*, 1s.

III. The Deserted Village. Paper covers, 2d.

**JOHNSON.**

I. Rasselas. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by  
G. BIRKBECK HILL, D.C.L. Extra fcap. 8vo. Bevelled boards, 3s. 6d.  
In Parchment, 4s. 6d.

II. Rasselas; Lives of Dryden and Pope. Edited by  
ALFRED MILNES, M.A. (London). Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d., or Lives  
of DRYDEN and POPE only, *stiff covers*, 2s. 6d.

III. Life of Milton. By C. H. FIRTH, M.A. Extra  
fcap. 8vo. cloth, 2s. 6d. *Stiff covers*, 1s. 6d.

IV. Wit and Wisdom of Samuel Johnson. Edited by  
G. BIRKBECK HILL, D.C.L. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

V. Vanity of Human Wishes. With Notes, by E. J.  
PAYNE, M.A. Paper covers, 4d.

**BOSWELL.**

Boswell's Life of Johnson. With the Journal of a  
Tour to the Hebrides. Edited by G. BIRKBECK HILL, D.C.L., Pem-  
broke College. 6 vols. Medium 8vo. Half bound, 3l. 3s.

**Cowper.** Edited, with Life, Introductions, and Notes, by  
H. T. GRIFFITH, B.A.

I. The Didactic Poems of 1782, with Selections from  
the Minor Pieces, A.D. 1779–1783. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s.

II. The Task, with Tirocinium, and Selections from the  
Minor Poems, A.D. 1784–1799. *Second Edition*. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s.

**Burke.** Select Works. Edited, with Introduction and  
Notes, by E. J. PAYNE, M.A.

I. Thoughts on the Present Discontents; the two  
Speeches on America. *Second Edition*. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

II. Reflections on the French Revolution. *Second  
Edition*. Extra fcap. 8vo. 5s.

III. Four Letters on the Proposals for Peace with the  
Regicide Directory of France. *Second Edition*. Extra fcap. 8vo. 5s.

- 
- Burns.** *Selected Poems.* Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and a Glossary, by J. LOGIE ROBERTSON, M.A. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Keats.** *Hyperion, Book I.* With Notes by W. T. ARNOLD, B.A. Paper covers, 4d.
- Byron.** *Childe Harold.* With Introduction and Notes, by H. F. TOZER, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. In Parchment, 5s.
- Scott.** *Lay of the Last Minstrel.* Edited by W. MINTO, M.A. With Map. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. Parchment, 3s. 6d.
- *Lay of the Last Minstrel.* Introduction and Canto I, with Preface and Notes, by the same Editor. 6d.
- *Marmion.* Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by T. BAYNE. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Campbell.** *Gertrude of Wyoming.* Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by H. MACAULAY FITZGIBBON, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.
- Shairp.** *Aspects of Poetry; being Lectures delivered at Oxford,* by J. C. SHAIRP, LL.D. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Palgrave.** *The Treasury of Sacred Song.* With Notes Explanatory and Biographical. By F. T. PALGRAVE, M.A. Half vellum, gilt top, 10s. 6d.
- 

## SECTION III.

## EUROPEAN LANGUAGES. MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN.

## (1) FRENCH AND ITALIAN.

- Brachet's** *Etymological Dictionary of the French Language.* Translated by G. W. KITCHIN, D.D. *Third Edition.* Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- *Historical Grammar of the French Language.* Translated by G. W. KITCHIN, D.D. *Fourth Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Saintsbury.** *Primer of French Literature.* By GEORGE SAINTSBURY, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.
- *Short History of French Literature.* Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- *Specimens of French Literature, from Villon to Hugo.* Crown 8vo. 9s.
- 
- Beaumarchais' Le Barbier de Séville.** Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by AUSTIN DOBSON. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- 

Oxford: Clarendon Press.

**Corneille's Horace.** Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by GEORGE SAINTSBURY, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**Molière's Les Précieuses Ridicules.** Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by ANDREW LANG, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

**Musset's On ne badine pas avec l'Amour, and Fantasio.** Edited, with Prolegomena, Notes, etc., by W. H. POLLOCK. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.

**Racine's Esther.** Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by GEORGE SAINTSBURY, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.

**Voltaire's Mérope.** Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by GEORGE SAINTSBURY, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.

\* \* \* *The above six Plays may be had in ornamental case, and bound in Imitation Parchment, price 12s. 6d.*

**MASSON'S FRENCH CLASSICS.**

*Edited by Gustave Masson, B.A.*

**Corneille's Cinna.** With Notes, Glossary, etc. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. Stiff covers, 1s. 6d.

**Louis XIV and his Contemporaries;** as described in Extracts from the best Memoirs of the Seventeenth Century. With English Notes, Genealogical Tables, &c. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**Maistre, Xavier de, &c. Voyage autour de ma Chambre,** by XAVIER DE MAISTRE. **Ourika,** by MADAME DE DURAS; **Le Vieux Tailleur,** by MM. ERCKMANN-CHATRIAN; **La Veillée de Vincennes,** by ALFRED DE VIGNY; **Les Jumeaux de l'Hôtel Corneille,** by EDMOND ABOUT; **Mésaventures d'un Écolier,** by RODOLPHE TÖPFFER. *Third Edition, Revised.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

— **Voyage autour de ma Chambre.** Limp. 1s. 6d.

**Molière's Les Fourberies de Scapin, and Racine's Athalie.** With Voltaire's Life of Molière. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

— **Les Fourberies de Scapin.** With Voltaire's Life of Molière. Extra fcap. 8vo. stiff covers, 1s. 6d.

— **Les Femmes Savantes.** With Notes, Glossary, etc. Extra fcap. 8vo. cloth, 2s. Stiff covers, 1s. 6d.

**Racine's Andromaque, and Corneille's Le Menteur.** With LOUIS RACINE's Life of his Father. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**Regnard's Le Joueur, and Brueys and Palaprat's Le Grondeur.** Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**Sévigné, Madame de, and her chief Contemporaries, Selections** from their Correspondence. Intended more especially for Girls' Schools. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s.



- Blouët.** *L'Éloquence de la Chaire et de la Tribune Françaises.*  
 Edited by PAUL BLOUËT, B.A. Vol. I. Sacred Oratory. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Gautier, Théophile.** *Scenes of Travel.* Selected and Edited  
 by GEORGE SAINTSBURY, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.
- Perrault's Popular Tales.** Edited from the Original Editions,  
 with Introduction, etc., by ANDREW LANG, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo,  
 paper boards, 5s. 6d.
- Quinet's Lettres à sa Mère.** Selected and Edited by GEORGE  
 SAINTSBURY, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.
- Sainte-Beuve.** *Selections from the Causeries du Lundi.*  
 Edited by GEORGE SAINTSBURY, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.
- Dante.** *Selections from the Inferno.* With Introduction  
 and Notes. By H. B. COTTERILL, B.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- Tasso.** *La Gerusalemme Liberata.* Cantos i, ii. With In-  
 troduction and Notes. By the same Editor. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

## (2) GERMAN AND GOTHIC.

- Max Müller.** *The German Classics, from the Fourth to the  
 Nineteenth Century.* With Biographical Notices, Translations into  
 Modern German, and Notes. By F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A. A New  
 Edition, Revised, Enlarged, and Adapted to WILHELM SCHERER'S  
 'History of German Literature,' by F. LICHTENSTEIN. 2 vols. Crown  
 8vo. 21s.
- Scherer.** *A History of German Literature* by WILHELM  
 SCHERER. Translated from the Third German Edition by Mrs. F.  
 C. CONYBEARE. Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER. 2 vols. 8vo. 21s.
- Skeat.** *The Gospel of St. Mark in Gothic.* By W. W.  
 SKEAT, Litt. D. Extra fcap. 8vo. cloth, 4s.
- Wright.** *An Old High German Primer.* With Grammar,  
 Notes, and Glossary. By JOSEPH WRIGHT, Ph.D. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- *A Middle High German Primer.* With Grammar,  
 Notes, and Glossary. By JOSEPH WRIGHT, Ph.D. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

## LANGE'S GERMAN COURSE.

*By Hermann Lange, Lecturer on French and German at the Manchester  
 Technical School, etc.*

- I. Germans at Home ; a Practical Introduction to German  
 Conversation, with an Appendix containing the Essentials of German  
 Grammar.** Third Edition. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- II. German Manual ; a German Grammar, Reading Book,  
 and a Handbook of German Conversation.** 8vo. 7s. 6d.

---

Oxford: Clarendon Press.

**III. Grammar of the German Language.** 8vo. 3s. 6d.

**IV. German Composition ; A Theoretical and Practical Guide to the Art of Translating English Prose into German.** *Second Edition.* 8vo. 4s. 6d. [*A Key to the above, price 5s. Just Published.*]

**German Spelling ; A Synopsis of the Changes which it has undergone through the Government Regulations of 1880.** 6d.

*BUCHHEIM'S GERMAN CLASSICS.*

*Edited, with Biographical, Historical, and Critical Introductions, Arguments (to the Dramas), and Complete Commentaries, by C. A. BUCHHEIM, Phil. Doc., Professor in King's College, London.*

**Becker (the Historian).** Friedrich der Grosse. Edited, with Notes, an Historical Introduction, and a Map. 3s. 6d.

**Goethe :**

- (a) Egmont. A Tragedy. 3s.
- (b) Iphigenie auf Tauris. A Drama. 3s.

**Heine :**

- (a) Prosa : being Selections from his Prose Writings. 4s. 6d.
- (b) Harzreise. Cloth, 2s. 6d. ; paper covers, 1s. 6d.

**Lessing :**

- (a) Nathan der Weise. A Dramatic Poem. 4s. 6d.
- (b) Minna von Barnhelm. A Comedy. 3s. 6d.

**Schiller :**

- (a) Wilhelm Tell. A Drama. Large Edition. With Map. 3s. 6d.
- (b) Wilhelm Tell. School Edition. With Map. 2s.
- (c) Historische Skizzen. With Map. 2s. 6d.

**Modern German Reader.** A Graduated Collection of Extracts from Modern German Authors :—

Part I. Prose Extracts. With English Notes, a Grammatical Appendix, and a complete Vocabulary. *Fourth Edition.* 2s. 6d.

Part II. Extracts in Prose and Poetry. With English Notes and an Index. *Second Edition.* 2s. 6d.

**German Poetry for Beginners.** Edited with English Notes and a complete Vocabulary, by EMMA S. BUCHHEIM. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.

**Chamisso.** Peter Schlemihl's Wundersame Geschichte. Edited with Notes and a complete Vocabulary, by EMMA S. BUCHHEIM. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.

- Lessing.** The Laokoon, with Introduction, English Notes, etc. By A. HAMANN, Phil. Doc., M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- Niebuhr:** Griechische Heroen-Geschichten (Tales of Greek Heroes). With English Notes and Vocabulary, by EMMA S. BUCHHEIM. Second, Revised Edition. Extra fcap. 8vo. cloth, 2s., stiff covers, 1s. 6d.  
Edition A. *Text in German Type.*  
Edition B. *Text in Roman Type.*
- Schiller's** Wilhelm Tell. Translated into English Verse by E. MASSIE, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 5s.

## (3) SCANDINAVIAN.

- Cleasby and Vigfússon.** An Icelandic-English Dictionary, based on the MS. collections of the late RICHARD CLEASBY. Enlarged and completed by G. VIGFÚSSON, M.A. With an Introduction, and Life of Richard Cleasby, by G. WEBBE DASENT, D.C.L. 4to. 3l. 7s.
- Sweet.** Icelandic Primer, with Grammar, Notes, and Glossary. By HENRY SWEET, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Vigfússon.** Sturlunga Saga, including the Islendinga Saga of Lawman STURLA THORDSSON and other works. Edited by Dr. GUDBRAND VIGFÚSSON. In 2 vols. 8vo. 2l. 2s.
- Vigfússon and Powell.** Icelandic Prose Reader, with Notes, Grammar, and Glossary. By G. VIGFÚSSON, M.A., and F. YORK POWELL, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- **Corpus Poeticum Boreale.** The Poetry of the Old Northern Tongue, from the Earliest Times to the Thirteenth Century. Edited, classified, and translated, with Introduction, Excursus, and Notes, by GUDBRAND VIGFÚSSON, M.A., and F. YORK POWELL, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 2l. 2s.
- **The Landnámabók.** Edited and translated by the same. *In the Press.*

## SECTION IV.

## CLASSICAL LANGUAGES.

## (1) LATIN.

## STANDARD WORKS AND EDITIONS.

- Ellis.** Harleian MS. 2610; Ovid's Metamorphoses I, II, III, 1-622; XXIV Latin Epigrams from Bodleian or other MSS.; Latin Glosses on Apollinaris Sidonius from MS. Digby 172. Collated and Edited by ROBINSON ELLIS, M.A., LL.D. (Anecdota Oxon.) 4s.

---

Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- 
- King and Cookson.** *The Principles of Sound and Inflexion, as illustrated in the Greek and Latin Languages.* By J. E. KING, M.A., and CHRISTOPHER COOKSON, M.A. 8vo. 18s.
- Lewis and Short.** *A Latin Dictionary, founded on Andrews' edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary, revised, enlarged, and in great part rewritten by CHARLTON T. LEWIS, Ph.D., and CHARLES SHORT, LL.D.* 4to. 1l. 5s.
- Nettleship.** *Contributions to Latin Lexicography.* By HENRY NETTLESHIP, M.A. 8vo. 21s.
- *Lectures and Essays on Subjects connected with Latin Scholarship and Literature.* By HENRY NETTLESHIP, M.A. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- *The Roman Saturna.* 8vo. sewed, 1s.
- *Ancient Lives of Vergil.* 8vo. sewed, 2s.
- Papillon.** *Manual of Comparative Philology.* By T. L. PAPILLON, M.A. *Third Edition.* Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Pinder.** *Selections from the less known Latin Poets.* By NORTH PINDEB, M.A. 8vo. 15s.
- Sellar.** *Roman Poets of the Augustan Age. VIRGIL.* By W. Y. SELLAR, M.A. *New Edition.* Crown 8vo. 9s.
- *Roman Poets of the Republic. Third Edition.* Crown 8vo. 10s.
- Wordsworth.** *Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin. With Introductions and Notes.* By J. WORDSWORTH, D.D. 8vo. 18s.
- 
- Avianus.** *The Fables. Edited, with Prolegomena, Critical Apparatus, Commentary, etc., by ROBINSON ELLIS, M.A., LL.D.* 8vo. 8s. 6d.
- Catulli Veronensis Liber.** *Iterum recognovit, apparatus criticum prolegomena appendices addidit, ROBINSON ELLIS, A.M.* 8vo. 16s.
- Catullus, a Commentary on.** By ROBINSON ELLIS, M.A. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 18s.
- Cicero.** *De Oratore. With Introduction and Notes.* By A. S. WILKINS, Litt.D.
- Book I. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 7s. 6d. Book II. 8vo. 5s.
- *Philippic Orations. With Notes.* By J. R. KING, M.A. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- *Select Letters. With English Introductions, Notes, and Appendices.* By ALBERT WATSON, M.A. *Third Edition.* 8vo. 18s.
- Horace.** *With a Commentary. Vol. I. The Odes, Carmen Seculare, and Epodes.* By E. C. WICKHAM, M.A. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 12s.
-

- Livy**, Book I. With Introduction, Historical Examination, and Notes. By J. R. SEELEY, M.A. *Second Edition*. 8vo. 6s.
- Nonius Marcellus**, de Compensiosa Doctrina (Harleian MS. 2719). Collated by J. H. ONIONS, M.A. (Anecdota Oxon.) 3s. 6d.
- Ovid**. P. Ovidii Nasonis Ibis. Ex Novis Codicibus edidit, Scholia Vetera Commentarium cum Prolegomenis Appendice Indice addidit, R. ELLIS, A.M. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristium Libri V. Recensuit S. G. OWEN, A.M. 8vo. 16s.
- Persius**. The Satires. With a Translation and Commentary. By JOHN CONINGTON, M.A. Edited by HENRY NETTLESHIP, M.A. *Second Edition*. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Plautus**. Bentley's Plautine Emendations. From his copy of Gronovius. By E. A. SONNENSCHN, M.A. (Anecdota Oxon.) 2s. 6d.
- Scriptores Latini rei Metricae**. Edidit T. GAISFORD, S.T.P. 8vo. 5s.
- Tacitus**. The Annals. Books I–VI. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by H. FURNEAUX, M.A. 8vo. 18s.

### *LATIN EDUCATIONAL WORKS.*

#### GRAMMARS, EXERCISE BOOKS, &c.

#### **ALLEN.**

**Rudimenta Latina**. Comprising Accidence, and Exercises of a very Elementary Character, for the use of Beginners. By JOHN BARROW ALLEN, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.

**An Elementary Latin Grammar**. By the same Author. *Fifty-Seventh Thousand*. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**A First Latin Exercise Book**. By the same Author. *Fourth Edition*. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**A Second Latin Exercise Book**. By the same Author. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

\* \* A Key to First and Second Latin Exercise Books, in one volume, price 5s. Supplied to *Teachers only* on application to the Secretary of the Clarendon Press.

**An Introduction to Latin Syntax**. By W. S. GIBSON, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.

**First Latin Reader**. By T. J. NUNNS, M.A. *Third Edition*. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.

**A Latin Prose Primer**. By J. Y. SARGENT, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

---

Oxford: Clarendon Press.

**Passages for Translation into Latin.** For the use of Passmen and others. Selected by J. Y. SARGENT, M.A. *Seventh Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

\* \* A Key to the above, price 5s. Supplied to *Teachers only* on application to the Secretary of the Clarendon Press.

**Exercises in Latin Prose Composition;** with Introduction, Notes, and Passages of Graduated Difficulty for Translation into Latin. By G. G. RAMSAY, M.A., LL.D. *Second Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

**Hints and Helps for 'Latin Elegiacs.** By H. LEE-WARNER, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

\* \* A Key to the above, price 4s. 6d. Supplied to *Teachers only* on application to the Secretary of the Clarendon Press.

**Reddenda Minora, or Easy Passages, Latin and Greek, for Unseen Translation.** For the use of Lower Forms. Composed and selected by C. S. JERRAM, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

**Anglice Reddenda, or Extracts, Latin and Greek, for Unseen Translation.** By C. S. JERRAM, M.A. *Third Edition, Revised and Enlarged.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**Anglice Reddenda. Second Series.** By the same Author. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s.

**A School Latin Dictionary.** By CHARLTON T. LEWIS, Ph.D. Small 4to. 18s.

---

LATIN CLASSICS FOR SCHOOLS.

**Caesar.** The Commentaries (for Schools). With Notes and Maps. By CHARLES E. MOBERLY, M.A.

The Gallic War. *Second Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

— Books I and II. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.

— Books III, IV, V. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

— Books VI, VII, VIII. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

The Civil War. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

— Book I. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.

**Catulli Veronensis Carmina Selecta, secundum recognitionem** ROBINSON ELLIS, A.M. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

**CICERO.** Selection of Interesting and Descriptive Passages. With Notes. By HENRY WALFORD, M.A. In three Parts. *Third Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Each Part separately, limp, 1s. 6d.

Part I. Anecdotes from Grecian and Roman History.

Part II. Omens and Dreams: Beauties of Nature.

Part III. Rome's Rule of her Provinces.

**CICERO.** De Senectute. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by L. HUXLEY, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.

— pro Cluentio. With Introduction and Notes. By W. RAMSAY, M.A. Edited by G. G. RAMSAY, M.A. *Second Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

— Select Orations (for Schools). In Verrem Actio Prima. De Imperio Gn. Pompeii. Pro Archia. Philippica IX. With Introduction and Notes by J. R. KING, M.A. *Second Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

— In Q. Caecilium Divinatio, and In C. Verrem Actio Prima. With Introduction and Notes, by J. R. KING, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. limp, 1s. 6d.

— Speeches against Catilina. With Introduction and Notes, by E. A. UPCOTT, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

— Selected Letters (for Schools). With Notes. By the late C. E. PRICHARD, M.A., and E. R. BERNARD, M.A. *Second Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s.

— Select Letters. Text. By ALBERT WATSON, M.A. *Second Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s.

**Cornelius Nepos.** With Notes. By OSCAR BROWNING, M.A. *Third Edition.* Revised by W. R. INGE, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s.

**Horace.** With a Commentary. (In a size suitable for the use of Schools.) Vol. I. The Odes, Carmen Seculare, and Epodes. By E. C. WICKHAM, M.A. *Second Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 6s.

— Selected Odes. With Notes for the use of a Fifth Form. By E. C. WICKHAM, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.

**Juvenal.** Thirteen Satires. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by C. H. PEARSON, M.A., and HERBERT A. STRONG, M.A., LL.D. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Also separately:—

Part I. Introduction, Text, etc., 3s. Part II. Notes, 3s. 6d.

**Livy.** Books V–VII. With Introduction and Notes. By A. R. CLUER, B.A. *Second Edition.* Revised by P. E. MATHESON, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 5s.

— Book V. By the same Editors. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

— Books XXI–XXIII. With Introduction and Notes. By M. T. TATHAM, M.A. *Second Edition, enlarged.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 5s.

— Book XXI. By the same Editor. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

— Book XXII. With Introduction, Notes, and Maps. By the same Editor. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

---

Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- 
- Livy.** Selections (for Schools). With Notes and Maps. By H. LEE-WARNER, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. In Parts, limp, each 1s. 6d.
- Part I. The Caudine Disaster.
- Part II. Hannibal's Campaign in Italy.
- Part III. The Macedonian War.
- Ovid.** Selections for the use of Schools. With Introductions and Notes, and an Appendix on the Roman Calendar. By W. RAMSAY, M.A. Edited by G. G. RAMSAY, M.A. *Third Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 5s. 6d.
- **Tristia.** Book I. The Text revised, with an Introduction and Notes. By S. G. OWEN, B.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- **Tristia.** Book III. With Introduction and Notes. By the same Editor. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.
- Plautus.** *Captivi.* Edited by WALLACE M. LINDSAY, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Plautus.** *Trinummus.* With Notes and Introductions. (Intended for the Higher Forms of Public Schools.) By C. E. FREEMAN, M.A., and A. SLOMAN, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s.
- Pliny.** Selected Letters (for Schools). With Notes. By C. E. PRICHARD, M.A., and E. R. BERNARD, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s.
- Sallust.** With Introduction and Notes. By W. W. CAPES, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- Tacitus.** The Annals. Books I-IV. Edited, with Introduction and Notes (for the use of Schools and Junior Students), by H. FURNEAUX, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- The Annals. Book I. With Introduction and Notes, by the same Editor. Extra fcap. 8vo. limp. 2s.
- Terence.** *Andria.* With Notes and Introductions. By C. E. FREEMAN, M.A., and A. SLOMAN, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s.
- *Adelphi.* With Notes and Introductions. (Intended for the Higher Forms of Public Schools.) By A. SLOMAN, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s.
- *Phormio.* With Notes and Introductions. By A. SLOMAN, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s.
- Tibullus and Propertius.** Selections. Edited by G. G. RAMSAY, M.A. (In one or two parts.) Extra fcap. 8vo. 6s.
- Virgil.** With Introduction and Notes. By T. L. PAPILLON, M.A. Two vols. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d. *The Text separately, 4s. 6d.*
- *Bucolics.* Edited by C. S. JERRAM, M.A. In one or two Parts. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- *Georgics.* By the same Editor. *In the Press.*
- 

London: HENRY FROWDE, Amen Corner, E.C.



- Virgil.** Aeneid I. With Introduction and Notes, by the same Editor. Extra fcap. 8vo. limp, 1s. 6d.  
 — Aeneid IX. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by A. E. HAIGH, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. limp, 1s. 6d. In two Parts, 2s.

## (2) GREEK.

## STANDARD WORKS AND EDITIONS.

- Allen.** Notes on Abbreviations in Greek Manuscripts. By T. W. ALLEN, Queen's College, Oxford. Royal 8vo. 5s.  
**Chandler.** A Practical Introduction to Greek Accentuation, by H. W. CHANDLER, M.A. *Second Edition.* 10s. 6d.  
**Haigh.** The Attic Theatre. A Description of the Stage and Theatre of the Athenians, and of the Dramatic Performances at Athens. By A. E. HAIGH, M.A. 8vo. 12s. 6d.  
**Head.** Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics. By BARCLAY V. HEAD. Royal 8vo. half-bound, 2l. 2s.  
**Hicks.** A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions. By E. L. HICKS, M.A. 8vo. 10s. 6d.  
**King and Cookson.** The Principles of Sound and Inflexion, as illustrated in the Greek and Latin Languages. By J. E. KING, M.A., and CHRISTOPHER COOKSON, M.A. 8vo. 18s.  
**Liddell and Scott.** A Greek-English Lexicon, by H. G. LIDDELL, D.D., and ROBERT SCOTT, D.D. *Seventh Edition, Revised and Augmented throughout.* 4to. 1l. 16s.  
**Papillon.** Manual of Comparative Philology. By T. L. PAPHILLON, M.A. *Third Edition.* Crown 8vo. 6s.  
**Veitch.** Greek Verbs, Irregular and Defective. By W. VEITCH, LL.D. *Fourth Edition.* Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.  
**Vocabulary,** a copious Greek-English, compiled from the best authorities. 24mo. 3s.

- Aeschinem et Isocratem,** Scholia Graeca in. Edidit G. DINDORFIUS. 1852. 8vo. 4s.  
**Aeschines.** See under *Oratores Attici, and Demosthenes.*  
**Aeschyl quae supersunt in Codice Laurentiano quoad effici potuit et ad cognitionem necesse est visum typis descripta** edidit R. MERKEL. Small folio, 1l. 1s.  
**Aeschylus:** Tragoediae et Fragmenta, ex recensione GUIL. DINDORFII. *Second Edition,* 1851. 8vo. 5s. 6d.  
 — *Annotationes* GUIL. DINDORFII. Partes II. 1841. 8vo. 10s.

Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- 
- Anecdota Graeca Oxoniensia.** Edidit J. A. CRAMER, S.T.P. Tomi IV. 1835. 8vo. 1l. 2s.
- **Graeca e Codd. mss. Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis.** Edidit J. A. CRAMER, S.T.P. Tomi IV. 1839. 8vo. 1l. 2s.
- Apsinis et Longini Rhetorica.** E Codicibus mss. recensuit JOH. BAKIUS. 1849. 8vo. 3s.
- Aristophanes.** A Complete Concordance to the Comedies and Fragments. By HENRY DUNBAR, M.D. 4to. 1l. 1s.
- **J. Caravellae Index in Aristophanem.** 8vo. 3s.
- **Comoediae et Fragmenta, ex recensione GUIL. DINDORFII.** Tomi II. 1835. 8vo. 11s.
- **Annotationes GUIL. DINDORFII. Partes II.** 8vo. 11s.
- **Scholia Graeca ex Codicibus aucta et emendata a GUIL. DINDORFIO. Partes III.** 1838. 8vo. 1l.
- ARISTOTLE.**
- **Ex recensione IMMANUELIS BEKKERI.** Accedunt Indices Sylburgiani. Tomi XI. 1837. 8vo. 2l. 10s.  
The volumes (except vol. IX) may be had separately, price 5s. 6d. each.
- **The Politics, with Introductions, Notes, etc., by W. L. NEWMAN, M.A.,** Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Vols. I and II. Medium 8vo. 28s.
- **The Politics, translated into English, with Introduction, Marginal Analysis, Notes, and Indices, by B. JOWETT, M.A.** Medium 8vo. 2 vols. 21s.
- **Ethica Nicomachea, ex recensione IMMANUELIS BEKKERI.** Crown 8vo. 5s.
- **Aristotelian Studies. I. On the Structure of the Seventh Book of the Nicomachean Ethics.** By J. C. WILSON, M.A. 8vo. Stiff covers, 5s.
- **The English Manuscripts of the Nicomachean Ethics, described in relation to Bekker's Manuscripts and other Sources.** By J. A. STEWART, M.A. (*Anecdota Oxon.*) Small 4to. 3s. 6d.
- **On the History of the process by which the Aristotelian Writings arrived at their present form.** By R. SHUTE, M.A. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- **Physics. Book VII. Collation of various mss.; with Introduction by R. SHUTE, M.A.** (*Anecdota Oxon.*) Small 4to. 2s.
- Choerobosci Dictata in Theodosii Canones, necnon Epimerismi in Psalmos.** E Codicibus mss. edidit THOMAS GAISFORD, S.T.P. Tomi III. 1842. 8vo. 15s.
-

**Demosthenes.** Ex recensione GUIL. DINDORFII. Tomi IX. 1846-1851. 8vo. 2l. 6s.

*Separately:—*

Textus. 1l. 1s. Annotations. 15s. Scholia. 10s.

**Demosthenes and Aeschines.** The Orations of Demosthenes and Aeschines on the Crown. With Introductory Essays and Notes. By G. A. SIMCOX, M.A., and W. H. SIMCOX, M.A. 8vo. 12s.

**Euripides.** Tragoediae et Fragmenta, ex recensione GUIL. DINDORFII. Tomi II. 1833. 8vo. 10s.

— Annotations GUIL. DINDORFII. Partes II. 1839. 8vo. 10s.

— Scholia Graeca, ex Codicibus aucta et emendata a GUIL. DINDORFIO. Tomi IV. 1863. 8vo. 1l. 16s.

— Alcestis, ex recensione G. DINDORFII. 1834. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**Harpocrationis Lexicon.** Ex recensione G. DINDORFII. Tomi II. 1854. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Hephaestionis Enchiridion,** Terentianus Maurus, Proclus, etc. Edidit T. GAISFORD, S.T.P. Tomi II. 1855. 10s.

**Heracliti Ephesii Reliquiae.** Recensuit I. BYWATER, M.A. Appendicis loco additae sunt Diogenis Laertii Vita Heracliti, Particulae Hippocratei De Diaeta Lib. I., Epistolae Heracliteae. 8vo. 6s.

### **HOMER.**

— A Complete Concordance to the Odyssey and Hymns of Homer; to which is added a Concordance to the Parallel Passages in the Iliad, Odyssey, and Hymns. By HENRY DUNBAR, M.D. 4to. 1l. 1s.

— Seberi Index in Homerum. 1780. 8vo. 6s. 6d.

— A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect. By D. B. MONRO, M.A. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

— *Ilias*, cum brevi Annotatione C. G. HEYNII. Accedunt Scholia minora. Tomi II. 1834. 8vo. 15s.

— *Ilias*, ex rec. GUIL. DINDORFII. 1856. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

— Scholia Graeca in Iliadem. Edited by W. DINDORF, after a new collation of the Venetian MSS. by D. B. MONRO, M.A., Provost of Oriel College. 4 vols. 8vo. 2l. 10s.

— Scholia Graeca in Iliadem Townleyana. Recensuit ERNESTUS MAASS. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 16s.

— *Odyssea*, ex rec. G. DINDORFII. 1855. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

— Scholia Graeca in Odysseam. Edidit GUIL. DINDORFIUS. Tomi II. 1855. 8vo. 15s. 6d.

— *Odyssey.* Books I-XII. Edited with English Notes, Appendices, etc. By W. W. MERRY, D.D., and the late JAMES RIDDELL, M.A. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 16s.

**Oratores Attici, ex recensione BEKKERI :**

- I. Antiphon, Andocides, et Lysias. 1823. 8vo. 7s.
- II. Isocrates. 1823. 8vo. 7s.
- III. Isaeus, Aeschines, Lycurgus, Dinarchus, etc. 1823. 8vo. 7s.

**Paroemiographi Graeci, quorum pars nunc primum ex**  
Codd. mss. vulgatur. Edidit T. GAISFORD, S.T.P. 1836. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

**PLATO.**

- **Apology**, with a revised Text and English Notes, and a Digest of Platonic Idioms, by JAMES RIDDELL, M.A. 8vo. 8s. 6d.
- **Philebus**, with a revised Text and English Notes, by EDWARD POSTE, M.A. 1860. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- **Sophistes and Politicus**, with a revised Text and English Notes, by L. CAMPBELL, M.A. 1867. 8vo. 18s.
- **Theaetetus**, with a revised Text and English Notes, by L. CAMPBELL, M.A. *Second Edition*. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- **The Dialogues**, translated into English, with Analyses and Introductions, by B. JOWETT, M.A. 5 vols. medium 8vo. 3l. 10s.
- **The Republic**, translated into English, with Analysis and Introduction, by B. JOWETT, M.A. Medium 8vo. 12s. 6d.; half-roan, 14s.
- **Index to Plato**. Compiled for Prof. Jowett's Translation of the Dialogues. By EVELYN ABBOTT, M.A. 8vo. Paper covers, 2s. 6d.

**Plotinus.** Edidit F. CREUZER. Tomi III. 1835. 4to. 1l. 8s.

**Polybius.** Selections. Edited by J. L. STRACHAN-DAVIDSON, M.A. With Maps. Medium 8vo. buckram, 21s.

**SOPHOCLES.**

- **The Plays and Fragments.** With English Notes and Introductions, by LEWIS CAMPBELL, M.A. 2 vols.  
Vol. I. Oedipus Tyrannus. Oedipus Coloneus. Antigone. 8vo. 16s.  
Vol. II. Ajax. Electra. Trachiniae. Philoctetes. Fragments. 8vo. 16s.
- **Tragoediae et Fragmenta, ex recensione et cum commentariis GUIL. DINDORFII.** *Third Edition*. 2 vols. Fcap. 8vo. 1l. 1s.  
Each Play separately, limp, 2s. 6d.
- **The Text alone, with large margin, small 4to.** 8s.
- **The Text alone, square 16mo.** 3s. 6d.  
Each Play separately, limp, 6d.
- **Tragoediae et Fragmenta cum Annotationibus GUIL. DINDORFII.** Tomi II. 1849. 8vo. 10s.  
The Text, Vol. I. 5s. 6d. The Notes, Vol. II. 4s. 6d.

London: HENRY FROWDE, Amen Corner, E.C.

**Stobaei Florilegium.** Ad mss. fidem emendavit et supplevit T. GAISFORD, S.T.P. Tomi IV. 1822. 8vo. 1l.

— **Eclogarum Physicarum et Ethicarum libri duo.** Accedit Hieroclii Commentarius in aurea carmina Pythagoreorum. Ad mss. Codd. recensuit T. GAISFORD, S.T.P. Tomi II. 1850. 8vo. 11s.

**Thucydides.** Translated into English, with Introduction, Marginal Analysis, Notes, and Indices. By B. JOWETT, M.A., Regius Professor of Greek. 2 vols. Medium 8vo. 1l. 12s.

**XENOPHON.** Ex rec. et cum annotatt. L. DINDORFII.

I. *Historia Graeca.* Second Edition. 1853. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

II. *Expositio Cyri.* Second Edition. 1855. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

III. *Institutio Cyri.* 1857. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

IV. *Memorabilia Socratis.* 1862. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

V. *Opuscula Politica Equestria et Venatica cum Arriani Libello de Venatione.* 1866. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

### GREEK EDUCATIONAL WORKS.

#### GRAMMARS, EXERCISE BOOKS, &c.

**Chandler.** The Elements of Greek Accentuation: abridged from his larger work by H. W. CHANDLER, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**Liddell and Scott.** An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon, abridged from LIDDELL and SCOTT's Seventh Edition. Small 4to. 12s. 6d.

**Liddell and Scott.** A Greek-English Lexicon, abridged from LIDDELL and SCOTT's 4to. edition. Square 12mo. 7s. 6d.

**Miller.** A Greek Testament Primer. An Easy Grammar and Reading Book for the use of Students beginning Greek. By the Rev. E. MILLER, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

**Moulton.** The Ancient Classical Drama. A Study in Literary Evolution. Intended for Readers in English and in the Original. By R. G. MOULTON, M.A. Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d.

**Wordsworth.** A Greek Primer, for the use of beginners in that Language. By the Right Rev. CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D.C.L. Seventh Edition. Extra fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

— *Graecae Grammaticae Rudimenta in usum Scholarum.* Auctore CAROLO WORDSWORTH, D.C.L. Nineteenth Edition. 12mo. 4s.

**Passages for Translation into Greek Prose.** By J. YOUNG SARGENT, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s.

**Exemplaria Graeca.** Being Selections from "Passages for Translation into Greek Prose." By the same author. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s.

**Models and Materials for Greek Iambic Verse.** By the same author. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

- Græce Reddenda.** By C. S. JERRAM, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Reddenda Minora**, or Easy Passages, Latin and Greek, for Unseen Translation. By C. S. JERRAM, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.
- Anglice Reddenda**, or Extracts, Latin and Greek, for Unseen Translation. By C. S. JERRAM, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Anglice Reddenda.** *Second Series.* By the same Author. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s.
- Golden Treasury of Ancient Greek Poetry.** By R. S. WRIGHT, M.A. *Second Edition.* Revised by EVELYN ABBOTT, M.A., LL.D. Extra fcap. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Golden Treasury of Greek Prose**, being a Collection of the finest passages in the principal Greek Prose Writers, with Introductory Notices and Notes. By R. S. WRIGHT, M.A., and J. E. L. SHADWELL, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

#### GREEK READERS.

- Easy Greek Reader.** By EVELYN ABBOTT, M.A. In one or two Parts. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s.
- First Greek Reader.** By W. G. RUSHBROOKE, M.L. *Second Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Second Greek Reader.** By A. M. BELL, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Specimens of Greek Dialects; being a Fourth Greek Reader.** With Introductions, etc. By W. W. MERRY, D.D. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- Selections from Homer and the Greek Dramatists; being a Fifth Greek Reader.** With Explanatory Notes and Introductions to the Study of Greek Epic and Dramatic Poetry. By EVELYN ABBOTT, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

---

#### GREEK CLASSICS FOR SCHOOLS.

- Aeschylus.** In Single Plays. Extra fcap. 8vo.
- I. Agamemnon. With Introduction and Notes, by ARTHUR SIDGWICK, M.A. *Third Edition.* 3s.
  - II. Choephoroi. By the same Editor. 3s.
  - III. Eumenides. By the same Editor. 3s.
  - IV. Prometheus Bound. With Introduction and Notes, by A. O. PRICKARD, M.A. *Second Edition.* 2s.

---

London : HENRY FROWDE, Amen Corner, E.C.

---

**Aristophanes.** In Single Plays. Edited, with English Notes, Introductions, &c., by W. W. MERRY, D.D. Extra fcap. 8vo.

I. *The Acharnians.* Third Edition, 3s.

II. *The Clouds.* Third Edition, 3s.

III. *The Frogs.* Second Edition, 3s.

IV. *The Knights.* Second Edition, 3s.

V. *The Birds.* 3s. 6d.

**Cebes.** *Tabula.* With Introduction and Notes. By C. S. JERRAM, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**Demosthenes.** *Orations against Philip.* With Introduction and Notes, by EVELYN ABBOTT, M.A., and P. E. MATHESON, M.A.

Vol. I. *Philippic I. Olynthiacs I-III.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s.

Vol. II. *De Pace, Philippic II, De Chersoneso, Philippic III.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

**Euripides.** In Single Plays. Extra fcap. 8vo.

I. *Alcestis.* Edited by C. S. JERRAM, M.A. 2s. 6d.

II. *Hecuba.* Edited by C. H. RUSSELL, M.A. 2s. 6d.

III. *Helena.* Edited, with Introduction, Notes, etc., for Upper and Middle Forms. By C. S. JERRAM, M.A. 3s.

IV. *Heracleidae.* By C. S. JERRAM, M.A. 3s.

V. *Iphigenia in Tauris.* By the same Editor. 3s.

VI. *Medea.* By C. B. HEBERDEN, M.A. 2s.

**Herodotus.** Book IX. Edited, with Notes, by EVELYN ABBOTT, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s.

— *Selections.* Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by W. W. MERRY, D.D. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**Homer.**

I. *Iliad, Books I-XII.* With an Introduction and a brief Homeric Grammar, and Notes. By D. B. MONRO, M.A. Second Edition. Extra fcap. 8vo. 6s.

II. *Iliad, Books XIII-XXIV.* With Notes. By the same Editor. Extra fcap. 8vo. 6s.

III. *Iliad, Book I.* By D. B. MONRO, M.A. Second Edition. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.

IV. *Iliad, Books VI and XXI.* With Introduction and Notes. By HERBERT HAILSTONE, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d. each.

**Homer** (*continued*).

V. *Odyssey*, Books I–XII. By W. W. MERRY, D.D.  
*Fortieth Thousand*. Extra fcap. 8vo. 5s.

Books I and II, separately, each 1s. 6d.

VI. *Odyssey*, Books XIII–XXIV. By the same Editor.  
Extra fcap. 8vo. 5s.

**Lucian**. *Vera Historia*. By C. S. JERRAM, M.A. *Second Edition*. Extra fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

**Lysias**. *Epitaphios*. Edited, with Introduction and Notes,  
by F. J. SNELL, B.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.

**Plato**. *Meno*. With Introduction and Notes. By St.  
GEORGE STOCK, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

— *The Apology*. With Introduction and Notes. By St.  
GEORGE STOCK, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**Sophocles**. For the use of Schools. Edited with Introduc-  
tions and English Notes. By LEWIS CAMPBELL, M.A., and EVELYN  
ABBOTT, M.A. *New and Revised Edition*. 2 vols. Extra fcap. 8vo.  
10s. 6d.

Sold separately: Vol. I, Text, 4s. 6d.; Vol. II, Explanatory Notes, 6s.

*Or in single Plays:—*

*Oedipus Coloneus*, *Antigone*, 1s. 9d. each; *Oedipus Tyrannus*,  
*Ajax*, *Electra*, *Trachiniae*, *Philoctetes*, 2s. each.

**Sophocles**. *Oedipus Rex*: Dindorf's Text, with Notes by the  
present Bishop of St. David's. Extra fcap. 8vo. limp, 1s. 6d.

**Theocritus** (for Schools). With English Notes. By H.  
KYNASTON, D.D. (late SNOW). *Third Edition*. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

**XENOPHON**. *Easy Selections* (for Junior Classes). With a  
Vocabulary, Notes, and Map. By J. S. PHILLPOTTS, B.C.L., and C. S.  
JERRAM, M.A. *Third Edition*. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

— *Selections* (for Schools). With Notes and Maps. By  
J. S. PHILLPOTTS, B.C.L. *Fourth Edition*. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

— *Anabasis*, Book I. Edited for the use of Junior Classes  
and Private Students. With Introduction, Notes, etc. By J. MARSHALL,  
M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

— *Anabasis*, Book II. With Notes and Map. By C. S.  
JERRAM, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.

— *Anabasis*, Book III. With Introduction, Analysis,  
Notes, etc. By J. MARSHALL, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.



**Xenophon** (*continued*).

- Vocabulary to the Anabasis. By J. MARSHALL, M.A.  
Extra fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.
- Cyropaedia, Book I. With Introduction and Notes. By  
C. BIGG, D.D. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.
- Cyropaedia, Books IV and V. With Introduction and  
Notes. By C. BIGG, D.D. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Hellenica, Books I, II. With Introduction and Notes.  
By G. E. UNDERHILL, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s.
- Memorabilia. By J. MARSHALL, M.A. *In the Press.*

## SECTION V.

**ORIENTAL LANGUAGES\*.****THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.**

TRANSLATED BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS, AND EDITED BY  
F. MAX MÜLLER.

**First Series, Vols. I—XXIV.** Demy 8vo. cloth.

- Vol. I. The Upanishads. Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER.  
Part I. 10s. 6d.
- Vol. II. The Sacred Laws of the Âryas, as taught in the  
Schools of Âpastamba, Gautama, Vâsishthâ, and Baudhâyana. Trans-  
lated by Prof. GEORG BÜHLER. Part I. 10s. 6d.
- Vol. III. The Sacred Books of China. The Texts of Con-  
fucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Part I. 12s. 6d.
- Vol. IV. The Zend-Avesta. Part I. The Vendidad. Trans-  
lated by JAMES DARMESTETER. 10s. 6d.
- Vol. V. The Pahlavi Texts. Translated by E. W. WEST.  
Part I. 12s. 6d.
- Vols. VI and IX. The Qur'ân. Translated by E. H.  
PALMER. 21s.
- Vol. VII. The Institutes of Vishnu. Translated by JULIUS  
JOLLY. 10s. 6d.
- Vol. VIII. The Bhagavadgîtâ, with The Sanatsugâtîya, and  
The Anugîtâ. Translated by KÂSHINÂTH TRIMBAK TELANG. 10s. 6d.

\* See also ANECDOTA OXON., Series II, III, pp. 32, 33, below.

---

**The Sacred Books of the East** (*continued*).

- Vol. X. The Dhammapada, translated from Pāli by F. MAX MÜLLER; and The Sutta-Nipāta, translated from Pāli by V. FAUSBÖLL; being Canonical Books of the Buddhists. 10s. 6d.
- Vol. XI. Buddhist Suttas. Translated from Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. 10s. 6d.
- Vol. XII. The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa, according to the Text of the Mādhyandina School. Translated by JULIUS EGGEING. Part I. Books I and II. 12s. 6d.
- Vol. XIII. Vinaya Texts. Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part I. 10s. 6d.
- Vol. XIV. The Sacred Laws of the Āryas, as taught in the Schools of Āpastamba, Gautama, Vāsishtā and Baudhāyana. Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. Part II. 10s. 6d.
- Vol. XV. The Upanishads. Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part II. 10s. 6d.
- Vol. XVI. The Sacred Books of China. The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Part II. 10s. 6d.
- Vol. XVII. Vinaya Texts. Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part II. 10s. 6d.
- Vol. XVIII. Pahlavi Texts. Translated by E. W. WEST. Part II. 12s. 6d.
- Vol. XIX. The Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king. A Life of Buddha by Asvaghosha Bodhisattva, translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa, A.D. 420, and from Chinese into English by SAMUEL BEAL. 10s. 6d.
- Vol. XX. Vinaya Texts. Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part III. 10s. 6d.
- Vol. XXI. The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka; or, the Lotus of the True Law. Translated by H. KERN. 12s. 6d.
- Vol. XXII. Gaiṇa-Sūtras. Translated from Prākṛit by HERMANN JACOBI. Part I. 10s. 6d.
- Vol. XXIII. The Zend-Avesta. Part II. Translated by JAMES DARMESTETER. 10s. 6d.
- Vol. XXIV. Pahlavi Texts. Translated by E. W. WEST. Part III. 10s. 6d.
- 

London: HENRY FROWDE, Amen Corner, E.C.

**THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST. (Second Series.)**

Vol. XXV. *Manu*. Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. 21s.

Vol. XXVI. *The Satapatha-Brâhmana*. Translated by JULIUS EGGEING. Part II. 12s. 6d.

Vols. XXVII and XXVIII. *The Sacred Books of China. The Texts of Confucianism*. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Parts III and IV. 25s.

Vols. XXIX and XXX. *The Grihya-Sûtras, Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies*. Translated by HERMANN OLDENBERG.

Part I (Vol. XXIX). 12s. 6d.

Part II (Vol. XXX). *In the Press*.

Vol. XXXI. *The Zend-Avesta*. Part III. Translated by L. H. MILLS. 12s. 6d.

Vol. XXXIII. *Nârada, and some Minor Law-books*. Translated by JULIUS JOLLY. 10s. 6d.

Vol. XXXIV. *The Vedânta-Sûtras, with Saṅkara's Commentary*. Translated by G. THIBAUT. 12s. 6d.

The following Volumes are in the Press :—

Vol. XXXII. *Vedic Hymns*. Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part I.

Vol. XXXV. *Milinda*. Translated by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

**ARABIC.** *A Practical Arabic Grammar*. Part I. Compiled by A. O. GREEN, Brigade Major, Royal Engineers. *Second Edition, Enlarged*. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**CHINESE.** *Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka, the Sacred Canon of the Buddhists in China and Japan*. Compiled by BUNYIU NANJIO. 4to. 1l. 12s. 6d.

— *Handbook of the Chinese Language*. Parts I and II. Grammar and Chrestomathy. By JAMES SUMMERS. 8vo. 1l. 8s.

**CHINESE.** *Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms; being an Account by the Chinese Monk FÂ-HIEN of his travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399-414) in search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline*. Translated and annotated, with a Korean recension of the Chinese Text, by JAMES LEGGE, M.A., LL.D. Crown 4to., boards, 10s. 6d.

Oxford: Clarendon Press.

**CHALDEE.** Book of Tobit. A Chaldee Text, from a unique MS. in the Bodleian Library; with other Rabbinical Texts, English Translations, and the Itala. Edited by AD. NEUBAUER, M.A. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**COPTIC.** Libri Prophetarum Majorum, cum Lamentationibus Jeremiae, in Dialecto Linguae Aegyptiacae Memphitica seu Coptica. Edidit cum Versione Latina H. TATTAM, S.T.P. Tomi II. 1852. 8vo. 17s.

— Libri duodecim Prophetarum Minorum in Ling. Aegypt. vulgo Coptica. Edidit H. TATTAM, A.M. 1836. 8vo. 8s. 6d.

— Novum Testamentum Coptice, cura D. WILKINS. 1716. 4to. 12s. 6d.

**HEBREW.** Psalms in Hebrew (without points). Cr. 8vo. 2s.

**Driver.** Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel. By S. R. DRIVER, D.D. 8vo. 14s. *Just Published.*

— Treatise on the use of the Tenses in Hebrew. By S. R. DRIVER, D.D. *Second Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

— Commentary on the Book of Proverbs. Attributed to Abraham Ibn Ezra. Edited from a Manuscript in the Bodleian Library by S. R. DRIVER, D.D. Crown 8vo. paper covers, 3s. 6d.

**Neubauer.** Book of Hebrew Roots, by Abu 'l-Walid Marwān ibn Janāh, otherwise called Rabbi Yōnāh. Now first edited, with an Appendix, by AD. NEUBAUER. 4to. 2l. 7s. 6d.

**Spurrell.** Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Genesis. By G. J. SPURRELL, M.A. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Wickes.** Hebrew Accentuation of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job. By WILLIAM WICKES, D.D. 8vo. 5s.

— Hebrew Prose Accentuation. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**SANSKRIT.**—Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Etymologically and Philologically arranged, with special reference to Greek, Latin, German, Anglo-Saxon, English, and other cognate Indo-European Languages. By Sir M. MONIER-WILLIAMS, D.C.L. 4to. 4l. 14s. 6d.

— Practical Grammar of the Sanskrit Language, arranged with reference to the Classical Languages of Europe, by Sir M. MONIER-WILLIAMS, D.C.L. *Fourth Edition.* 8vo. 15s.

— Nalopākhyānam. Story of Nala, an Episode of the Mahābhārata: the Sanskrit Text, with a copious Vocabulary, and an improved version of Dean Milman's Translation, by Sir M. MONIER-WILLIAMS, D.C.L. *Second Edition, Revised and Improved.* 8vo. 15s.

— Sakuntalā. A Sanskrit Drama, in seven Acts. Edited by Sir M. MONIER-WILLIAMS, D.C.L. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 1l. 1s.

**SYRIAC.**—*Thesaurus Syriacus*: collegerunt Quatremère, Bernstein, Lorschach, Arnoldi, Agrell, Field, Roediger: edidit R. PAYNE SMITH, S.T.P. Vol. I. containing Fasc. I-V. Sm. fol. 5l. 5s.

Fasc. VI. 1l. 1s. Fasc. VII. 1l. 11s. 6d. Fasc. VIII. 1l. 16s.

**SYRIAC** (*continued.*)

- **The Book of Kallilah and Dimnah.** Translated from Arabic into Syriac. Edited by W. WRIGHT, LL.D. 8vo. 1*l.* 1*s.*
- **Cyriilli Archiepiscopi Alexandrini Commentarii in Lucae Evangelium quae supersunt Syriace.** E MSS. apud Mus. Britan. edidit R. PAYNE SMITH, A.M. 4to. 1*l.* 2*s.*
- — Translated by R. PAYNE SMITH, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 14*s.*
- **Ephraemi Syri, Rabulae Episcopi Edesseni, Balaei, etc., Opera Selecta.** E Codd. Syriacis mss. in Museo Britannico et Bibliotheca Bodleiana asservatis primus edidit J. J. OVERBECK. 8vo. 1*l.* 1*s.*
- **John, Bishop of Ephesus.** The Third Part of his Ecclesiastical History. [In Syriac.] Now first edited by WILLIAM CURETON, M.A. 4to. 1*l.* 12*s.*
- — Translated by R. PAYNE SMITH, M.A. 8vo. 10*s.*

## SECTION VI.

**ANECDOTA OXONIENSIA.**

(Crown 4to., stiff covers.)

**I. CLASSICAL SERIES.**

- I. **The English Manuscripts of the Nicomachean Ethics.** By J. A. STEWART, M.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*
- II. **Nonius Marcellus, de Compendiosa Doctrina, Harleian MS. 2719.** Collated by J. H. ONIONS, M.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*
- III. **Aristotle's Physics. Book VII.** With Introduction by R. SHUTE, M.A. 2*s.*
- IV. **Bentley's Plautine Emendations.** From his copy of Gronovius. By E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN, M.A. 2*s.* 6*d.*
- V. **Harleian MS. 2610; Ovid's Metamorphoses I, II, III. 1-622; XXIV Latin Epigrams from Bodleian or other MSS.; Latin Glosses on Apollinaris Sidonius from MS. Digby 172.** Collated and Edited by ROBINSON ELLIS, M.A., LL.D. 4*s.*

**II. SEMITIC SERIES.**

- I. **Commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah.** By Rabbi Saadiah. Edited by H. J. MATHEWS, M.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*
- II. **The Book of the Bee.** Edited by ERNEST A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A. 21*s.*
- III. **A Commentary on the Book of Daniel.** By Japhet Ibn Ali. Edited and Translated by D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, M.A. 21*s.*
- IV. **Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles and Chronological Notes.** Edited by AD. NEUBAUER, M.A. 14*s.*

Oxford: Clarendon Press.

**ANECDOTA OXONIENSIA** (*continued*).

**III. ARYAN SERIES.**

- I. Buddhist Texts from Japan. 1. *Vagrakkhedikā*. Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER. 3s. 6d.
- II. Buddhist Texts from Japan. 2. *Sukhāvati Vyūha*. Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A., and BUNYIU NANJIO. 7s. 6d.
- III. Buddhist Texts from Japan. 3. The Ancient Palm-leaves containing the *Pragñā-Pāramitā-Hridaya-Sūtra* and the *Uśaiśa-Vigaya-Dhāraṇī*, edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A., and BUNYIU NANJIO, M.A. With an Appendix by G. BÜHLER. 10s.
- IV. *Kātyāyana's Sarvānukramanī* of the *Rigveda*. With Extracts from *Shadguruśiṣya's* Commentary entitled *Vedārthadīpikā*. Edited by A. A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D. 16s.
- V. The *Dharma Saṃgraha*. Edited by KENJIU KASAWARA, F. MAX MÜLLER, and H. WENZEL. 7s. 6d.

**IV. MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN SERIES.**

- I. *Sinonoma Bartholomei*. Edited by J. L. G. MOWAT, M.A. 3s. 6d.
- II. *Alphita*. Edited by J. L. G. MOWAT, M.A. 12s. 6d.
- III. *The Saltair Na Rann*. Edited from a MS. in the Bodleian Library, by WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L. 7s. 6d.
- IV. *The Cath Finntrága, or Battle of Ventry*. Edited by KUNO MEYER, Ph.D., M.A. 6s.
- V. *Lives of Saints, from the Book of Lismore*. Edited, with Translation, by WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L. 1l. 11s. 6d. *Just Published*.

**II. THEOLOGY.**

**A. THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, ETC.**

- COPTIC.** *Libri Prophetarum Majorum, cum Lamentationibus Jeremiae, in Dialecto Linguae Aegyptiacae Memphitica seu Coptica.* Edidit cum Versione Latina H. TATTAM, S.T.P. Tomi II. 1852. 8vo. 17s.
- *Libri duodecim Prophetarum Minorum in Ling. Aegypt. vulgo Coptica.* Edidit H. TATTAM, A.M. 1836. 8vo. 8s. 6d.
- *Novum Testamentum Coptice, cura D. WILKINS.* 1716. 4to. 12s. 6d.

London: HENRY FROWDE, Amen Corner, E.C.

D

**ENGLISH.** The Holy Bible in the **Earliest English Versions**, made from the Latin Vulgate by JOHN WYCLIFFE and his followers : edited by FORSHALL and MADDEN. 4 vols. 1850. Royal 4to. 3l. 3s.

Also reprinted from the above, with Introduction and Glossary by W. W. SKEAT, Litt. D.

I. The Books of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

II. The New Testament. Extra fcap. 8vo. 6s.

— **The Holy Bible : an exact reprint, page for page, of the Authorised Version published in the year 1611.** Demy 4to. half bound. 1l. 1s.

— **The Holy Bible, Revised Version\*.**

*Cheap editions for School Use.*

Revised Bible. Pearl 16mo., cloth boards, 1s. 6d.

Revised New Testament. Nonpareil 32mo., 6d. ; Brevier 16mo., 1s. ; Long Primer 8vo., 1s. 6d.

— **The Oxford Bible for Teachers**, containing supplementary, HELPS TO THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE, including summaries of the several Books, with copious explanatory notes ; and Tables illustrative of Scripture History and the characteristics of Bible Lands with a complete Index of Subjects, a Concordance, a Dictionary of Proper Names, and a series of Maps. Prices in various sizes and bindings from 3s. to 2l. 5s.

— **Helps to the Study of the Bible**, taken from the OXFORD BIBLE FOR TEACHERS. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

— **The Psalter**, or Psalms of David, and certain Canticles, with a Translation and Exposition in English, by RICHARD ROLLE of Ham-pole. Edited by H. R. BRAMLEY, M.A., Fellow of S. M. Magdalen College, Oxford. With an Introduction and Glossary. Demy 8vo. 1l. 1s.

— **Studia Biblica.** Essays in Biblical Archæology and Criticism, and kindred subjects. By Members of the University of Oxford. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

— **Lectures on the Book of Job.** Delivered in Westminster Abbey by the Very Rev. G. G. BRADLEY, D.D. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

— **Lectures on Ecclesiastes.** By the same Author. Cr. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

— **The Book of Wisdom : the Greek Text, the Latin Vulgate, and the Authorised English Version ; with an Introduction, Critical Apparatus, and a Commentary.** By W. J. DEANE, M.A. 4to. 12s. 6d.

— **The Five Books of Maccabees**, in English, with Notes and Illustrations by HENRY COTTON, D.C.L. 1832. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

\* *The Revised Version is the joint property of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.*

Oxford : Clarendon Press.

**ENGLISH** (*continued*).

- 
- **List of Editions of the Bible in English.** By HENRY COTTON, D.C.L. *Second Edition.* 1852. 8vo. 8s. 6d.
- **Rhemes and Doway.** An attempt to shew what has been done by Roman Catholics for the diffusion of the Holy Scriptures in English. By HENRY COTTON, D.C.L. 1855. 8vo. 9s.
- GOTHIC.** *Evangeliorum Versio Gothica, cum Interpr. et* Annot. E. BENZELII. Edidit E. LYE, A.M. 4to. 12s. 6d.
- **The Gospel of St. Mark in Gothic,** according to the translation made by WULFILA in the Fourth Century. Edited by W. W. SKEAT, Litt. D. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s.
- GREEK.** *Old Testament. Vetus Testamentum ex Versione* Septuaginta Interpretum secundum exemplar Vaticanum Romae editum. Accedit potior varietas Codicis Alexandrini. Tomi III. 18mo. 18s.
- *Vetus Testamentum Graece cum Variis Lectionibus.* Editionem a R. HOLMES, S.T.P. inchoatam continuavit J. PARSONS, S.T.B. Tomi V. 1798–1827. folio, 7l.
- *Origenis Hexaplorum quæ supersunt; sive, Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum Fragmenta.* Edidit FRIDERICUS FIELD, A.M. 2 vols. 1875. 4to. 5l. 5s.
- **Essays in Biblical Greek.** By EDWIN HATCH, M.A., D.D. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- **New Testament.** *Novum Testamentum Graece. Antiquissimorum Codicum Textus in ordine parallelo dispositi.* Edidit E. H. HANSELL, S.T.B. Tomi III. 8vo. 24s.
- *Novum Testamentum Graece. Accedunt parallela* S. Scripturae loca, etc. Edidit CAROLUS LLOYD, S.T.P.R. 18mo. 3s. On writing paper, with wide margin, 10s. 6d.
- Critical Appendices** to the above, by W. SANDAY, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.
- *Novum Testamentum Graece juxta Exemplar Millianum.* 18mo. 2s. 6d. On writing paper, with wide margin, 9s.
- **Evangelia Sacra Graece.** Fcap. 8vo. limp, 1s. 6d.
- **The Greek Testament, with the Readings adopted by the Revisers of the Authorised Version:—**
- (1) Pica type, with Marginal References. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.
  - (2) Long Primer type. Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
  - (3) The same, on writing paper, with wide margin, 15s.
- **The New Testament in Greek and English.** Edited by E. CARDWELL, D.D. 2 vols. 1837. Crown 8vo. 6s.
-



**GREEK** (*continued*).

- The Parallel New Testament, Greek and English; being the Authorised Version, 1611; the Revised Version, 1881; and the Greek Text followed in the Revised Version. 8vo. 12s. 6d.
- Diatessaron; sive Historia Jesu Christi ex ipsis Evangelistarum verbis apte dispositis confecta. Ed. J. WHITE. 3s. 6d.

- Outlines of Textual Criticism applied to the New Testament. By C. E. HAMMOND, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- A Greek Testament Primer. An Easy Grammar and Reading Book for the use of Students beginning Greek. By E. MILLER, M.A. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Canon Muratorianus: the earliest Catalogue of the Books of the New Testament. Edited with Notes and a Facsimile of the MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, by S. P. TREGELLES, LL.D. 1867. 4to. 10s. 6d.

**HEBREW, etc.** Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Genesis. By G. J. SPURRELL, M.A. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

- Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel. By S. R. DRIVER, D.D. 8vo. 14s.
- The Psalms in Hebrew without points. Stiff covers, 2s.
- A Commentary on the Book of Proverbs. Attributed to ABRAHAM IBN EZRA. Edited from a MS. in the Bodleian Library by S. R. DRIVER, D.D. Crown 8vo. paper covers, 3s. 6d.
- The Book of Tobit. A Chaldee Text, from a unique MS. in the Bodleian Library; with other Rabbinical Texts, English Translations, and the Itala. Edited by AD. NEUBAUER, M.A. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Hebrew Accentuation of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job. By WILLIAM WICKES, D.D. 8vo. 5s.
- Hebrew Prose Accentuation. By the same. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae, a J. LIGHTFOOT. A new Edition, by R. GANDELL, M.A. 4 vols. 1859. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

**LATIN.** Libri Psalmorum Versio antiqua Latina, cum Paraphrasi Anglo-Saxonica. Edidit B. THORPE, F.A.S. 1835. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

- Nouum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Latine, secundum Editionem Sancti Hieronymi. Ad Codicum Manuscriptorum fidem recensuit IOHANNES WORDSWORTH, S.T.P., Episcopus Sarisburiensis; in operis societatem adsumto HENRICO IULIANO WHITE, A.M. *Partis Prioris Fasciculus Primus. Euangelium Secundum Mattheum.* Quarto, Paper covers, 12s. 6d.
- Old-Latin Biblical Texts: No. I. The Gospel according to St. Matthew, from the St. Germain MS. (g<sub>1</sub>). Edited with Introduction and Appendices by JOHN WORDSWORTH, D.D. Small 4to., stiff covers, 6s.

**LATIN** (*continued*).

- **Old-Latin Biblical Texts: No. II.** Portions of the Gospels according to St. Mark and St. Matthew, from the Bobbio MS. (k), &c. Edited by JOHN WORDSWORTH, D.D., W. SANDAY, M.A., D.D., and H. J. WHITE, M.A. Small 4to., stiff covers, 21s.
- **Old-Latin Biblical Texts: No. III.** The Four Gospels, from the Munich MS. (q), now numbered Lat. 6224 in the Royal Library at Munich. With a Fragment from St. John in the Hof-Bibliothek at Vienna (Cod. Lat. 502). Edited, with the aid of Tischendorf's transcript (under the direction of the Bishop of Salisbury), by H. J. WHITE, M.A. Small 4to. stiff covers, 12s. 6d.
- OLD-FRENCH.** Libri Psalmorum Versio antiqua Gallica e Cod. ms. in Bibl. Bodleiana adservato, una cum Versione Metrica aliisque Monumentis pervetustis. Nunc primum descriptis et editis FRANCISCUS MICHEL, Phil. Doc. 1860. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**B. FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, ETC.**

- St. Athanasius:** Orations against the Arians. With an Account of his Life by WILLIAM BRIGHT, D.D. Crown 8vo. 9s.
- **Historical Writings, according to the Benedictine Text.** With an Introduction by W. BRIGHT, D.D. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- St. Augustine:** Select Anti-Pelagian Treatises, and the Acts of the Second Council of Orange. With an Introduction by WILLIAM BRIGHT, D.D. Crown 8vo. 9s.
- Barnabas,** The Editio Princeps of the Epistle of, by Archbishop Ussher, as printed at Oxford, A.D. 1642, and preserved in an imperfect form in the Bodleian Library. With a Dissertation on the Literary History of that Edition, by J. H. BACKHOUSE, M.A. Small 4to. 3s. 6d.
- Canons of the First Four General Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.** Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- **Notes on the above.** By WILLIAM BRIGHT, D.D. Crown 8vo. 5s. 6d.
- Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum.** Edidit J. A. CRAMER, S.T.P. Tomi VIII. 8vo. 2l. 4s.
- Clementis Alexandrini Opera, ex recensione Guil. Dindorfii.** Tomi IV. 8vo. 3l.
- Cyrilli Archiepiscopi Alexandrini in XII Prophetas.** Edidit P. E. PUSEY, A.M. Tomi II. 8vo. 2l. 2s.
- **in D. Joannis Evangelium. Accedunt Fragmenta Varia necnon Tractatus ad Tiberium Diaconum Duo.** Edidit post Aubertum P. E. PUSEY, A.M. Tomi III. 8vo. 2l. 5s.

London: HENRY FROWDE, Amen Corner, E.C.

- Cyrelli Commentarii in Lucae Evangelium quae supersunt Syriace.** E MSS. apud Mus. Britan. edidit R. PAYNE SMITH, A.M. 4to. 1l. 2s.
- — — Translated by R. PAYNE SMITH, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 14s.
- Dowling (J. G.).** Notitia Scriptorum SS. Patrum aliorumque vet. Eccles. Mon. quae in Collectionibus Anecdotorum post annum Christi MDCC. in lucem editis continentur. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- Ephraemi Syri, Rabulae Episcopi Edesseni, Balaei, aliorumque Opera Selecta.** E Codd. Syriacis mss. in Museo Britannico et Bibliotheca Bodleiana asservatis primus edidit J. J. OVERBECK. 8vo. 1l. 1s.
- Eusebii Pamphili Evangelicae Praeparationis Libri XV.** Ad Codd. mss. recensuit T. GAISFORD, S.T.P. Tomi IV. 8vo. 1l. 10s.
- Evangelicae Demonstrationis Libri X. Recensuit T. GAISFORD, S.T.P. Tomi II. 8vo. 15s.
- contra Hieroclem et Marcellum Libri. Recensuit T. GAISFORD, S.T.P. 8vo. 7s.
- Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History, according to the text of BURTON, with an Introduction by W. BRIGHT, D.D.** Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d.
- — — Annotations Variorum. Tomi II. 8vo. 17s.
- Evagrii Historia Ecclesiastica, ex recensione H. VALESII.** 1844. 8vo. 4s.
- Irenaeus: The Third Book of St. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, against Heresies.** With short Notes and a Glossary by H. DEANE, B.D. Crown 8vo. 5s. 6d.
- Origenis Philosophumena; sive omnium Haeresium Refutatio.** E Codice Parisino nunc primum edidit EMMANUEL MILLER. 1851. 8vo. 10s.
- Patrum Apostolicorum, S. Clementis Romani, S. Ignatii, S. Polycarpi, quae supersunt.** Edidit GUIL. JACOBSON, S.T.P.R. Tomi II. Fourth Edition. 8vo. 1l. 1s.
- Reliquiae Sacrae secundi tertique saeculi.** Recensuit M. J. ROUTH, S.T.P. Tomi V. Second Edition. 8vo. 1l. 5s.
- Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Opuscula.** Recensuit M. J. ROUTH, S.T.P. Tomi II. Third Edition. 8vo. 10s.
- Socratis Scholastici Historia Ecclesiastica.** Gr. et Lat. Edidit R. HUSSEY, S.T.B. Tomi III. 1853. 8vo. 15s.
- Socrates' Ecclesiastical History, according to the Text of HUSSEY, with an Introduction by WILLIAM BRIGHT, D.D.** Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

- Sozomeni Historia Ecclesiastica.** Edidit R. HUSSEY, S.T.B.  
Tomi III. 1860. 8vo. 15s.
- Tertulliani Apologeticus adversus Gentes pro Christianis.**  
Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by T. HERBERT BINDLEY, M.A.  
Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Theodoreti Ecclesiasticae Historiae Libri V.** Recensuit  
T. GAISFORD, S.T.P. 1854. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- **Graecarum Affectionum Curatio.** Ad Codices mss. recensuit T. GAISFORD, S.T.P. 1839. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

### *C. ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, ETC.*

- Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica.** Edited, with English Notes,  
by G. H. MOBERLY, M.A. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Bigg.** The Christian Platonists of Alexandria; being the  
Bampton Lectures for 1886. By CHARLES BIGG, D.D. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Bingham's** Antiquities of the Christian Church, and other  
Works. 10 vols. 8vo. 3l. 3s.
- Bright.** Chapters of Early English Church History. By  
W. BRIGHT, D.D. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 12s.
- Burnet's** History of the Reformation of the Church of England.  
*A new Edition.* Carefully revised, and the Records collated with the  
originals, by N. POCOCK, M.A. 7 vols. 8vo. 1l. 10s.
- Cardwell's** Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of  
England; being a Collection of Injunctions, Declarations, Orders, Articles  
of Inquiry, &c. from 1546 to 1716. 2 vols. 8vo. 18s.
- Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents** relating to Great  
Britain and Ireland. Edited, after SPELMAN and WILKINS, by A. W.  
HADDAN, B.D., and W. STUBBS, D.D. Vols. I and III. Medium  
8vo. each 1l. 1s.
- Vol. II, Part I. Medium 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Vol. II, Part II. Church of Ireland; Memorials of St. Patrick.  
Stiff covers, 3s. 6d.
- Formularies of Faith** set forth by the King's authority during  
the Reign of Henry VIII. 8vo. 7s.
- Fuller's** Church History of Britain. Edited by J. S. BREWER,  
M.A. 6 vols. 8vo. 1l. 19s.
- Gibson's** Synodus Anglicana. Edited by E. CARDWELL, D.D.  
8vo. 6s.
- Hamilton's** (Archbishop John) Catechism, 1552. Edited, with  
Introduction and Glossary, by THOMAS GRAVES LAW, Librarian of the  
Signet Library, Edinburgh. With a Preface by the Right Hon. W. E.  
GLADSTONE. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d.

- Hussey.** Rise of the Papal Power, traced in three Lectures.  
By ROBERT HUSSEY, B.D. *Second Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- Inett's** Origines Anglicanae (in continuation of Stillingfleet).  
Edited by J. GRIFFITHS, M.A. 3 vols. 8vo. 15s.
- John, Bishop of Ephesus.** The Third Part of his Ecclesiastical History. [In Syriac.] Now first edited by WILLIAM CURETON, M.A. 4to. 1l. 12s.
- The same, translated by R. PAYNE SMITH, M.A. 8vo. 10s.
- Le Neve's** Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae. Corrected and continued from 1715 to 1853 by T. DUFFUS HARDY. 3 vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s.
- Noelli (A.)** Catechismus sive prima institutio disciplinae Pietatis Christianae Latine explicata. Editio nova cura GUIL. JACOBSON, A.M. 8vo. 5s. 6d.
- Prideaux's** Connection of Sacred and Profane History. 2 vols. 8vo. 10s.
- Primers** put forth in the Reign of Henry VIII. 8vo. 5s.
- Records of the Reformation.** The Divorce, 1527–1533. Mostly now for the first time printed from MSS. in the British Museum and other Libraries. Collected and arranged by N. POOCK, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 16s.
- Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum.** The Reformation of Ecclesiastical Laws, as attempted in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth. Edited by E. CARDWELL, D.D. 8vo. 6s. 6d.
- Shirley.** Some Account of the Church in the Apostolic Age. By W. W. SHIRLEY, D.D. *Second Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Shuckford's** Sacred and Profane History connected (in continuation of Prideaux). 2 vols. 8vo. 10s.
- Stillingfleet's** Origines Britannicae, with LLOYD's Historical Account of Church Government. Edited by T. P. PANTIN, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 10s.
- Stubbs.** Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum. An attempt to exhibit the course of Episcopal Succession in England. By W. STUBBS, D.D. Small 4to. 8s. 6d.
- Strype's** Memorials of Cranmer. 2 vols. 8vo. 11s.  
Life of Aylmer. 8vo. 5s. 6d.  
Life of Whitgift. 3 vols. 8vo. 16s. 6d.  
General Index. 2 vols. 8vo. 11s.
- Sylloge Confessionum** sub tempus Reformandae Ecclesiae editarum. Subjiciuntur Catechismus Heidelbergensis et Canones Synodi Dordrechtanae. 8vo. 8s.

**D. LITURGIOLOGY.**

**Cardwell's** Two Books of Common Prayer, set forth by authority in the Reign of King Edward VI, compared with each other. *Third Edition.* 8vo. 7s.

— History of Conferences on the Book of Common Prayer from 1551 to 1690. *Third Edition.* 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Hammond.** Liturgies, Eastern and Western. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and a Liturgical Glossary, by C. E. HAMMOND, M.A. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

An Appendix to the above, crown 8vo. paper covers, 1s. 6d.

**Leofric Missal**, The, as used in the Cathedral of Exeter during the Episcopate of its first Bishop, A.D. 1050–1072; together with some Account of the Red Book of Derby, the Missal of Robert of Jumièges, and a few other early MS. Service Books of the English Church. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by F. E. WARREN, B.D., F.S.A. 4to. half morocco, 1l. 15s.

**Maskell.** Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England, according to the uses of Sarum, York, Hereford, and Bangor, and the Roman Liturgy arranged in parallel columns, with preface and notes. By W. MASKELL, M.A. *Third Edition.* 8vo. 15s.

— Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae. The occasional Offices of the Church of England according to the old use of Salisbury, the Prymer in English, and other prayers and forms, with dissertations and notes. *Second Edition.* 3 vols. 8vo. 2l. 10s.

**Warren.** The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church. By F. E. WARREN, B.D. 8vo. 14s.

**E. ENGLISH THEOLOGY.**

**Beveridge's** Discourse upon the XXXIX Articles. 8vo. 8s.

**Biscoe's** Boyle Lectures on the Acts of the Apostles. 8vo. 9s. 6d.

**Bradley.** Lectures on the Book of Job. By GEORGE GRANVILLE BRADLEY, D.D., Dean of Westminster. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Bradley.** Lectures on Ecclesiastes. By G. G. BRADLEY, D.D., Dean of Westminster. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

**Bull's Works**, with NELSON's Life. Edited by E. BURTON, D.D. 8 vols. 8vo. 2l. 9s.

---

London: HENRY FROWDE, Amen Corner, E.C.

- 
- Burnet's Exposition of the xxxix Articles.** 8vo. 7s.
- Burton's (Edward) Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ.** 1829. 8vo. 7s.
- **Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Doctrine of the Trinity and of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost.** 1831. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Butler's Works.** 2 vols. 8vo. 11s.
- **Sermons.** 5s. 6d. **Analogy of Religion.** 5s. 6d.
- Chandler's Critical History of the Life of David.** 8vo. 8s. 6d.
- Chillingworth's Works.** 3 vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s. 6d.
- Clergyman's Instructor.** *Sixth Edition.* 8vo. 6s. 6d.
- Comber's Companion to the Temple; or a Help to Devotion in the use of the Common Prayer.** 7 vols. 8vo. 1l. 11s. 6d.
- Cranmer's Works.** Collected and arranged by H. JENKINS, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College. 4 vols. 8vo. 1l. 10s.
- Enchiridion Theologicum Anti-Romanum.**
- Vol. I. JEREMY TAYLOR'S Dissuasive from Popery, and Treatise on the Real Presence. 8vo. 8s.
- Vol. II. BARROW on the Supremacy of the Pope, with his Discourse on the Unity of the Church. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Vol. III. Tracts selected from WAKE, PATRICK, STILLINGFLEET, CLAGETT, and others. 8vo. 11s.
- [**Fell's**] **Paraphrase, etc. on the Epistles of St. Paul.** 8vo. 7s.
- Greswell's Harmonia Evangelica.** *Fifth Edition.* 8vo. 9s. 6d.
- **Prolegomena ad Harmoniam Evangelicam.** 8vo. 9s. 6d.
- **Dissertations on the Principles and Arrangement of a Harmony of the Gospels.** 5 vols. 8vo. 3l. 3s.
- Hall's Works.** Edited by P. WYNTER, D.D. 10 vols. 8vo. 3l. 3s.
- Hammond's Paraphrase on the Book of Psalms.** 2 vols. 8vo. 10s.
- **Paraphrase etc. on the New Testament.** 4 vols. 8vo. 1l.
- Heurtley.** **Harmonia Symbolica: Creeds of the Western Church.** By C. HEURTLEY, D.D. 8vo. 6s. 6d.
- Homilies appointed to be read in Churches.** Edited by J. GRIFFITHS, M.A. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
-

**HOOKE'S WORKS**, with his Life by WALTON, arranged by JOHN KEBLE, M.A. *Seventh Edition*. Revised by R. W. CHURCH, M.A., Dean of St. Paul's, and F. PAGET, D.D. 3 vols. medium 8vo. 1*l.* 16*s.*

— the Text as arranged by J. KEBLE, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 11*s.*

**Hooper's Works.** 2 vols. 8vo. 8*s.*

**Jackson's (Dr. Thomas) Works.** 12 vols. 8vo. 3*l.* 6*s.*

**Jewel's Works.** Edited by R. W. JELF, D.D. 8 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 10*s.*

**Martineau.** A Study of Religion : its Sources and Contents: By JAMES MARTINEAU, D.D. *Second Edition*. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 15*s.*

**Patrick's Theological Works.** 9 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 1*s.*

**Pearson's Exposition of the Creed.** Revised and corrected by E. BURTON, D.D. *Sixth Edition*. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

— Minor Theological Works. Edited with a Memoir, by EDWARD CHURTON, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 10*s.*

**Sanderson's Works.** Edited by W. JACOBSON, D.D. 6 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 10*s.*

**Stanhope's Paraphrase and Comment upon the Epistles and Gospels.** A new Edition. 2 vols. 8vo. 10*s.*

**Stillingfleet's Origines Sacrae.** 2 vols. 8vo. 9*s.*

— Rational Account of the Grounds of Protestant Religion ; being a vindication of ARCHBISHOP LAUD's Relation of a Conference, &c. 2 vols. 8vo. 10*s.*

**Wall's History of Infant Baptism.** A New Edition, by HENRY COTTON, D.C.L. 2 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 1*s.*

**Waterland's Works**, with Life, by Bp. VAN MILDERT. A new Edition, with copious Indexes. 6 vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 11*s.*

— Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist, with a Preface by the late Bishop of London. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*

**Wheatly's Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer.** 8vo. 5*s.*

**Wyclif.** A Catalogue of the Original Works of John Wyclif. By W. W. SHIRLEY, D.D. 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

— Select English Works. By T. ARNOLD, M.A. 3 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 1*s.*

— **Triologus.** With the Supplement now first edited. By GOTTHARD LECHLER. 8vo. 7*s.*



### III. POLITICAL SCIENCE.

#### A. HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, CHRONOLOGY, ETC.

**Baker's Chronicle.** Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke. Edited with Notes by EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON, Hon. LL.D. St. Andrews; Hon. D.C.L. Durham; F.S.A.; Principal Librarian of the British Museum. Small 4to., stiff covers, 18s., cloth, gilt top, 21s.

**Bluntschli.** The Theory of the State. By J. K. BLUNTSCHLI. Translated from the Sixth German Edition. 8vo. half bound, 12s. 6d.

**Boswell's Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.;** including BOSWELL'S Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, and JOHNSON'S Diary of a Journey into North Wales. Edited by G. BIRKBECK HILL, D.C.L. In six volumes, medium 8vo. With Portraits and Facsimiles. Half bound, 3l. 3s.

**Burnet's History of His Own Time,** with the suppressed Passages and Notes. 6 vols. 8vo. 2l. 10s.

— History of James II, with Additional Notes. 8vo. 9s. 6d.

— Life of Sir M. Hale, and Fell's Life of Dr. Hammond. Small 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers,** preserved in the Bodleian Library. In three volumes. 1869-76.

Vol. I. From 1523 to January 1649. 8vo. 18s.

Vol. II. From 1649 to 1654. 8vo. 16s.

Vol. III. From 1655 to 1657. 8vo 14s.

**Calendar of Charters and Rolls** preserved in the Bodleian Library. 8vo. 1l. 11s. 6d.

**Carte's Life of James Duke of Ormond.** A new Edition, carefully compared with the original MSS. 6 vols. 8vo. 1l. 5s.

**Casauboni Ephemerides, cum praeftatione et notis J. RUSSELL, S.T.P.** Tomi II. 8vo. 15s.

**CLARENDON'S History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England.** Re-edited from a fresh collation of the original MS. in the Bodleian Library, with marginal dates and occasional notes, by W. DUNN MACRAY, M.A., F.S.A. 6 vols. Crown 8vo. 2l. 5s.

— History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England. To which are subjoined the Notes of BISHOP WARBURTON. 1849. 7 vols. medium 8vo. 2l. 10s.

— History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England. Also his Life, written by himself, in which is included a Continuation of his History of the Grand Rebellion. Royal 8vo. 1l. 2s.

- Clarendon's Life**, including a Continuation of his History.  
2 vols. 1857. medium 8vo. 1*l.* 2*s.*
- Clinton's Fasti Hellenici.** The Civil and Literary Chronology of Greece, from the LVIth to the CXXIIIrd Olympiad. *Third Edition.*  
4to. 1*l.* 1*4s.* 6*d.*
- Clinton's Fasti Hellenici.** The Civil and Literary Chronology of Greece, from the CXXIVth Olympiad to the Death of Augustus. *Second Edition.* 4to. 1*l.* 12*s.*
- Epitome of the Fasti Hellenici. 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*
- Fasti Romani. The Civil and Literary Chronology of Rome and Constantinople, from the Death of Augustus to the Death of Heraclius. 2 vols. 4to. 2*l.* 2*s.*
- Epitome of the Fasti Romani. 8vo. 7*s.*
- Cramer's Geographical and Historical Description of Asia Minor.** 2 vols. 8vo. 11*s.*
- Description of Ancient Greece. 3 vols. 8vo. 16*s.* 6*d.*
- Earle.** Handbook to the Land-Charters, and other Saxonie Documents. By JOHN EARLE, M.A., Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford. Crown 8vo. 16*s.*
- Finlay.** A History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the present time, B.C. 146 to A.D. 1864. By GEORGE FINLAY, LL.D. A new Edition, revised throughout, and in part re-written, with considerable additions, by the Author, and edited by H. F. TOZER, M.A. 7 vols. 8vo. 3*l.* 10*s.*
- Fortescue.** The Governance of England: otherwise called The Difference between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy. By Sir JOHN FORTESCUE, Kt. A Revised Text. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, etc., by CHARLES PLUMMER, M.A. 8vo. half bound, 12*s.* 6*d.*
- Freeman.** History of the Norman Conquest of England; its Causes and Results. By E. A. FREEMAN, D.C.L. In Six Volumes. 8vo. 5*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*
- The Reign of William Rufus and the Accession of Henry the First. 2 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 16*s.*
- A Short History of the Norman Conquest of England. *Second Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*
- Gardiner.** The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution. 1628-1660. Selected and Edited by SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, M.A. Crown 8vo. 9*s.*
- Gascoigne's Theological Dictionary** ("Liber Veritatum"): Selected Passages, illustrating the Condition of Church and State, 1403-1458. With an Introduction by JAMES E. THOROLD ROGERS, M.A. Small 4to. 10*s.* 6*d.*

- George.** Genealogical Tables illustrative of Modern History. By H. B. GEORGE, M.A. *Third Edition.* Small 4to. 12s.
- Greenwell.** British Barrows, a Record of the Examination of Sepulchral Mounds in various parts of England. By W. GREENWELL, M.A., F.S.A. Together with Description of Figures of Skulls, General Remarks on Prehistoric Crania, and an Appendix by GEORGE ROLLESTON, M.D., F.R.S. Medium 8vo. 25s.
- Greswell's** Fasti Temporis Catholici. 4 vols. 8vo. 2l. 10s.  
 — Tables to Fasti, 4to., and Introduction to Tables, 8vo. 15s.  
 — Origines Kalendarie Italice. 4 vols. 8vo. 2l. 2s.  
 — Origines Kalendarie Hellenice. 6 vols. 8vo. 4l. 4s.
- Gross.** The Gild Merchant: a Contribution to English Municipal History. By CHARLES GROSS, Ph.D. 2 vols. 8vo. *Nearly ready.*
- Hodgkin.** Italy and her Invaders. With Plates and Maps. By THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L. Vols. I-IV, A.D. 376-553. 8vo. 3l. 8s.  
 — The Dynasty of Theodosius; or, Seventy Years' Struggle with the Barbarians. By the same Author. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Hume.** Letters of David Hume to William Strahan. Edited with Notes, Index, etc., by G. BIRKBECK HILL, D.C.L. 8vo. 12s. 6d.
- Jackson.** Dalmatia, the Quarnero, and Istria; with Cettigne in Montenegro and the Island of Grado. By T. G. JACKSON, M.A. 3 vols. With many Plates and Illustrations. 8vo. half-bound, 2l. 2s.
- Kitchin.** A History of France. With numerous Maps, Plans, and Tables. By G. W. KITCHIN, D.D. In three Volumes. *Second Edition.* Crown 8vo. each 10s. 6d.  
 Vol. I. to 1453. Vol. II. 1453-1624. Vol. III. 1624-1793.
- Knight's** Life of Dean Colet. 1823. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Lucas.** Introduction to a Historical Geography of the British Colonies. By C. P. LUCAS, B.A. With Eight Maps. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.  
 — Historical Geography of the Colonies. Vol. I. By the same Author. With Eleven Maps. Crown 8vo. 5s.
- Lloyd's** Prices of Corn in Oxford, 1583-1830. 8vo. 1s.
- Luttrell's** (Narcissus) Diary. A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs, 1678-1714. 6 vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s.
- Magna Carta**, a careful Reprint. Edited by W. STUBBS, D.D., Lord Bishop of Oxford. 4to. stitched, 1s.
- Metcalf.** Passio et Miracula Beati Olai. Edited from a Twelfth-Century MS. by F. METCALFE, M.A. Small 4to. 6s.

**OXFORD, University of.**

**Oxford University Calendar for the Year 1890.** Crown 8vo. 6s.

**The Historical Register of the University of Oxford.** Being a Supplement to the Oxford University Calendar, with an Alphabetical Record of University Honours and Distinctions, completed to the end of Trinity Term, 1888. Crown 8vo. 5s.

**Student's Handbook to the University and Colleges of Oxford. Tenth Edition.** Revised to December 1888. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**The Examination Statutes ; together with the present Regulations of the Boards of Studies and Boards of Faculties relating thereto.** Revised to the end of Trinity Term, 1889. 8vo., paper covers, 1s.

**Statuta Universitatis Oxoniensis.** 1889. 8vo. 5s.

**Statutes made for the University of Oxford, and the Colleges therein, by the University of Oxford Commissioners.** 8vo. 12s. 6d.  
*Also separately*—University Statutes 2s.; College Statutes 1s. each.

**Supplementary Statutes made by the University of Oxford, and by certain of the Colleges therein, in pursuance of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877; approved by the Queen in Council.** 8vo. Paper covers, 2s. 6d.

**Statutes of the University of Oxford, codified in the year 1636 under the Authority of ARCHBISHOP LAUD, Chancellor of the University.** Edited by the late JOHN GRIFFITHS, D.D. With an Introduction on the History of the Laudian Code by C. L. SHADWELL, M.A., B.C.L. 4to. 1l. 1s.

**Enactments in Parliament, specially concerning the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.** Collected and arranged by J. GRIFFITHS, D.D. 1869. 8vo. 12s.

**Catalogue of Oxford Graduates from 1659 to 1850.** 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Index to Wills proved in the Court of the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, &c.** Compiled by J. GRIFFITHS, D.D. Royal 8vo. 3s. 6d.

**Manuscript Materials relating to the History of Oxford ; contained in the Printed Catalogues of the Bodleian and College Libraries.** By F. MADAN, M.A. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Pattison.** Essays by the late MARK PATTISON, sometime Rector of Lincoln College. Collected and arranged by HENRY NETTLESHIP, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 24s.

**Ranke.** A History of England, principally in the Seventeenth Century. By L. VON RANKE. Translated under the superintendence of G. W. KITCHIN, D.D., and C. W. BOASE, M.A. 6 vols. 8vo. 3l. 3s.

---

London: HENRY FROWDE, Amen Corner, E.C.

- Rawlinson.** A Manual of Ancient History. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A. *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo. 14s.
- Ricardo.** Letters of David Ricardo to T. R. Malthus (1810-1823). Edited by JAMES BONAR, M.A. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Rogers.** History of Agriculture and Prices in England, A.D. 1259-1793. By JAMES E. THOROLD ROGERS, M.A.  
 Vols. I and II (1259-1400). 8vo. 2l. 2s.  
 Vols. III and IV (1401-1582). 8vo. 2l. 10s.  
 Vols. V and VI (1583-1702). 8vo. 2l. 10s.
- First Nine Years of the Bank of England. 8vo. 8s. 6d.
- Protests of the Lords, including those which have been expunged, from 1624 to 1874; with Historical Introductions. In three volumes. 8vo. 2l. 2s.
- Sprigg's** England's Recovery; being the History of the Army under Sir Thomas Fairfax. 8vo. 6s.
- Stubbs.** Select Charters and other Illustrations of English Constitutional History, from the Earliest Times to the Reign of Edward I. Arranged and edited by W. STUBBS, D.D., Lord Bishop of Oxford. *Fifth Edition.* Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d.
- The Constitutional History of England, in its Origin and Development. *Library Edition.* 3 vols. Demy 8vo. 2l. 8s.  
 Also in 3 vols. crown 8vo. price 12s. each.
- Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Medieval and Modern History, delivered at Oxford 1867-1884. Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d.
- Tozer.** The Islands of the Aegean. By H. FANSHAWE TOZER, M.A., F.R.G.S. Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d.
- Wellesley.** A Selection from the Despatches, Treaties, and other Papers of the MARQUESS WELLESLEY, K.G., during his Government of India. Edited by S. J. OWEN, M.A. 8vo. 1l. 4s.
- Wellington.** A Selection from the Despatches, Treaties, and other Papers relating to India of Field-Marshal the DUKE OF WELLINGTON, K.G. Edited by S. J. OWEN, M.A. 8vo. 1l. 4s.
- Whitelock's** Memorials of English Affairs from 1625 to 1660. 4 vols. 8vo. 1l. 10s.

### B. ENGLISH AND ROMAN LAW.

- Anson.** Principles of the English Law of Contract, and of Agency in its Relation to Contract. By SIR W. R. ANSON, D.C.L. *Fifth Edition.* 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Law and Custom of the Constitution. Part I. Parliament. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Bentham.** An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation. By JEREMY BENTHAM. Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.

- Digby.** An Introduction to the History of the Law of Real Property. By KENELM E. DIGBY, M.A. *Third Edition.* 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Grueber.** Lex Aquilia. The Roman Law of Damage to Property: being a Commentary on the Title of the Digest 'Ad Legem Aquiliam' (ix. 2). With an Introduction to the Study of the Corpus Iuris Civilis. By ERWIN GRUEBER, Dr. Jur., M.A. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Hall.** International Law. By W. E. HALL, M.A. *Third Edition.* 8vo. 22s. 6d.
- Holland.** Elements of Jurisprudence. By T. E. HOLLAND, D.C.L. *Fourth Edition.* 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- The European Concert in the Eastern Question, a Collection of Treaties and other Public Acts. Edited, with Introductions and Notes, by T. E. HOLLAND, D.C.L. 8vo. 12s. 6d.
- Alberici Gentilis, I.C.D., I.C., De Iure Belli Libri Tres. Edidit T. E. HOLLAND, I.C.D. Small 4to. half morocco, 21s.
- The Institutes of Justinian, edited as a recension of the Institutes of GAIUS, by T. E. HOLLAND, D.C.L. *Second Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- Holland and Shadwell.** Select Titles from the Digest of Justinian. By T. E. HOLLAND, D.C.L., and C. L. SHADWELL, B.C.L. 8vo. 14s.
- Also sold in Parts, in paper covers, as follows:—
- Part I. Introductory Titles. 2s. 6d.
- Part II. Family Law. 1s.
- Part III. Property Law. 2s. 6d.
- Part IV. Law of Obligations (No. 1). 3s. 6d.
- Part IV. Law of Obligations (No. 2). 4s. 6d.
- Markby.** Elements of Law considered with reference to Principles of General Jurisprudence. By Sir WILLIAM MARKBY, D.C.L. *Fourth Edition.* 8vo. 12s. 6d.
- Moyle.** Imperatoris Iustiniani Institutionum Libri Quattuor; with Introductions, Commentary, Excursus and Translation. By J. B. MOYLE, D.C.L. *Second Edition.* 2 vols. 8vo. 22s.
- Pollock and Wright.** An Essay on Possession in the Common Law. By Sir F. POLLOCK, M.A., and R. S. WRIGHT, B.C.L. 8vo. 8s. 6d.
- Poste.** Gaii Institutionum Juris Civilis Commentarii Quattuor; or, Elements of Roman Law by Gaius. With a Translation and Commentary by EDWARD POSTE, M.A. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 18s.
- Raleigh.** The English Law of Property. By THOS. RALEIGH, M.A. *Just ready.*

**Stokes.** The Anglo-Indian Codes. By WHITLEY STOKES, LL.D. Vol. I. Substantive Law. 8vo. 30s. Vol. II. Adjective Law. 8vo. 35s.

— Supplement to the above, 1887, 1888. 2s. 6d.

**Twiss.** The Law of Nations considered as Independent Political Communities. By SIR TRAVERS TWISS, D.C.L.

Part I. On the rights and Duties of Nations in time of Peace. New Edition, Revised and Enlarged. 8vo. 15s.

Part II. On the Rights and Duties of Nations in time of War. Second Edition, Revised. 8vo. 21s.

### C. POLITICAL ECONOMY, ETC.

**Rogers.** A Manual of Political Economy, for the use of Schools. By J. E. THOROLD ROGERS, M.A. *Third Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

**Smith's** Wealth of Nations. A new Edition, with Notes, by J. E. THOROLD ROGERS, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 21s.

## IV. PHILOSOPHY, LOGIC, &c.

**Bacon.** Novum Organum. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, &c., by T. FOWLER, D.D. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 15s.

— Novum Organum. Edited, with English Notes, by G. W. KITCHIN, D.D. 8vo. 9s. 6d.

— Novum Organum. Translated by G. W. KITCHIN, D.D. 8vo. 9s. 6d.

**Berkeley.** The works of GEORGE BERKELEY, D.D., formerly Bishop of Cloyne; including many of his writings hitherto unpublished. With Prefaces, Annotations, and an Account of his Life and Philosophy, by ALEXANDER CAMPBELL FRASER, LL.D. 4 vols. 8vo. 2l. 18s.

*The Life, Letters, &c., separately, 16s.*

— Selections. With Introduction and Notes. For the use of Students in the Universities. By ALEXANDER CAMPBELL FRASER, LL.D. *Third Edition.* Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Bosanquet.** Logic; or, the Morphology of Knowledge. By B. BOSANQUET, M.A. 8vo. 21s.

**Butler's** Works, with Index to the Analogy. 2 vols. 8vo. 11s.

**Fowler.** The Elements of Deductive Logic, designed mainly for the use of Junior Students in the Universities. By T. FOWLER, D.D. *Ninth Edition,* with a Collection of Examples. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

- Fowler.** *The Elements of Inductive Logic*, designed mainly for the use of Students in the Universities. *Fourth Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 6s.
- *The Principles of Morals* (Introductory Chapters). By T. FOWLER, D.D., and J. M. WILSON, B.D. 8vo. boards, 3s. 6d.
- *The Principles of Morals. Part II.* By T. FOWLER, D.D. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Green.** *Prolegomena to Ethics.* By T. H. GREEN, M.A. Edited by A. C. BRADLEY, M.A. 8vo. 12s. 6d.
- Hegel.** *The Logic of Hegel*; translated from the *Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences.* With *Prolegomena* by WILLIAM WALLACE, M.A. 8vo. 14s.
- Hume's** *Treatise of Human Nature.* Reprinted from the Original Edition in Three Volumes, and Edited by L. A. Selby-Bigge, M.A. Crown 8vo. 9s.
- Locke's** *Conduct of the Understanding.* Edited by T. FOWLER, D.D. *Second Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s.
- Lotze's** *Logic, in Three Books; of Thought, of Investigation, and of Knowledge.* English Translation; Edited by B. BOSANQUET, M.A. *Second Edition.* 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 12s.
- *Metaphysic, in Three Books; Ontology, Cosmology, and Psychology.* English Translation; Edited by B. BOSANQUET, M.A. *Second Edition.* 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 12s.
- Martineau.** *Types of Ethical Theory.* By JAMES MARTINEAU, D.D. *Second Edition.* 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 15s.
- *A Study of Religion: its Sources and Contents.* *A New Edition.* 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 15s.

## V. PHYSICAL SCIENCE AND MATHEMATICS.

- Acland.** *Synopsis of the Pathological Series in the Oxford Museum.* By Sir H. W. ACLAND, M.D., F.R.S. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Aldis.** *A Text-Book of Algebra: with Answers to the Examples.* By W. S. ALDIS, M.A. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Aplin.** *The Birds of Oxfordshire.* By O. V. APLIN. 8vo. with a Map and one coloured Plate. 10s. 6d.
- Archimedis** quae supersunt omnia cum Eutocii commentariis ex recensione J. TORELLI, cum novâ versione Latinâ. 1792. Fol. 1l. 5s.
- Baynes.** *Lessons on Thermodynamics.* By R. E. BAYNES, M.A. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

London: HENRY FROWDE, Amen Corner, E.C.



**BIOLOGICAL SERIES.** (Translations of Foreign Memoirs).

- I. *Memoirs on the Physiology of Nerve, of Muscle, and of the Electrical Organ.* Edited by J. BURDON-SANDERSON, M.D., F.R.S.S.L. & E. Medium 8vo. 1l. 1s.
- II. *The Anatomy of the Frog.* By Dr. ALEXANDER ECKER, Professor in the University of Freiburg. Translated, with numerous Annotations and Additions, by GEORGE HASLAM, M.D. Medium 8vo. 21s.
- IV. *Essays upon Heredity and kindred Biological Problems.* By Dr. AUGUST WEISMANN, Professor in the University of Freiburg in Breisgau. Authorised Translation. Edited by EDWARD B. POULTON, M.A., F.L.S., F.G.S., SELMAR SCHÖNLAND, Ph.D., and ARTHUR E. SHIPLEY, M.A., F.L.S. Medium 8vo. 16s.

**BOTANICAL SERIES.**

- History of Botany (1530-1860).* By JULIUS VON SACHS. Authorised Translation, by H. E. F. GARNSEY, M.A. Revised by ISAAC BAYLEY BALFOUR, M.A., M.D., F.R.S. Crown 8vo. 10s.
- Comparative Anatomy of the Vegetative Organs of the Phanerogams and Ferns.* By Dr. A. DE BARY. Translated and Annotated by F. O. BOWER, M.A., F.L.S., and D. H. SCOTT, M.A., Ph.D., F.L.S. Royal 8vo., half morocco, 1l. 2s. 6d.
- Outlines of Classification and Special Morphology of Plants.* A new Edition of SACHS' Text-Book of Botany, Book II. By Dr. K. GOEBEL. Translated by H. E. F. GARNSEY, M.A., and Revised by ISAAC BAYLEY BALFOUR, M.A., M.D., F.R.S. Royal 8vo., half morocco, 1l. 1s.
- Lectures on the Physiology of Plants.* By JULIUS VON SACHS. Translated by H. MARSHALL WARD, M.A., F.L.S. Royal 8vo. half morocco, 1l. 11s. 6d.
- Comparative Morphology and Biology of Fungi, Mycetozoa and Bacteria.* By Dr. A. DE BARY. Translated by H. E. F. GARNSEY, M.A., Revised by ISAAC BAYLEY BALFOUR, M.A., M.D., F.R.S. Royal 8vo., half morocco, 1l. 2s. 6d.
- Lectures on Bacteria.* By Dr. A. DE BARY. *Second Improved Edition.* Translated by H. E. F. GARNSEY, M.A. Revised by ISAAC BAYLEY BALFOUR, M.A., M.D., F.R.S. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Introduction to Fossil Botany.* By Count H. VON SOLMS-LAUBACH. Authorised English Translation, by H. E. F. GARNSEY, M.A. Edited by ISAAC BAYLEY BALFOUR, M.A., M.D., F.R.S. *In the Press.*
- Annals of Botany.* Edited by ISAAC BAYLEY BALFOUR, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., SYDNEY H. VINES, D.Sc., F.R.S., and W. G. FARLOW, M.D. Vol. I. Royal 8vo., half morocco, gilt top, 1l. 16s.
- Bradley's Miscellaneous Works and Correspondence.* With an Account of Harriot's Astronomical Papers. 4to. 17s.

- Chambers.** *A Handbook of Descriptive Astronomy.* By G. F. CHAMBERS, F.R.A.S. *Fourth Edition.*  
 Vol. I. The Sun, Planets, and Comets. 8vo. 21s.  
 Vol. II. Instruments and Practical Astronomy. *Immediately.*
- Clarke.** *Geodesy.* By Col. A. R. CLARKE, C.B., R.E. 8vo. 12s. 6d.
- Cremona.** *Elements of Projective Geometry.* By LUIGI CREMONA. Translated by C. LEUDESDOFF, M.A. 8vo. 12s. 6d.
- *Graphical Statics. Two Treatises on the Graphical Calculus and Reciprocal Figures in Graphical Statics.* By the same Author. Translated by T. HUDSON BEARE. Demy 8vo. 8s. 6d.
- Daubeny's** *Introduction to the Atomic Theory.* 16mo. 6s.
- Donkin.** *Acoustics.* By W. F. DONKIN, M.A., F.R.S. *Second Edition.* Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Etheridge.** *Fossils of the British Islands, Stratigraphically and Zoologically arranged. Part I. PALAEOZOIC.* By R. ETHERIDGE, F.R.S.S. L. & E., F.G.S. 4to. 1l. 10s.
- EUCLID REVISED.** Containing the Essentials of the Elements of Plane Geometry as given by Euclid in his first Six Books. Edited by R. C. J. NIXON, M.A. *Second Edition.* Crown 8vo. 6s.  
 Sold separately as follows:—  
 Book I. 1s. Books I, II. 1s. 6d.  
 Books I–IV. 3s. Books V, VI. 3s.
- Euclid.** *Geometry in Space.* Containing parts of Euclid's Eleventh and Twelfth Books. By the same Editor. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Fisher.** *Class-Book of Chemistry.* By W. W. FISHER, M.A., F.C.S. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- Galton.** *The Construction of Healthy Dwellings.* By Sir DOUGLAS GALTON, K.C.B., F.R.S. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Hamilton and Ball.** *Book-keeping.* New and enlarged Edition. By Sir R. G. C. HAMILTON, and JOHN BALL. Extra fcap. 8vo. limp cloth, 2s.  
*Ruled Exercise books adapted to the above may be had, price 1s. 6d.*
- Harcourt and Madan.** *Exercises in Practical Chemistry.*  
 Vol. I. *Elementary Exercises.* By A. G. VERNON HARCOURT, M.A., and H. G. MADAN, M.A. *Fourth Edition.* Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.  
**Madan.** *Tables of Qualitative Analysis.* By H. G. MADAN, M.A. Large 4to., paper covers, 4s. 6d.
- Hensley.** *Figures made Easy. A first Arithmetic Book.* By LEWIS HENSLEY, M.A. Crown 8vo. 6d.
- *Answers to the Examples in Figures made Easy, together with two thousand additional Examples, with Answers.* Crown 8vo. 1s.

- Hensley.** *The Scholar's Arithmetic.* Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.  
 ——— *Answers to Examples in Scholar's Arithmetic.* 1s. 6d.  
 ——— *The Scholar's Algebra.* Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Hughes.** *Geography for Schools.* By ALFRED HUGHES, M.A., late Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Part I. Practical Geography. With Diagrams. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Maclaren.** *A System of Physical Education: Theoretical and Practical.* By ARCHIBALD MACLAREN. Extra fcap. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Maxwell.** *A Treatise on Electricity and Magnetism.* By J. CLERK MAXWELL, M.A. *Second Edition.* 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 11s. 6d.  
 ——— *An Elementary Treatise on Electricity.* Edited by WILLIAM GARNETT, M.A. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Minchin.** *A Treatise on Statics with Applications to Physics.* By G. M. MINCHIN, M.A. *Third Edition.* Vol. I. Equilibrium of Coplanar Forces. 8vo. 9s. Vol. II. Statics. 8vo. 16s.  
 ——— *Uniplanar Kinematics of Solids and Fluids.* Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Müller.** *On certain Variations in the Vocal Organs of the Passeres.* By J. MÜLLER. Translated by F. J. BELL, B.A., and edited by A. H. GARROD, M.A., F.R.S. With Plates. 4to. 7s. 6d.
- Nixon.** See EUCLID REVISED.
- Phillips.** *Geology of Oxford and the Valley of the Thames.* By JOHN PHILLIPS, M.A., F.R.S. 8vo. 21s.  
 ——— *Vesuvius.* Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Prestwich.** *Geology, Chemical, Physical, and Stratigraphical.* By JOSEPH PRESTWICH, M.A., F.R.S. In two Volumes.  
 Vol. I. Chemical and Physical. Royal 8vo. 1l. 5s.  
 Vol. II. Stratigraphical and Physical. With a new Geological Map of Europe. Royal 8vo. 1l. 16s.  
 New Geological Map of Europe. In case or on roller. 5s.
- Price.** *Treatise on Infinitesimal Calculus.* By BARTHOLOMEW PRICE, M.A., F.R.S.  
 Vol. I. Differential Calculus. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 14s. 6d.  
 Vol. II. Integral Calculus, Calculus of Variations, and Differential Equations. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 18s.  
 Vol. III. Statics, including Attractions; Dynamics of a Material Particle. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 16s.  
 Vol. IV. Dynamics of Material Systems. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 18s.
- Pritchard.** *Uranometria Nova Oxoniensis.* A Photometric determination of the magnitudes of all Stars visible to the naked eye, from the Pole to ten degrees south of the Equator. By C. PRITCHARD, D.D., F.R.S. Royal 8vo. 8s. 6d.  
 ——— *Astronomical Observations made at the University Observatory, Oxford, under the direction of C. PRITCHARD, D.D.* No. 1. Royal 8vo. paper covers, 3s. 6d.

- Rigaud's** Correspondence of Scientific Men of the 17th Century, with Table of Contents by A. de MORGAN, and Index by J. RIGAUD, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 18s. 6d.
- Rolleston and Jackson.** Forms of Animal Life. A Manual of Comparative Anatomy, with descriptions of selected types. By GEORGE ROLLESTON, M.D., F.R.S. *Second Edition.* Revised and enlarged by W. HATCHETT JACKSON, M.A. Medium 8vo. 1l. 16s.
- Rolleston.** Scientific Papers and Addresses. By GEORGE ROLLESTON, M.D., F.R.S. Arranged and edited by WILLIAM TURNER, M.B., F.R.S. With a Biographical Sketch by EDWARD TYLOR, F.R.S. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s.
- Smyth.** A Cycle of Celestial Objects. Observed, Reduced, and Discussed by Admiral W. H. SMYTH, R.N. Revised, condensed, and greatly enlarged by G. F. CHAMBERS, F.R.A.S. 8vo. 12s.
- Stewart.** An Elementary Treatise on Heat, with numerous Woodcuts and Diagrams. By BALFOUR STEWART, LL.D., F.R.S. *Fifth Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Vernon-Harcourt.** Treatise on Rivers and Canals, relating to Control and Improvement of Rivers, and Design, Construction, and Development of Canals. By L. F. VERNON-HARCOURT, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s.
- Harbours and Docks; their Physical Features, History, Construction, Equipment, and Maintenance; with Statistics as to their Commercial Development. 2 vols. 8vo. 25s.
- Walker.** The Theory of a Physical Balance. By JAMES WALKER, M.A. 8vo. stiff cover, 3s. 6d.
- Watson and Burbury.**
- I. A Treatise on the Application of Generalised Coordinates to the Kinetics of a Material System. By H. W. WATSON, D.Sc., and S. H. BURBURY, M.A. 8vo. 6s.
  - II. The Mathematical Theory of Electricity and Magnetism. Vol. I. Electrostatics. 8vo. 10s. 6d.  
Vol. II. Magnetism and Electrodynamics. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Williamson.** Chemistry for Students. With Solutions. By A. W. WILLIAMSON, Phil. Doc., F.R.S. Extra fcap. 8vo. 8s. 6d.
- Westwood.** Thesaurus Entomologicus Hopeianus, or a Description of the rarest Insects in the Collection given to the University by the Rev. William Hope. By J. O. WESTWOOD, M.A., F.R.S. With 40 Plates. Small folio, half morocco, 7l. 10s.

## VI. ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

- Butler.** Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt. By A. J. BUTLER, M.A., F.S.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 30s.
- Head.** Historia Numorum. A Manual of Greek Numismatics. By BARCLAY V. HEAD, Assistant-Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum. Royal 8vo. Half morocco, 42s.

London: HENRY FROWDE, Amen Corner, E.C.

**Jackson.** Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria; with Cettigne in Montenegro and the Island of Grado. By T. G. JACKSON, M.A., Author of 'Modern Gothic Architecture.' In 3 vols. 8vo. With many Plates and Illustrations. Half bound, 42s.

### MUSIC.

**Hullah.** Cultivation of the Speaking Voice. By JOHN HULLAH. *Second Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**Onseley.** Treatise on Harmony. By Sir F. A. GORE OUSELEY, Bart. *Third Edition.* 4to. 10s.

— Treatise on Counterpoint, Canon, and Fugue, based upon that of Cherubini. *Second Edition.* 4to. 16s.

— Treatise on Musical Form and General Composition. *Second Edition.* 4to. 10s.

**Troutbeck and Dale.** Music Primer (for Schools). By J. TROUTBECK, D.D., and F. DALE, M.A. *Second Edition.* Crown 8vo. 1s. 6d.

**Robinson.** A Critical Account of the Drawings by Michel Angelo and Raffaello in the University Galleries, Oxford. By J. C. ROBINSON, F.S.A. Crown 8vo. 4s.

**Tyrwhitt.** Handbook of Pictorial Art. With coloured Illustrations, Photographs, and a chapter on Perspective by A. Macdonald. By R. St. J. TYRWHITT, M.A. *Second Edition.* 8vo. half morocco, 18s.

**Upcott.** Introduction to Greek Sculpture. By L. E. UPCOTT, M.A. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

**Vaux.** Catalogue of the Castellani Collection of Antiquities in the University Galleries, Oxford. By W. S. W. VAUX, M.A. Crown 8vo. 1s.

## VII. PALAEOGRAPHY.

**Gardthausen.** Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Sinaiticorum. Scriptis V. GARDTHAUSEN Lipsiensis. With six pages of Facsimiles. 8vo. linen, 25s.

**Fragmenta Herculaneisia.** A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oxford copies of the Herculanean Rolls, together with the texts of several papyri, accompanied by facsimiles. Edited by WALTER SCOTT, M.A., Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. Royal 8vo. 21s.

**Herculaneusium Voluminum Partes II.** 1824. 8vo. 10s.

—  
figure  
M.A.,  
M.A.

By

ORE

used

ed.

J.  
re.

ed  
C.

ed  
e.  
H







~~JAN 31 1988~~

~~JAN 31 1989~~

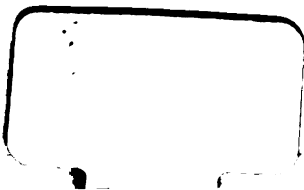
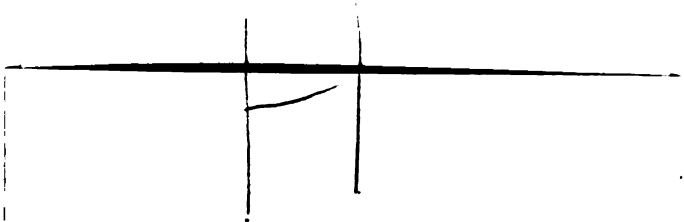
~~SEP 30 1992~~

~~JUN 01 1993~~

~~SEP 10 1996~~

NOV 20 1998

3 2044 037 730 603







This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>







**THE**  
**SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST**



**London**

**HENRY FROWDE**

**OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE  
AMEN CORNER, E.C.**



**New York**

**MACMILLAN & CO., 66 FIFTH AVENUE**

THE  
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

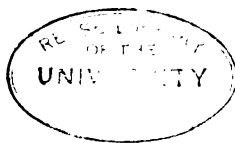
TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XXXVIII



©xford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1896

[ *All rights reserved* ]

**Oxford**

**PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS**

**BY HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY**

BOOKS OF THE EAST  
UNIVERSITY

Digitized by Google

# TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS.

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis . . . . .	0	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis . . . . .	ə	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis . . . . .	ɔ	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis . . . . .	a	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5 " longa . . . . .	ā	(a)	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6 Palatalis brevis . . . . .	i	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7 " longa . . . . .	ī	(i)	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis . . . . .	h	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa . . . . .	h	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis . . . . .	rī	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa . . . . .	rī	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis . . . . .	u	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa . . . . .	ū	(u)	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis . . . . .	e	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa . . . . .	é (ai)	(e)	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " "	ei (ēi)	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " "	oi (ōu)	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis . . . . .	o	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa . . . . .	ō (au)	(o)	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
22 " "	eu (ēu)	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 " "	ou (ōu)	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta . . . . .	ä	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta . . . . .	ī	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Labialis fracta . . . . .	ū	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta . . . . .	ō	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

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.
				III Class.								
	I Class.	II Class.										
<b>Gutturales.</b>												
1 Tenuis . . . . .	k					क	𐬕	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎	k
2 " aspirata . . . . .	kh					ख	𐬖	𐬏	𐬏	𐬏	𐬏	kh
3 Media . . . . .	g					ग	𐬗	𐬐	𐬐	𐬐	𐬐	
4 " aspirata . . . . .	gh					घ	𐬙	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	
5 Gutturo-labialis . . . . .	q											
6 Nasalis . . . . .	h (ng)					ङ	{ 𐬚 (ng) }					
7 Spiritus asper . . . . .	h					ह	𐬛 (h)					h, hs
8 " lenis . . . . .	'											
9 " asper faucalis . . . . .	h											
10 " lenis faucalis . . . . .	h											
11 " asper fricatus . . . . .		'h										
12 " lenis fricatus . . . . .		'h										
<b>Gutturales modificatae</b> (palatales, &c.)												
13 Tenuis . . . . .		k				𐬜	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	k
14 " aspirata . . . . .		kh				𐬝	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	kh
15 Media . . . . .		g				𐬞	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	
16 " aspirata . . . . .		gh				𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	
17 " Nasalis . . . . .		h				𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	

# TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis . . . . .	y	...	...	य	𐬶 𐬶 𐬶 init.	𐬵	𐬵	ي	י	י
19 Spiritus asper . . . . .	...	(y)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " lenis . . . . .	...	(y)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 " asper assibilatus . . . . .	...	s	...	श	𐬶	𐬶	𐬶	س	ש	ש
22 " lenis assibilatus . . . . .	...	z	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Dentales.</b>										
23 Tenuis . . . . .	t	...	...	त	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	ت	ת	ת
24 " aspirata . . . . .	th	...	...	थ	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	ת	ת	ת
25 " assibilata . . . . .	...	...	TH	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Media . . . . .	d	...	...	द	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	ד	ד	ד
27 " aspirata . . . . .	dh	...	...	ध	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	ד	ד	ד
28 " assibilata . . . . .	...	...	DH	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
29 Nasalis . . . . .	n	...	...	न	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	נ	נ	נ
30 Semivocalis . . . . .	l	...	...	ल	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	ל	ל	ל
31 " mollis 1 . . . . .	...	l	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
32 " mollis 2 . . . . .	...	...	L	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
33 Spiritus asper 1 . . . . .	s	...	...	स	𐬵	𐬵	𐬵	س	ס	ס
34 " asper 2 . . . . .	...	...	s (S)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
35 " lenis . . . . .	z	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
36 " asperimus 1 . . . . .	...	...	z (z)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
37 " asperimus 2 . . . . .	...	...	z (z)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

THE  
VEDÂNTA-SÛTRAS

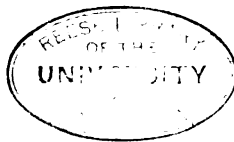
WITH THE COMMENTARY BY

SANĀKARÂKÂRYA

TRANSLATED BY

GEORGE THIBAUT

PART II



**Oxford**

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1896

[*All rights reserved*]



RESE

685  
M 946  
v.38

## CONTENTS.

### VEDĀNTA-SŪTRAS WITH THE COMMENTARY BY SAṆKARĀKĀRYA.

#### ADHYĀYA II.

	PAGE
Pāda III . . . . .	3
Pāda IV . . . . .	74

#### ADHYĀYA III.

Pāda I . . . . .	101
Pāda II . . . . .	133
Pāda III . . . . .	184
Pāda IV . . . . .	285

#### ADHYĀYA IV.

Pāda I . . . . .	331
Pāda II . . . . .	364
Pāda III . . . . .	382
Pāda IV . . . . .	405

#### INDEXES BY DR. M. WINTERNITZ:—

Index of Quotations to Volumes XXXIV (i) and XXXVIII (ii) . . . . .	421
Index of Sanskrit Words to Volumes XXXIV (i) and XXXVIII (ii) . . . . .	431
General Index to Volumes XXXIV (i) and XXXVIII (ii)	441
Corrigenda . . . . .	503

---

Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the Trans- lations of the Sacred Books of the East . . . . .	505
---	-----



# VEDÂNTA-SÛTRAS

WITH

SAÑKARA BHÂSHYA.



## SECOND ADHYĀYA.

### THIRD PĀDA.

#### REVERENCE TO THE HIGHEST SELF !

1. Ether <sup>1</sup> (does) not (originate), on account of the absence of scriptural statement.

In the Vedānta-texts we meet in different places with different statements concerning the origination of various things. Some of those passages declare that ether originated; some do not. Some record the origination of air; others do not. Other passages again make analogous statements concerning the individual soul and the vital airs.—Similarly we observe that other scriptural texts contradict one another concerning order of succession and the like.—Now, as we ourselves have inferred the worthlessness of other philosophical doctrines from their mutual contradictions, a suspicion might arise that our doctrine is equally worthless, owing to its intrinsic contradictions. Hence a new discussion is begun in order to clear from all doubt the sense of all those Vedānta-texts which refer to creation, and thus to remove the suspicion alluded to.

Here we have to consider in the first place the question

---

<sup>1</sup> Here, as generally in the preceding parts of this translation, *ākāśa* is rendered by 'ether.' There is no doubt that occasionally the appropriate—and in some cases the only possible—rendering is not 'ether' but 'space;' but the former rendering, after all, best agrees with the general Vedāntic view of *ākāśa*. The Vedāntins do not clearly distinguish between empty space and an exceedingly fine matter filling all space, and thus it happens that in many cases where we speak of the former they speak of *ākāśa*, i.e. the all-pervading substratum of sound; which howsoever attenuated is yet one of the material elements, and as such belongs to the same category as air, fire, water, and earth.

whether ether has an origin or not.—The *pūrvapakshin* maintains that ether does not originate, since there is no scriptural statement to that effect. For in the chapter which treats of the origin (of the world) ether is not mentioned at all. In the passage ‘In the beginning there was that only which is, one only, without a second’ the *Kṛāṇḍogya* at first introduces Brahman as the general subject-matter, by means of the clause ‘that which is,’ and thereupon (in the passages ‘It thought,’ ‘It sent forth fire,’ &c.) records the origin of three elements, viz. fire, water, and earth; giving the first place to fire which (ordinarily) occupies the middle place among the five elements<sup>1</sup>. Now, as scriptural statement is our (only) authority in the origination of the knowledge of supersensuous things, and as there is no scriptural statement declaring the origin of ether, ether must be considered to have no origin.

2. But there is (a scriptural statement of the origination of ether).

The conjunction ‘but’ indicates the adoption of another alternative.—The origin of ether may not be stated in the *Kṛāṇḍogya*; but it is stated in other scriptural passages. For the text of the *Taittirīyikas*, after having introduced Brahman as the general subject-matter,—in the words, ‘The true, knowledge, without end is Brahman,’—goes on to say, ‘From that Self sprang ether’ (*Taitt. Up. II, 1*).—Hence there arises a conflict of scriptural passages, the creation sometimes being said to begin with fire, sometimes with ether.—But may we not appropriately assume the two scriptural passages to form one syntactical whole?—It would be well indeed if we could do so, but a unity of the kind desired cannot be admitted, because the creator who is mentioned only once—in the passage ‘he sent forth fire’—cannot be connected with two things to be created, as if the construction were ‘He sent forth fire, he sent forth ether.’—But—an objection may be raised—we see that sometimes an agent, although mentioned once only, is yet

<sup>1</sup> The usual order being ether, air, fire, water, earth.

connected with two objects ; as when we say 'after having cooked broth he now cooks rice.' We therefore may combine the two scriptural sentences into one, 'Brahman having created ether created fire.'—Such a combination of sentences, we reply, is not admissible here, because the *Khândogya* intimates that fire was created first, while the *Taittirīyaka* assigns the same position to ether, and because it is impossible that both should have been created first.—The same remarks apply to a further contradiction involved in the other scriptural passage, 'From that Self sprang ether,' &c. ; for there also the material cause and the fact of origination, being mentioned only once, cannot be connected with fire as well as ether, so as to effect a sentence of the following kind, 'from that there sprang ether, from that there sprang fire.' Moreover the *Taittirīyaka* states separately that 'fire (sprang) from air<sup>1</sup>.'—With regard to this conflict of statements somebody now maintains the following view.

3. (The Vedic statement concerning the origination of ether) has a secondary sense, on account of the impossibility (of the origination of ether).

The ether does not originate on account of the absence of scriptural statement.—That other passage which (apparently) declares the origination of the ether must be taken as having a secondary (figurative) meaning.—Why?—On account of the impossibility. The origination of ether cannot be shown to be possible as long as there exist followers of the opinion of the reverend *Kaṇabhūg* (*Kaṇāda*). For the latter deny the origination of ether on the ground that it is impossible to demonstrate the existence of the required apparatus of causes. Whatever is originated, they say, is originated from inherent causes, non-inherent causes, and operative causes. Of a substance the inherent causes are substances belonging to the same class and more than one in number. But for ether there are no such originating substances, belonging to the same

---

<sup>1</sup> While the *Khând.* says that fire sprang from the Self.



class and more than one in number, from which, as its inherent cause, it could originate, and consequently there also exists no non-inherent cause of ether; for the latter would have to be looked for in the conjunction of the primary substances. And as thus there exist no inherent cause and no non-inherent cause, there is absolutely no room for an operative cause; for the only function of the latter is to assist the two other causes. Those elements moreover which have an origin, as fire and the like, we may conceive to exist in different conditions at an earlier and a later time; we may conceive e.g. that fire, previously to its origination, did not give light or produce any other effects, while it does do so subsequently to its origination. Of the ether, on the other hand, no such difference between an earlier and a later period can be conceived; for, we ask, would it be possible to maintain that before its alleged origination there were no large, minute, and atomic spaces?—That ether is without an origin further follows from its characteristic qualities, such as all-pervadingness and so on, which altogether distinguish it from earth and the other elements.—Hence, as the word ‘ether’ (ākāśa) is used in a secondary sense in such phrases as ‘make room’ (ākāśa), ‘there is room,’ and as space although one only is designated as being of different kinds when we speak of the space of a jar, the space of a house, &c.—a form of expression met with even in Vedic passages such as ‘he is to place the wild animals in the spaces’ (ākāśeshu)—we conclude that those Vedic passages also which speak of its origination must be supposed to have a secondary meaning.

#### 4. And on account of the word (of the Veda).

The word of the Veda also proclaims the non-originatedness of ether; for it declares that ‘air and ether (antariksha) are immortal’ (*Bṛi. Up. II, 3, 3*), and what is immortal cannot have an origin. Another scriptural passage (‘omnipresent and eternal like ether’), by comparing two attributes of Brahman, viz. omnipresence and eternity with the other, intimates that those qualities belong to the ether

also ; in which case no beginning can be attributed to it. Other passages to be quoted in this connexion are, 'As this ether is infinite, so the Self is to be known as infinite ;' and 'Brahman has the ether for its body, the ether is the Self.' For if the ether had a beginning, it could not be predicated of Brahman (as is done in the last passage), as we predicate blueness of a lotus ('the lotus is blue'). Hence we understand that the eternal Brahman is of the same nature as ether.

5. The one (word 'sprang') may be (taken in its secondary as well as in its primary sense), like the word 'Brahman.'

This Sûtra contains the reply to a doubt.—If we admit the opinion maintained hitherto, how can one and the same word 'sprang' ('from that Self sprang the ether') be used, in the same chapter, in its primary (real) meaning with regard to fire and so on, and in a secondary meaning with regard to ether?—The answer to this objection is that the one word 'sprang' may, according to the nature of the things to which it refers, be used in its primary as well as its secondary sense, just as the word 'Brahman' is used. For the one word 'Brahman' is, in the passage Taitt. Up. III, 2-6 ('Try to know Brahman by penance, for penance is Brahman'), used in a secondary sense with regard to food, &c., and in its primary sense with regard to bliss ; and the same word Brahman is, in the way of figurative identification (bhakti), applied to penance, which is merely the means of knowing Brahman, and again directly to Brahman as the object of knowledge.—But how—to raise another question—can we, on the supposition of ether having no beginning, uphold the validity of the statement made in the clause 'one only, without a second?' For if ether is a second entity (co-existing with Brahman from eternity), it follows that Brahman has a second. And if so, how can it be said that when Brahman is known everything is known? (*Kh. Up. VI, 1*).—The word 'one,' the pûrva-pakshin replies, may be used with reference to (the absence of) effects. As in ordinary life a person, who on a certain

day sees in a potter's house a lump of clay, a staff, a wheel and so on, and on the following day a number of finished vessels, might say, 'Yesterday there was only clay,' meaning thereby only that on the preceding day there were no things made of clay, not that there were no staff, wheel and the like ; so the passage under discussion also is to be understood.—The term 'without a second' (does not exclude the existence from eternity of ether, but) excludes the existence of any other superintending being (but Brahman). While there is a superintending potter in addition to the material cause of the vessels, i. e. the clay, there is no other superintendent in addition to Brahman, the material cause of the world. Nor does the existence of ether as a second entity involve Brahman's being associated with a second (and therefore not being of a simple nature). For diversity is founded on difference of characteristic attributes, and before the origin (of the creation) no difference of attributes separating Brahman and ether exists ; the two being mixed like water and milk, and having the common attributes of all-pervadingness, immateriality and so on. At the time of creation however a certain diversity of the two determines itself, Brahman putting forth energy in order to produce the world, while the ether remains immoveable.—And also from the passages quoted above—such as 'Brahman has the ether for its body'—it follows that the two are identical. Thence again it follows that through the knowledge of Brahman everything is known.—Moreover every effect, which is produced, is produced in such a way as not to be separated from ether in place as well as in time, and ether itself is non-separated in place and time from Brahman ; hence, if there are known Brahman and its effects, the ether also is known. The case is similar to that of a few drops of water poured into a jug full of milk. Those drops are taken when the milk is taken ; the taking of the drops does not constitute something additional to the taking of the milk. Analogously the ether, as being non-separate in place and time from Brahman and its effects, is comprised within Brahman, and consequently we have to understand the passages

about the origin of the ether in a secondary sense.—To this argumentation we make the following reply.

6. The non-abandonment of the promissory statements (results only) from the non-difference (of the entire world from Brahman), according to the words of the Veda.

In all the Vedânta-texts we meet with promissory statements of the following nature:—‘That by which we hear what is not heard, perceive what is not perceived, know what is not known’ (*Kh. Up.* VI, 1, 3); ‘When the Self has been seen, heard, perceived, and known, then all this is known’ (*Bri. Up.* IV, 5, 6); ‘Sir, what is that through which if it is known everything else becomes known?’ (*Mu. Up.* I, 1, 3); ‘Outside that which is there is no knowledge.’ These promissory statements are not abandoned, i.e. not stultified, only if the entire aggregate of things is non-different from Brahman, the object of knowledge; for if there were any difference, the affirmation that by the knowledge of one thing everything is known, would be contradicted thereby. Non-difference again of the two is possible only if the whole aggregate of things originates from the one Brahman. And we understand from the words of the Veda that that affirmation can be established only through the theory of the non-difference of the material cause and its effects. For the affirmation contained in the clause ‘That by which we hear what is not heard,’ &c., is proved by the analogous instances of clay, &c., which all aim at showing the identity of effect and cause. In order to establish this, the subsequent clauses also (‘Being only, my dear, this was in the beginning, one only, without a second; it thought; it sent forth fire,’ &c.) at first state that the aggregate of effects belongs to Brahman, and then declare its identity with Brahman, viz. from the passage ‘In it all that exists has its Self’ (VI, 8, 7), up to the end of the *prapâṭhaka*.—If, now, the ether were not one of the effects of Brahman, it could not be known by Brahman being known, and that would involve an abandonment of a (previous) affirmation; an

alternative which, as invalidating the authoritativeness of the Veda, is of course altogether unacceptable.—Similarly in all the Vedānta-texts certain passages are to be found which, by means of various instances, make the same affirmation, so e.g. ‘This everything, all is that Self’ (*Bṛi. Up. II, 4, 6*); ‘Brahman alone is that Immortal before’ (*Mu. Up. II, 2, 11*).—Hence, like fire and the other substances, the ether also is a product.—The averment made by the *pūrvapakshin* that on account of the absence of scriptural statements the ether is not a product is unfounded, since a scriptural passage referring to the origin of ether has already been pointed out, viz. ‘from that Self sprang ether.’—True,—the *pūrvapakshin* may reply,—such a statement has indeed been pointed out, but it is contradicted by another statement, viz. ‘It sent forth fire,’ &c. Should it be alleged that there can be no contradiction, because all scriptural passages form one whole, the reply is that all non-contradictory passages form a whole; in the present case, however, a contradiction has been shown to exist, because the creator, who is mentioned only once, cannot be connected with two things created; because two things cannot both be created first; and because an option is, in that case, inadmissible<sup>1</sup>.—This reply, we rejoin, is without force. It is indeed true that it is impossible to explain the passage of the *Taittirīyaka* in any modified sense; for it distinctly declares that fire was produced in the third place, ‘From that Self sprang the ether, from ether air, from air fire.’ But, on the other hand, it is possible to give a different turn to the passage from the *Kāṇḍogya*, which may be explained to mean that ‘Brahman, after having created ether and air, created fire.’ For as the purport of this passage is to relate the origin of fire, it cannot at the same time impugn the account of the origin of ether given in another passage; according to the principle that to one and the same sentence a double purport must not be ascribed. As, on the

---

<sup>1</sup> For we cannot maintain that optionally either the one or the other was created first.

other hand, one creator may successively create more than one thing, and as on that ground the combination of the two passages into one syntactical whole is possible, we are not obliged to disregard any scriptural statement on account of its meaning being contradicted (by other scriptural passages). Nor do we mean to say that a creator mentioned only once is to be connected with two created things; for the other (second) created thing is supplied from another scriptural passage. And, in the same way as the fact of the whole aggregate of things being produced from Brahman—which is stated directly in the passage ‘Let a man meditate with calm mind on that as beginning, ending and breathing in it’ (*Kh. Up. III, 14, 1*)—does not impugn the order of creation stated elsewhere to begin with fire; so also the statement as to fire being produced from Brahman has no force to impugn the order of creation which, in another scriptural passage, is said to begin with ether.

But, it may be objected, the passage ‘Let a man meditate with calm mind,’ &c. has the purpose of enjoining calmness, and does not state anything with regard to creation; it need not therefore adapt itself to the order (of creation) established by another passage<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, the passage ‘It sent forth fire’ refers to the creation, and we must therefore accept the order exactly as stated there.—This objection we refute by the remark that it is not legitimate to abandon, from deference to the circumstance of fire occupying the first place (in the *Kh. Up.*), the thing, viz. the ether which is known (to have been created) from another passage; for order of succession is a mere attribute of things (and therefore subordinate to the latter). Moreover, in the passage ‘It sent forth fire’ we meet with no word directly indicating the order of succession; but we merely infer the latter from the sense, and this (merely inferred) order is impugned by the order established by another direct scriptural state-

---

<sup>1</sup> Yatparaḥ sabdaḥ sa sabdārtho na kāyam sabdaḥ sṛishṭiparo to na prasiddham kramam bādhitum alam iti. Ân. Gi.

ment, viz. 'From air there sprang fire.' Now with regard to the question whether ether or fire were created first, neither option nor addition are permissible, because the former is impossible in itself, and the latter non-admitted by the texts<sup>1</sup>. Hence the two scriptural passages are not contradictory.—Moreover, in order to justify the promise made in the *Khândogya* in the beginning of the chapter ('That instruction by which we hear what is not heard'), we have to count the ether, although 'not heard' (i. e. not mentioned in the text) among the things produced; how much more impossible then is it for us not to accept the statement actually made about the ether in the *Taittiriya*!—To the assertion, made above by the *pûrvapakshin*, that the ether as occupying the same space with everything is known together with Brahman and its effects, and that thus the assertion (of everything being known through Brahman) is not contradicted; and that moreover the scriptural passage 'one only, without a second' is not contradicted, because Brahman and the ether may be considered as non-separate, like milk and water, we make the following reply. That knowledge of everything through the knowledge of one thing (of which scripture speaks) cannot be explained through the analogy of milk mixed with water, because we understand from the parallel instance of a piece of clay being brought forward (*Kh. Up. VI, 1, 4*) that the knowledge of everything has to be explained through the relation of the material cause and the material effect (the knowledge of the cause implying the knowledge of the effect). Moreover, the knowledge of everything, if assumed to be analogous to the case of the knowledge of milk and water, could not be called a perfect knowledge (*samyag-vigñāna*), because the water which is

---

<sup>1</sup> An optional proceeding, i. e. the doctrine that either ether or fire was the first product is impossible because only actions to be done, not existing things, fall within the sphere of option; addition, i. e. the fact of fire and ether together being the first creation is not admitted by scripture, which teaches a successive creation of the elements.

apprehended only through the knowledge of the milk (with which it is mixed) is not grasped by perfect knowledge<sup>1</sup>. Nor can Vedic affirmations about things be viewed, like ordinary human statements, as mixed up with error, untruth, and deceit<sup>2</sup>. And we should do violence to the emphatic assertion made in the passage 'one only, without a second,' if we explained it according to the analogy of milk mixed with water.—Nor must we explain the cognition of everything (through one thing), and the assertion as to the one without a second, as referring only to a part of existing things, viz. the avowed effects of Brahman (to the exclusion of ether), on the ground that such is the case in the parallel instances of clay and the like. For what is said about clay and the like is not something altogether new and independent; but has to be understood in connexion with the previous passage 'Svetaketu, as you are so conceited,' &c. We therefore must conclude that the 'knowledge of everything' has all things whatever for its objects, and is here introduced with a view to showing that everything is the effect of Brahman.

The next Sûtra replies to the assertion, made by the pûrvapakshin, that the passage which speaks of the origin of ether is to be understood in a secondary sense, on account of the impossibility (of ether having an origin).

7. But wherever there are effects, there is division; as in ordinary life.

The conjunction 'but' is meant to exclude the suspicion of impossibility.—We must not imagine the origin of ether to be impossible, because wherever we observe effects (modifications of a substance), such as jars, pots and urns, or bracelets, armlets and earrings, or needles, arrows and swords, we also observe division; while, on the other hand,

---

<sup>1</sup> For the water, although mixed with the milk, yet is different from it.

<sup>2</sup> But the promise that through the knowledge of one thing everything becomes known is to be taken in its full literal meaning.



nothing which is not an effect is seen to be divided <sup>1</sup>. Now, we apprehend ether as divided from earth and so on; hence ether also must be an effect. Thereby (i. e. by the circumstance of their being divided) place (dis), time, mind (manas) and the atoms also are shown to be effects.

But—an objection may be raised—the Self also is divided from ether and so on, and hence it follows that it is an effect like jars and the like.—This objection we refute by pointing to the scriptural statement that ‘ether sprang from the Self’ (Taitt. Up. II, 1). For if the Self also were a mere modification (of something else), it would follow that all effects such as the ether and so on are without a Self <sup>2</sup>; for scripture mentions nothing beyond the Self, and that Self itself would (on the supposition stated) be a mere effect. And thus we should be driven to the hypothesis of a general void (śūnyavāda). Just because it is the Self, it is impossible for us to entertain the idea even of its being capable of refutation. For the (knowledge of the) Self is not, in any person’s case, adventitious, not established through the so-called means of right knowledge; it rather is self-established. The Self does indeed employ perception and the other means of right knowledge for the purpose of establishing previously non-established objects of knowledge; for nobody assumes such things as ether and so on to be self-established independently of the means of right knowledge. But the Self, as being the abode of the energy that acts through the means of right knowledge, is itself established previously to that energy. And to refute such a self-established entity is impossible. An adventitious thing, indeed, may be refuted, but not that which is the essential nature (of him who attempts the refutation); for it is the essential nature of him who refutes. The heat of a fire is not refuted (i. e. sublated) by the fire itself.—Let us further consider the relation expressed in the following clauses: ‘I know at the present moment whatever is present; I knew (at former moments) the nearer and the remoter past; I shall know

<sup>1</sup> Whatever is divided, is an effect, as jars, pots, &c. Whatever is not an effect, is not divided, as the Self.

<sup>2</sup> I. e. without a material cause.

(in the future) the nearer and the remoter future.' Here the object of knowledge changes according as it is something past or something future or something present ; but the knowing agent does not change, since his nature is eternal presence. And as the nature of the Self is eternal presence, it cannot undergo destruction even when the body is reduced to ashes ; nay we cannot even conceive that it ever should become something different from what it is.—It thus follows from the essential irrefutability of its nature that the Self is not an effect. The ether, on the other hand, falls under the category of effected things.

To the objection, raised above by the pûrvapakshin, that there is no plurality of homogeneous substances out of which the ether could originate, we reply that it is not an absolute law that effects should originate only from things belonging to the same genus, not from such as belong to different genera. Threads for instance and the conjunctions of threads<sup>1</sup> do not belong to the same genus, the former being admitted to belong to the genus 'substance,' the latter to the genus 'quality.' Nor again is there a binding rule that the operative causes such as the shuttle, the loom and so on should belong to the same genus.—Well then let the doctrine that the causes must belong to the same genus extend to the inherent causes only, not to the other causes<sup>2</sup>.—But here also there is no absolute rule. For we see that one and the same rope is made of things belonging to different genera, such as threads and cow-hair, and several kinds of cloth are woven of vegetable thread and wool.—If it were assumed that the postulate of the inherent causes belonging to the same genus refers only to the genera of essentiality, substantiality, &c., the rule would be a superfluous one ; for in that sense every inherent cause belongs to the same genus as every other<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Threads are the inherent cause of a piece of cloth ; the conjunction of the threads constitutes the non-inherent cause ; the loom, shuttle, &c. are the operative causes.

<sup>2</sup> So much only was in fact insisted upon by the pûrvapakshin, II, 3, 3.

<sup>3</sup> An inherent cause is always a substance (dravya), and as such

—Nor again is there an absolute rule that only a plurality of inherent causes, not one such cause, is able to originate an effect. For it is admitted that an atom as well as the mind (*manas*) originate their first activity; i. e. one atom by itself, and also the mind by itself, give rise to their primary actions, without being in conjunction with other substances.—And, should it be said that there is an absolute rule as to several causes only having originating power in the case of the origination of substances only (not in the case of the origination of actions, &c.), we again deny that, because it is admitted that there is such a thing as change (transformation). An absolute rule, such as maintained by you, would exist if substances did originate other substances, only when assisted by conjunction (a non-inherent cause). But, as a matter of fact, one and the same substance, when passing over into a different state distinguished by peculiar characteristic marks, is admitted to be an effect. In some cases more substances than one undergo the change, as when a young plant springs from seed and earth; in other cases one substance only changes, as when milk turns into curds.—In short it is none of the Lord's laws that only several causes in conjunction should produce an effect. We therefore decide, on the authority of scripture, that the entire world has sprung from the one Brahman, ether being produced first and later on the other elements in due succession. A statement to that effect has already been made above (II, 1, 24).

The further assertion made by the *pūrvapakshin*, that on the assumption of ether having had an origin it is impossible to conceive a difference between the former and later periods (the time before and after the origination of ether) is likewise unfounded; for we have to understand that that very specialising difference<sup>1</sup>, from which we ascertain at present that there is a thing such as ether, different from earth and the other elements, did not exist before the

---

always falls under the notion of essentiality (*sattā*), which constitutes the summum genus for substances, qualities, and actions.

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the quality of sound.

origination of ether. And just as Brahman's nature does not participate in the nature of earth and the other elements characterised by grossness and similar qualities,—according to such scriptural passages as 'It is not gross, it is not subtle,'—so also it does not participate in the nature of ether, as we understand from the passage 'it is without ether' (*Bri. Up. III, 8, 8*). It therefore remains a settled conclusion that, before ether was produced, Brahman existed without ether.

The inference, drawn by the *pûrvapakshin*, that ether has no beginning, because it differs in nature from those substances which avowedly have a beginning, such as earth and so on, is without any value; for, as it is contradicted by scripture, it must be considered fallacious. We, on our part, have brought forward arguments showing that ether is an originated thing; and we may moreover reason as follows: Ether is non-eternal, because it is the substratum of a non-eternal quality, viz. sound, just as jars and other things, which are the substrata of non-eternal qualities, are themselves non-eternal.—Nor is there any danger of this latter reasoning being extended to the Self also, for the philosopher who takes his stand on the Upanishads does not admit that the Self is the substratum of non-eternal qualities. Moreover, those who teach ether to have an origin do not consider it proved that it is all-pervading and so on.

In reply to the remarks made under II, 3, 4 we point out that those scriptural passages which speak of the 'immortality of ether' are to be understood in the same way as the analogous statements about the immortality of the gods<sup>1</sup>, since the origin and destruction of the ether have been shown to be possible. And if it is said of Brahman that 'it is omnipresent and eternal like ether,' Brahman is there compared to ether, whose greatness is well known, merely in order to indicate its supereminent greatness, not in order to maintain its being equal to ether. Similarly, when we say that the sun moves with the speed of an

---

<sup>1</sup> I.e. as referring to a relative immortality only.

arrow, we merely mean that he moves fast, not that he moves at the same rate as an arrow. This remark explains that scriptural passage also in which Brahman is declared to be infinite like ether.—On the other hand, such passages as ‘It is greater than ether’ prove that the extent of ether is less than that of Brahman; passages like ‘there is no image of him’ (Sve. Up. IV, 19) show that there is nothing to compare Brahman to; and passages like ‘Everything else is of evil’ (Bri. Up. III, 4, 2) show that everything different from Brahman such as ether, &c. is of evil.—All which serves to refute the assertion that the passage which declares ether to have originated has to be taken in a secondary sense, as the word Brahman actually has to be taken in some passages. Scripture and reasoning in combination rather show that ether has an origin, and the final conclusion therefore is that ether is an effect of Brahman.

#### 8. Hereby air (also) is explained.

The present Sūtra extends the reasoning concerning ether to the air of which the ether is the abode.—The different views about air also are to be arranged in an analogous manner. The pûrvapakshin maintains that the air is not a product, because it is not mentioned in that chapter of the *Khândogya* which treats of the origination of things.—The opposite opinion is, that the air is mentioned in the parallel chapter of the *Taittiriya* (‘from the ether sprang the air’).—The two scriptural passages being of a conflicting nature, the pûrvapakshin maintains that the passage which declares the air to have originated must be taken in a secondary sense; firstly on account of the impossibility (of the literal sense being adopted), as shown (in the *adhikarana* treating of the ether); secondly on account of that passage which denies that it ever sets, ‘Vāyu (the air) is the deity that never sets’ (Bri. Up. I, 5, 22); and thirdly on account of those passages which declare it to be immortal. The final opinion on the other hand is, that air is a product; in the first place because this conclusion is conformable to the general tendency of scripture; and, in the second place, because it is generally admitted that whatever

is divided is an effect.—The denial of its ever setting refers to the lower knowledge (*aparā vidyā*<sup>1</sup>) and is merely a relative one, *Vāyu* not setting in the same way as fire, &c. The statement as to the immortality, &c. of air has already received its reply (in the *adhikaraṇa* treating of the ether).—Here it may be asked why, ether and air being equally mentioned and not mentioned in the chapters treating of the origin of the world, one *adhikaraṇa* is not considered to suffice for both, and why instead of that there is made a formal extension of the former reasoning to the latter case, although there is no difference between the two cases.—To this we reply that there is indeed some reason for the question; that, however, the formal extension is made for the purpose of removing any doubts which might possibly be engendered in the minds of slow-witted people by mere words<sup>2</sup>. For as, in the *Saṁvargavidyā* and other passages, the glory of *Vāyu* is referred to as an object of worship; and as scripture says that he never sets, &c., some men might think that he is eternal.

9. But there is no origin of that which is (i.e. of Brahman), on account of the impossibility (of such an origin).

Somebody, who has learned from scripture that ether and air, although not in themselves likely to have originated, yet actually are things with a beginning, might feel inclined to suspect that Brahman itself has sprung from something else.—And further somebody, who has learned from scripture that from ether and the other elements which are themselves mere effects further effects are produced, might think that also Brahman, from which ether has sprung, is a mere effect.—In order to remove this doubt the *Sūtra* declares that Brahman, whose Self is Being, must not be suspected to have sprung from anything else 'on account of the impossibility.' Brahman which is mere Being cannot spring from mere

<sup>1</sup> In which Brahman is spoken of as to be meditated upon under the form of *Vāyu*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sabdānurodhiny eva saṅkā na vastvanurodhinīti. Ān. Gi.*

being, since the relation of cause and effect cannot exist without a certain superiority (on the part of the cause). Nor again can Brahman spring from that which is something particular, since this would be contrary to experience. For we observe that particular forms of existence are produced from what is general, as, for instance, jars and pots from clay, but not that what is general is produced from particulars. Nor again can Brahman spring from that which is not (*asat*), for that which is not is without a Self<sup>1</sup>, and moreover scripture expressly rejects that view, in the passage 'How could that which is spring from that which is not?' (*Kh. Up. VI, 2, 2*). Another passage, moreover, expressly denies that Brahman has any progenitor, 'He is the cause, the lord of the lords of the organs, and there is of him neither progenitor nor lord' (*Sve. Up. VI, 9*).—With regard to ether and air the possibility of an origin has been shown; but in Brahman's case there is no such possibility; hence the cases are not parallel. Nor does the fact of other effects springing from effects imply that Brahman also must be an effect; for the non-admission of a fundamental causal substance would drive us to a retrogressus in infinitum. And that fundamental causal substance which as a matter of fact is generally acknowledged to exist, just that is our Brahman.—Thus there is not any contradiction.

10. Fire (is produced) thence (i.e. from air); for thus (the text) declares.

In the *Khândogya* it is said that fire has for its source that which is (Brahman), in the *Taittiriya* that it has the air for its source. There being thus a conflict of scriptural passages with regard to the origin of fire, the *pûrvapakshin* maintains that fire has Brahman for its source.—Why?—Because the text, after having stated at the outset that there existed only that which is, teaches that it sent forth fire; and because the assertion of everything being known through Brahman is possible only in case of every-

---

<sup>1</sup> And cannot therefore constitute a cause; for a cause is the Self of its effects.

thing being produced from Brahman; and because the scriptural statement as to the 'Taggalān' (*Kh. Up. III, 14, 1*) specifies no difference<sup>1</sup>; and because another scriptural passage (*Mu. Up. II, 1, 3*) teaches that everything without exception is born from Brahman. The *Taittiriyaka* also makes a statement about the entire world without any exception, 'after having brooded he sent forth all whatever there is' (*Taitt. Up. II, 6*). Hence the statement that 'fire was produced from air' (*Taitt. Up. II, 1*) must be considered to teach the order of succession only 'fire was produced subsequently to air.'

To this the *Sūtra* replies that fire was produced thence, i.e. from air, because the text declares it to be so—'from air sprang fire.' For if fire had sprung directly from Brahman and not from air, the scriptural statement that 'fire sprang from air' would be contradicted thereby. That that statement should intimate the order of succession merely, as maintained by the *pūrvapakshin*, we cannot admit. For as in the preceding sentence ('from that Self sprang ether') the fifth case (*ātmanah*) denotes the Self as that from which the origination proceeds, and as the same verb ('sprang') governs our sentence also, and as in the following sentences also—such as 'from earth the herbs'—the fifth case (*pr̥thivyāḥ*) denotes that from which something proceeds, we understand that in our sentence also the fifth case (*vāyoḥ*) denotes that from which fire proceeds. Moreover, if we should explain our sentence to mean 'after air fire was produced,' we should have to supply some preposition (or adverb as 'after,' 'subsequently'), while that construction which rests on the proper sense of the fifth case-affix is ready made at hand and does not require anything to be supplied. The passage therefore intimates that fire springs from air.—But, it may be said, the other scriptural passage ('it sent forth fire') intimates that fire springs from Brahman.—Not so, we reply; for this latter passage remains uncontradicted, even if we assume that fire sprang from Brahman only through intermediate links (not directly).

<sup>1</sup> But implies the whole world to have sprung from Brahman.



Even the supposition that Brahman, after having created ether and air, assumed the form of air and thus created fire would not be opposed to fire having sprung from Brahman; for we may say equally that milk comes from the cow, that curds come from the cow, that cheese comes from the cow. There is, moreover, a scriptural passage declaring that Brahman abides as the Self of its effects, viz. Taitt. Up. II, 7, 'That made itself its Self.' And analogously Smṛiti—in the passage beginning 'Cognition, knowledge, steadiness of mind' (Bha. Gī. X, 4)—says about the Lord, 'From me only spring the manifold states of the beings.' For although cognition and so on are observed to spring directly from their immediate causes, yet (the assertion made in the passage quoted holds good), since the entire aggregate of beings is, directly or indirectly, derived from the Lord.—Thereby those scriptural passages are accounted for which speak of the creation (on the whole) without specifying the order of succession<sup>1</sup>; for they may be explained anyhow, while on the other hand the passages specifying the order of creation cannot be turned in any other way (i.e. not away from their direct sense). The general assertion, moreover, of everything springing from Brahman requires only that all things should ultimately proceed from that which is, not that they should be its immediate effects.—Thus there remains no difficulty.

#### 11. Water (is produced from fire).

We have to supply from the preceding Sūtra the words 'thence' and 'for thus the text declares.'—Water is produced from fire; for the text says, 'it sent forth water' (*Kh. Up.* VI, 2, 3), and 'from fire (sprang) water' (Taitt. Up. II, 1). These explicit statements allow no room for doubt<sup>2</sup>. The Sūtrakāra, however, having explained the creation of fire, and being about to explain the creation of

<sup>1</sup> I.e. it appears from the preceding discussion that those passages have to be explained in such a way as to agree with those other passages which state the order of the created beings.

<sup>2</sup> So that the Sūtra might possibly be looked upon as not called for.

earth, propounds this Sûtra in order to insert water (and thus to point out its position in the *srîṣṭīkrama*).

12. The earth (is meant by the word 'anna'), on account of the subject-matter, the colour, and other passages.

We read, 'Water thought, may I be many, may I grow forth. It sent forth food (anna)' (*Kh. Up. VI, 2, 4*).—Here a doubt arises, whether the word 'anna' denotes things fit to be used as food, such as rice, barley and the like; or cooked food; or else the earth.

The *pûrvapakshin* maintains that the word is to be understood in the former sense; for, he says, the word 'anna' means 'food' in ordinary language, and is moreover confirmed in that sense by the complementary passage, 'Therefore whenever it rains anywhere, most food is then produced;' for when it rains, rice, barley and the like, but not earth, are produced in abundance.

To this we reply that by the word 'anna' we have to understand earth as being produced from water.—Why?—On account of the subject-matter, on account of the colour, and on account of other passages.—The subject-matter, in the first place, is clearly connected with the elements, as we see from the preceding passages, 'it sent forth fire, it sent forth water.' It would therefore be improper to pass over a further element, viz. earth, when its turn has come, and to assume without reason that rice and the like are meant by the word 'anna.'—In the second place, we find that in a complementary passage there is mentioned a colour which agrees with earth, 'the black colour (of fire) is the colour of anna.' Eatable things on the other hand, such as cooked dishes, and rice, barley and the like, are not necessarily black.—But earth too is not necessarily black; for the soil of some fields has a whitish colour like milk, and that of others looks red like glowing coals!—True, but that does not affect our argument, since what we have to look to is the predominant colour. Now the predominant colour of earth is black, not either white or red. The *Paurânika*s also designate the colour of the earth by the term 'night'

(*sarvarī*); now the night is black, and we therefore conclude that black is the colour of earth also.—In the third place other scriptural passages also, which refer to the same subject, declare that ‘from water (*sprang*) earth’ (*Taitt. Up. II, 1*), and that ‘what was there as the froth of the water, that was hardened and became the earth’ (*Bṛi. Up. I, 2, 2*). On the other hand the text declares that rice and the like were produced from the earth, ‘From earth sprang herbs, from herbs food’ (*Taitt. Up. II, 1*).—As, thus, the general subject-matter as well as other arguments clearly proves that the word ‘*anna*’ here denotes earth, we can in no way accept the view that rice and the like are referred to. The common use of language to which the *pūrvapakshin* appeals is of no avail against the arguments favouring our interpretation. The complementary passage also (‘whenever it rains,’ &c.) is to be viewed as pointing out that, owing to the earthy nature of food (rice, &c.), earth itself mediately springs from water.—For all these reasons the word ‘*anna*’ denotes this earth.

13. But on account of the indicatory mark supplied by their reflecting (i.e. by the reflection attributed to the elements), he (i.e. the Lord is the creative principle abiding within the elements).

A doubt here arises whether ether and the other elements do themselves send forth their effects, or if the highest Lord abiding within certain Selfs produces, after reflection, certain effects.

Here the *pūrvapakshin* maintains that the elements themselves send forth, because the texts speak of them as acting independently; compare, for instance, ‘from ether sprang air, from air fire,’ &c. The objection that non-intelligent beings cannot enter on independent activity is invalidated by the fact that the elements also are spoken of in the sacred texts as endowed with intelligence, cf. for instance, ‘fire thought,’ ‘water thought’ (*Kh. Up. VI, 2, 3; 4*).

To this we reply that the highest Lord himself abiding within certain Selfs sends forth, after reflection, certain effects.—Why?—On account of the indicatory marks. For

texts such as 'he who dwells in the earth, and within the earth, whom the earth does not know, whose body the earth is and who rules the earth within' show that the elements enter on their activity only if presided over by an intelligent principle. Texts such as 'He became sat and tyat' (which occurs in the passage, 'he wished may I be many, may I grow forth,' Taïtt. Up. II, 6) and 'It made itself its Self' (i. e. the Self of everything which exists; II, 7) show that he (the highest Lord) is the Self of everything. The thinking and hearing which the texts attribute to water and fire must be viewed as due to the fact of the highest Lord having entered them; for the passage, 'there is no other seer but he,' denies there being any other seer (thinker), and that which is (i. e. Brahman), in the character of seer (or thinker), constitutes the subject-matter of the whole chapter; as we conclude from the introductory passage, 'It thought, may I be many, may I grow forth' (*Kh. Up.* VI, 2, 3).

14. The order (in which the elements are retracted into Brahman) is the reverse of that (i. e. the order in which they are created); this is proved (by its agreement with observation).

Having considered the order of the creation of the elements we now proceed to consider the order of their retraction.—The question here is whether their retraction takes place in an indefinite order, or in the order of the creation, or in the inverse order. That the origin, the subsistence and the retraction of the elements all depend on Brahman, scripture declares 'That from whence these beings are born, that by which when born they live, that into which they enter at their death.'

The *pûrvapakshin* maintains that the retraction of the elements is not bound to any definite order, because scripture contains no specific information on the point. Or else, he says, let him who wishes to know the order of the retraction accept the order of creation, since the latter is expressly mentioned in the texts.

To this we reply that the order of retraction must be viewed as the reverse of the order of creation. For we see

in ordinary life that a man who has ascended a stair has, in descending, to take the steps in the reverse order. Moreover we observe that things made of clay, such as jars, dishes, &c., on being destroyed pass back into clay, and that things which have originated from water, such as snow and hailstones, again dissolve into water. Hence we rightly assume that earth which has (according to scripture) sprung from water passes back into water when the period of its subsistence comes to an end, and that water which has sprung from fire passes back into fire. In this way each particular effect passes back into its immediately antecedent cause—each cause being of a subtler nature than its effect—until in the end the last cause is refunded into Brahman, the ultimate and most subtle of all causes. It certainly would be irrational to assume that an effect, passing over its immediate cause, should at once refund itself into the cause of the cause. *Smṛiti* also declares that the order of retraction is the order of origination inverted, ‘The earth, the basis of the world, is dissolved into water, O divine *Rishi*, the water into fire, the fire into air.’ The order of creation is indeed stated in the sacred texts, but that statement refers to creation only, and can therefore not be extended to retraction. We, moreover, cannot even desire to apply the order in which the elements are created to their retraction also since it is clearly unsuitable in the latter case. For, as long as an effect subsists, it is impossible to assume the dissolution of the cause, since on the dissolution of the latter the effect also cannot exist. On the other hand, we may assume a continued existence of the cause although the effect be destroyed; for that is actually observed in the case of clay (and the things made of it).

15. If it be said that between (Brahman and the elements) the intellect and mind (are mentioned; and that therefore their origination and retraction are to be placed) somewhere in the series, on account of there being inferential signs (whereby the order of the creation of the elements is broken); we

deny that, on account of the non-difference (of the organs and the elements).

In what precedes we have said that the creation and the retraction of the elements take place in direct and reverse order; further that the creation proceeds from the Self, and that the retraction terminates in the Self.—Now *Śruti* as well as *Smṛiti* enlightens us concerning the existence of the mind (*manas*) together with the senses, and of the intellect (*buddhi*); compare, for instance, the indicatory marks contained in the passage, *Ka. Up. I, 3, 3, 4*, ‘Know the intellect to be the charioteer and the mind the reins; the senses they call the horses,’ &c. And as the whole aggregate of beings avowedly springs from Brahman, we must assume that the mind, the intellect and the senses also originate from it and are again merged in it in due order, occupying a definite place among the things created and retracted. Moreover the *Ātharvāna* (*Mundaka*), in the chapter treating of the creation, mentions the organs between the Self and the elements, ‘From him is born breath, mind and all organs of sense, ether, air, light, water and the earth the support of all’ (*II, 1, 3*). And from this there results a break in the previously stated order of the creation and the retraction of the elements.

This we deny, on account of the non-difference (of the organs from the elements). If the organs themselves are of the nature of the elements, their origination and retraction are the same as those of the elements, and we therefore have not to look out in their case for a different order. And that the organs are of the nature of the elements, for that we have inferential marks, in passages such as the following, ‘for mind, my child, consists of earth, breath of water, speech of fire’ (*Kh. Up. VI, 6, 5*). That the organs (although in reality belonging to the elements) are sometimes mentioned separately from them, is to be understood in the same way as when the *Parivṛāgakas* (mendicant *Brāhmaṇas*) are spoken of separately from the *Brāhmaṇas*. And supposing even that the organs are not of the nature of the elements, still the order of the origin of the elements

would not be interfered with by the organs ; for we might assume either that the organs are produced first and the elements last ; or else that the elements are produced first and the organs last. In the *Ātharvāna-upanishad* quoted above we have merely a serial enumeration of the organs and the elements, not a statement as to the order of their origination. Similarly in other places also the series of the organs is recorded apart from the series of the elements ; so, for instance, in the following passage, ' *Pragāpati* indeed was all this in the beginning, he reflected on himself ; he sent forth mind ; there was mind only ; mind reflected on itself ; it sent forth speech,' &c.—Hence the origination of the organs does not cause a break in the order of the origination of the elements.

16. But the designation (as being born and dying) abides in the (bodies of beings) moving and non-moving ; it is secondary (metaphorical) if applied to the soul, as the existence (of those terms) depends on the existence of that (i.e. the body).

On account of certain popular modes of expression such as ' *Devadatta* is born,' ' *Devadatta* has died,' and the like, and on account of certain ceremonies such as the *Gātaka-karman*, some people might fall into the error of thinking that the individual soul has a beginning, and in the end undergoes destruction. This error we are going to dispel.—The individual soul has no beginning and is not subject to dissolution, since thus only it can be connected with the results of actions, as the *Sāstra* teaches. If the individual soul perished after the body, there would be no sense in the religious injunctions and prohibitions referring to the enjoyment and avoidance of pleasant and unpleasant things in another body (another birth). And scripture says, ' This body indeed dies when the living soul has left it, the living soul does not die ' (*Kh. Up.* VI, 11, 3).—But it has been pointed out above that ordinary language speaks of the birth and the death of the individual soul !—True ; but the terms ' birth ' and ' death,' if applied to the soul, have to

be taken in a secondary sense.—What then is that thing to which those words apply in their primary sense, and with reference to which we can speak of a secondary sense?—They apply, we answer, to whatever moves and whatever does not move. The words ‘birth’ and ‘death’ have reference to the bodies of moving and non-moving beings; for such beings are born (produced) and die. To them the terms ‘birth’ and ‘death’ apply in their primary sense; while they are used metaphorically only with reference to the soul dwelling in them. For their existence (i. e. their being used) depends on the existence of the body; i. e. the words ‘birth’ and ‘death’ are used where there take place the manifestation and disappearance of bodies, not where they are absent. For nobody ever observes a soul being born or dying, apart from its connexion with a body. That the words ‘birth’ and ‘death’ have reference to the conjunction with—and separation from—a body merely, is also shown by the following passage: ‘On being born that person assuming his body, &c.; when he passes out (of the body) and dies,’ &c. (*Bri. Up.* IV, 3, 8). The *gâta*-ceremony also is to be viewed as having reference to the manifestation of the body only; for the soul is not manifested.—Whether the individual soul is produced from the highest Self like ether, &c. or not, will be discussed in the next Sûtra; the present Sûtra merely states that the gross origination and dissolution which belong to the body do not affect the soul.

17. The (living) Self is not (produced) as there is no scriptural statement, and as it is eternal according to them (i. e. scriptural passages).

There is a Self called the living one (the individual soul), which rules the body and the senses, and is connected with the fruits of actions. With regard to that Self the conflict of scriptural passages suggests the doubt, whether it is produced from Brahman like ether and the other elements, or if, like Brahman itself, it is unproduced. Some scriptural passages, by comparing it to sparks proceeding from a fire and so on, intimate that the living soul is produced



from Brahman; from others again we learn that the highest Brahman, without undergoing any modification, passes, by entering into its effects (the elements), into the condition of the individual soul. These latter passages do not thus record an origination of the individual soul.

The pûrvapakshin maintains that the individual soul is produced, because on that view the general promissory statement is not contradicted. For the general assertion that 'by one thing being known all this is known' is not contradicted, only if the entire aggregate of things springs from Brahman; while it would be contradicted by the assumption of the individual soul being a thing of a different kind. Nor can the individual soul be conceived as mere unmodified highest Self, on account of the difference of their respective characteristics. For the highest Self is characterised by freedom from sin and so on, while the individual soul possesses the opposite attributes. That it is an effect, follows moreover from its being divided. For ether and all other things, in so far as divided, are effects, and we have concluded therefrom that they have an origin. Hence the soul also, which is distributed through all the bodies, doing good and evil and experiencing pleasure and pain, must be considered to originate at the time when the entire world is produced. We have moreover the following scriptural passage, 'As small sparks come forth from fire, thus from that Self all vital airs,' &c. (*Bri. Up.* II, 1, 20). This text teaches first the creation of the aggregate of objects of fruition, beginning with the vital airs, and then (in the words, 'all the Selves') separately teaches the creation of all the enjoying souls. Again we have the passage, 'As from a blazing fire sparks, being of the same nature as fire, fly forth a thousandfold, thus are various beings brought forth from the Imperishable, my friend, and return hither also' (*Mu. Up.* II, 1, 1); a passage descriptive of the origin and the retractation of the souls, as we infer from the statement about the sameness of nature<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> That the word bhāvāḥ 'beings' here means 'individual souls,' we conclude from their being said to have the same nature as the Imperishable.

For the individual souls are of the same nature as Brahman, because they are endowed with intelligence. Nor can the fact that in some places (as, for instance, in the accounts of the creation of the elements) the creation of the soul is not mentioned, invalidate what is stated about it in other places; it being a general principle of interpretation that whatever new, and at the same time non-contradictory, matter is taught in some scriptural passage has to be combined with the teaching of all other passages. Hence that passage also which speaks of the Self entering (into its effects and thus becoming *gīva*) must be explained as stating the Self's passing over into an effect (*viz.* the soul), analogously to such passages as 'that made itself its Self,' &c. (Taitt. Up. II, 7).—From all which it follows that the individual soul is a product.

To all this we reply, that the individual soul is not a product.—Why?—On account of the absence of scriptural statement. For in the chapters which treat of the creation, the production of the soul is, in most cases, not mentioned.—But, it was admitted above that the circumstance of something not being stated in some places does not invalidate the statements made about it elsewhere.—True, that was admitted; but we now declare that the production of the soul is not possible.—Why?—'On account of the eternity, &c., resulting from them' (*i.e.* the scriptural passages). The word ' &c.' implies non-originatedness and similar attributes. For we know from scriptural passages that the soul is eternal, that it has no origin, that it is unchanging, that what constitutes the soul is the unmodified Brahman, and that the soul has its Self in Brahman. A being of such a nature cannot be a product. The scriptural passages to which we are alluding are the following:—'The living Self dies not' (*Kh.* Up. VI, 11, 3); 'This great unborn Self undecaying, undying, immortal, fearless is indeed Brahman' (*Bri.* Up. IV, 4, 25); 'The knowing Self is not born, it dies not' (*Ka.* Up. I, 2, 18); 'The Ancient is unborn, eternal, everlasting' (*Ka.* Up. I, 2, 18); 'Having sent forth that he entered into it' (Taitt. Up. II, 6); 'Let me now enter those with this living Self and let me then

evolve names and forms' (*Kh. Up.* VI, 3, 2); 'He entered thither to the very tips of the finger-nails' (*Bri. Up.* I, 4, 7); 'Thou art that' (*Kh. Up.* VI, 8, 7); 'I am Brahman' (*Bri. Up.* I, 4, 10); 'This Self is Brahman knowing all' (*Bri. Up.* II, 5, 19).—All these texts declare the eternity of the soul, and thus militate against the view of its having been produced.—But it has been argued above that the soul must be a modification because it is divided, and must have an origin because it is a modification!—It is not, we reply, in itself divided; for scripture declares that 'there is one God hidden in all beings, all-pervading, the Self within all beings' (*Sve. Up.* VI, 11); it only appears divided owing to its limiting adjuncts, such as the mind and so on, just as the ether appears divided by its connexion with jars and the like. Scripture (*viz. Bri. Up.* IV, 4, 5, 'that Self is indeed Brahman, made up of knowledge, mind, life, sight, hearing,' &c.) also declares that the one unmodified Brahman is made up of a plurality of intellects (*buddhi*), &c. By Brahman being made up of mind and so on is meant, that its nature is coloured thereby, while the fact of its being entirely separate from it is non-apparent. Analogously we say that a mean, cowardly fellow is made up of womanishness.—The casual passages which speak of the soul's production and dissolution must therefore be interpreted on the ground of the soul's connexion with its limiting adjuncts; when the adjunct is produced or dissolved, the soul also is said to be produced or dissolved. Thus scripture also declares, 'Being altogether a mass of knowledge, having risen from out of these elements it again perishes after them. When he has departed there is no more knowledge' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 5, 13). What is meant there, is only the dissolution of the limiting adjuncts of the Self, not the dissolution of the Self itself<sup>1</sup>. The text itself explains this, in reply to Maitreyi's ques-

---

<sup>1</sup> Hence the phrase, 'there is no more knowledge,'—which seems to contradict the term 'a mass of knowledge,'—only means that, on the limiting adjuncts being dissolved, there is no longer any knowledge of distinctions.

tion ('Here, Sir, thou hast landed me in utter bewilderment. Indeed I do not understand him, that when he has departed there is no more knowledge'), in the words, 'I say nothing that is bewildering. Verily, beloved, that Self is imperishable and of an indestructible nature. But it enters into contact with the sense organs.'—Non-contradiction moreover of the general assertion (about everything being known through one) results only from the acknowledgment that Brahman is the individual soul. The difference of the attributes of both is also owing to the limiting adjuncts only. Moreover the words 'Speak on for the sake of final deliverance' (uttered by *Ganaka* with reference to the instruction he receives from *Yāgñavalkya* about the *vigñāna-maya ātman*) implicitly deny that the Self consisting of knowledge (i.e. the individual soul) possesses any of the attributes of transitory existence, and thus show it to be one with the highest Self.—From all this it follows that the individual soul does not either originate or undergo destruction.

18. For this very reason (the individual soul is) intelligent.

Owing to the conflicting views of the philosophical schools there arises a doubt whether, as the followers of *Kaṇāda* think, the soul is in itself non-intelligent, so that its intelligence is merely adventitious; or if, as the *Sāṅkhyas* think, eternal intelligence constitutes its very nature.

The *pūrvapakshin* maintains that the intelligence of the Self is adventitious, and is produced by the conjunction of the Self with the mind (*manas*), just as, for instance, the quality of redness is produced in a jar by the conjunction of the jar with fire. For if the soul were of eternal (essential) intelligence, it would remain intelligent in the states of deep sleep, swoon, and possession, while as a matter of fact, men when waking from sleep and so on declare in reply to questions addressed to them that they were not conscious of anything. Men in their ordinary state, on the other hand, are seen to be (actively) intelligent. Hence, as intelli-

gence is clearly intermittent, we conclude that the Self's intelligence is adventitious only.

To this we reply that the soul is of eternal intelligence, for that very reason that it is not a product but nothing else but the unmodified highest Brahman which, owing to the contact with its limiting adjuncts, appears as individual soul. That intelligence constitutes the essential nature of the highest Brahman, we know from scriptural passages such as 'Brahman is knowledge and bliss' (*Bri. Up.* III, 9, 28, 7); 'Brahman is true, knowledge, infinite' (*Taitt. Up.* II, 1); 'Having neither inside nor outside, but being altogether a mass of knowledge' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 5, 13). Now, if the individual soul is nothing but that highest Brahman, then eternal intelligence constitutes the soul's essential nature also, just as light and heat constitute the nature of fire. In the chapter treating of that which consists of knowledge, there are, moreover, passages (directly declaring that the individual soul is of the nature of self-luminous intelligence), 'He not asleep himself looks down upon the sleeping (senses)' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 3, 11); 'That person is self-illuminated' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 3, 14); 'For there is no intermission of the knowing of the knower' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 3, 30). That the soul's nature is intelligence, follows moreover from the passage (*Kh. Up.* VIII, 12, 4) where it is represented as connected with knowledge through all sense-organs, 'He who knows, let me smell this, he is the Self,' &c. &c.—From the soul's essential nature being intelligence it does not follow that the senses are useless; for they serve the purpose of determining the special object of each sense, such as smell and so on. This is expressly declared by scripture, 'Smell is for the purpose of perceiving odour' (*Kh. Up.* VIII, 12, 4).—The objection that sleeping persons are not conscious of anything is refuted by scripture, where we read concerning a man lying in deep sleep, 'And when there he does not see, yet he is seeing though he does not see. For there is no intermission of the seeing of the seer, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could see' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 3, 23). That means:

The absence of actual intelligising is due to the absence of objects, not to the absence of intelligence ; just as the light pervading space is not apparent owing to the absence of things to be illuminated, not to the absence of its own nature. —The reasoning of the Vaiseshikas and others is, as contradicting scripture, merely fallacious, and we therefore decide that eternal intelligence is the essential nature of the soul.

19. (On account of the scriptural declarations) of (the soul's) passing out, going and returning, (the soul is of atomic size).

We now have to consider of what size the soul is, whether of atomic size or of a medium size, or of great (infinite) size.—But, it has been shown above that the soul is not a product and that eternal intelligence constitutes its nature, whence it follows that it is identical with the highest Self. Now the infinity of the highest Self is clearly stated in scripture ; what need then is there of a discussion of the soul's size?—True, we reply ; but certain scriptural passages which speak of the soul's passing out, going and returning, establish the *primâ facie* view that the soul is of limited size, and moreover in some places scripture expressly declares it to be of atomic size. The present discussion is therefore begun for the purpose of clearing up this doubtful point.

The *pûrvapakshin* maintains that, on account of its being said to pass out, go and return, the soul must be held to be of limited, atomic size. Its passing out is mentioned (*Kau. Up. III, 3*), 'And when he passes out of this body he passes out together with all these ;' its going (*Kau. Up. I, 2*), 'All who depart from this world go to the moon ;' its returning (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 6*), 'From that world he returns again to this world of action.' From these statements as to the soul's passing out, going and returning it follows that it is of limited size. For motion is impossible in the case of an all-pervading being. And a limited size being once admitted, we have to conclude more especially that the size is atomic, since the hypothesis

of the soul being of the same size as the body has already been refuted in our examination of the Ārṇata-system.

20. And on account of the two latter (i.e. going and returning) being connected with their Self (i.e. the agent), (the soul is of atomic size).

We admit that 'passing out' might possibly be attributed to the soul even if it does not move, viz. if that expression be taken to mean the soul's ceasing to be the ruler of the body, in consequence of the results of its former actions having become exhausted; just as somebody when ceasing to be the ruler of a village may be said to 'go out.' But the two latter activities, viz. going and returning, are not possible in the case of something which does not move; for they are both connected with the own Self (of the agent), going (and coming back) being activities abiding in the agent<sup>1</sup>. Now going and coming are possible for a being that is not of medium size, only if it is of atomic size. And as going and coming must be taken in their literal sense, we conclude that the passing out also means nothing but the soul's actual moving out of the body. For the soul cannot go and return without first having moved out of the body. Moreover certain parts of the body are mentioned as the points from which the soul starts in passing out, viz. in the following passage, 'Either from the eye or from the skull or from other places of the body (the Self passes out)' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 2*). Other passages mention that the embodied soul goes and comes within the body also; so, for instance, 'He taking with him those elements of light descends into the heart' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 1*); 'Having assumed light he again goes to his place' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 3, 11*).—Thereby the atomic size of the soul is established as well.

21. If it be said that (the soul is) not atomic, on account of scriptural statements about what is not that (i.e. what is opposed to atomic size); we deny

<sup>1</sup> Going is known to be an activity inherent in the agent, from the fact of its producing effects inherent in him, such as his conjunction with— or disjunction from—other things.

that, on account of the other one (the highest Self) being the subject-matter (of those passages).

Nevertheless, it may be objected, the soul cannot be of atomic size, because there are scriptural statements of what is not that, i.e. because there are scriptural statements of its size being the opposite of atomic size. So that by accepting the alternative of atomic size we should place ourselves in opposition to scriptural passages such as the following, 'He is that great unborn Self who consists of knowledge, is surrounded by the *Prāṇas*, the ether within the heart' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 22*); 'Like the ether he is omnipresent, eternal'; 'Truth, knowledge, infinite is Brahman' (*Taitt. Up. II. 1*).

This objection, the *pūrvapakshin* replies, is not valid 'on account of the other one forming the subject of discussion.' For those statements about a size different (from the atomic one) occur under the heading of the highest Self which on account of its pre-eminence constitutes the general object of knowledge in all *Vedānta*-texts; and moreover the passage, 'It is spotless, beyond the ether' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 20*), specially proves that the highest Self constitutes the subject-matter (in the passage quoted above from the *Bṛi. Up.*). Thus with regard to the other passages also.—But from the expressions, 'consisting of knowledge, surrounded by the *prāṇas*,' it appears that the embodied Self only (not the highest Self) is designated as connected with greatness.—That designation, the *pūrvapakshin* replies, is founded on an intuition, vouched for by scripture, as in the case of *Vāmadeva*<sup>1</sup>.—As therefore the statements of a different size refer to the highest Self (*prāgñā*), they do not militate against the view of the individual soul being of atomic size.

22. And also on account of direct statement, and of inference.

The soul is of atomic size for that reason also that scripture contains a direct statement to that effect, 'By

<sup>1</sup> Who '*paramāṛthadrīṣh/ya*' identifies himself with everything in the universe. (*Rīg-veda Samhita IV, 26. 1 ff.*).



thought is to be known that atomic Self into which breath has entered fivefold' (Mu. Up. III, 1, 9). That the Self spoken of there as atomic is the living Self, i.e. the individual soul, we see from its connexion with breath.—Inference also favours the conclusion that the soul is of atomic size; i.e. we infer that from such passages as 'That living soul is to be known as part of the hundredth part of the point of a hair divided a hundred times' (Sve. Up. V, 9), and, 'That lower one also is seen small even like the point of a goad.'—But, an objection may here be raised, if the soul is assumed to be of atomic size, and therefore to occupy one point of the body only, the fact of sensation extending over the whole body would appear contrary to reason. And yet it is a matter of experience that men bathing in the Ganges or in a pond experience the sensation of cold over their whole bodies, and again that in summer people feel hot all over the body.—To this objection the following Sūtra replies.

23. There is no contradiction, as in the case of sandal-ointment.

Just as a drop of sandal-ointment, although in actual contact with one spot of the body only, yet produces a refreshing sensation extending over the whole body; so the soul, although abiding in one point of the body only, may be the cause of a perception extending over the entire body. And as the soul is connected with the skin (which is the seat of feeling), the assumption that the soul's sensations should extend over the whole body is by no means contrary to reason. For the connexion of the soul and the skin abides in the entire skin, and the skin extends over the whole body.

24. If it be said (that the two cases are not parallel), on account of the specialisation of abode (present in the case of the sandal-ointment, absent in the case of the soul); we deny that, on account of the acknowledgment (by scripture, of a special place of the soul), viz. within the heart.

Here it may be objected that the argumentation relied upon in the last Sûtra is not admissible, because the two cases compared are not parallel. If it were a settled matter that the soul dwells in one point of the body, the drop of sandal-ointment might be adduced as a parallel instance. But, as a matter of fact, we know from perception that the drop of sandal-ointment is in contact with one spot of the body only, just as we know that it refreshes the whole body; while in the case of the soul observation tells us only that it is percipient all over the body, but not that it abides in one spot.—Should it be said that the latter point must be settled by inference, we reply that inference is here of no use, because it is not capable of removing the doubt whether the perception extending over the whole body belongs to a soul which extends over the whole body like the skin and the sense of touch inhering in it, or to a soul which is all-pervading like ether, or to a soul which, like a drop of ointment, is minute and abides in one spot only<sup>1</sup>.

This objection, the pûrvapakshin replies, is unfounded 'on account of the acknowledgment of a speciality of abode,' an abiding in one spot of the body being admitted in the case of the soul no less than in the case of a drop of ointment. For we read in the Vedânta-texts that the soul abides within the heart; cp. for instance, the information given (in Pr. Up. III, 6), 'The Self is in the heart;' (*Kh. Up.* VIII, 3, 3), 'That Self abides in the heart;' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 3, 7), 'Who is that Self?—He who is within the heart, surrounded by the Prâṇas, the person of light, consisting of knowledge.'—As therefore the two cases compared are not devoid of parallelism, the argumentation resorted to in Sûtra 23 is unobjectionable.

25. Or on account of (its) quality (viz. intelligence), as in cases of ordinary experience.

<sup>1</sup> We cannot reason as follows, 'The soul is atomic because it produces effects extending (over the whole body), like a drop of sandal-ointment;' for that reasoning would apply to the sense of touch (the skin) also, which we know not to be of atomic size.

That the soul although atomic produces effects extending over the whole body, is not contrary to reason, on account of the pervadingness of intellect which is its quality. From ordinary experience we know that luminous things, such as lamps or gems, although occupying only one spot of a chamber, produce, by means of their light which fills the chamber, an effect in every part of the chamber.—This Sūtra has the purpose of removing the doubts of those who might object that sandal-ointment, because consisting of parts, may perhaps refresh the entire body by the diffusion of imperceptible particles; that, however, the soul as a mere atom does not possess any parts by means of which it could diffuse itself through the whole body.—But how can a quality extend beyond that in which it inheres, and abide elsewhere? We certainly do not see that the whiteness which is the quality of a piece of cloth extends beyond that piece of cloth to other places. Nor must you say that the case of the soul is analogous to that of the light diffused from a lamp; for that light itself is admitted to be (not a quality but) a substance. The flame of a lamp is substantial light with its particles crowded close to one another; the light diffused from that flame is substantial light whose particles are thin and scattered.—The reply to this objection is given in the next Sūtra.

26. The extending beyond is as in the case of odour.

Just as odour, although a quality, extends beyond the odorous substance—as appears from the fact of our perceiving odour even without actually grasping flowers which are the seat of odour—so the quality of intelligence also may extend beyond the soul although the latter be atomic. It therefore is an undue stretch of inference to maintain that a quality, such as colour and the like, cannot separate itself from the substratum in which it inheres, because it is a quality; for we see that odour although a mere quality does separate itself from its substratum.—The objection that odour also separates itself from its substance

only with the substance (i. e. parts of the substance) we do not admit, because that would involve the dwindling away of the fundamental substance from which the separation of parts takes place. But that it does not so dwindle away, we conclude from its remaining in its former condition ; otherwise it would lose the heaviness and other qualities belonging to it in its former state.—Well, but perhaps the separation of the particles in which odour resides is not noticed on account of their minuteness. Nevertheless the fact may be that minute odorous atoms spreading in all directions enter the cavity of the nose and there produce the sensation of smell.—This we cannot admit, because the atoms are suprasensible, and because in some cases, as, for instance, from the blossoms of the *nâgakesara*-tree, a very strong odour is perceived <sup>1</sup>. According to the generally prevailing idea, moreover, it is not the odorous substance which is smelled, but ordinary people rather think that they smell the odour only.—The objection that, because we do not perceive colour and so on to extend beyond their substratum, we have no right to assume that odour does so, we cannot admit, because there is no room for that conclusion <sup>2</sup>, on account of the (actually existing) perception (of the smell apart from the odorous substance). Logicians must shape their inferences in such a way as to make them agree with ordinary observation, not in any other way. For, to quote another instance, the circumstance that one of the qualities, viz. taste, is perceived by the tongue, certainly does not entitle us to draw the general inference that colour and the other qualities also are perceived by means of the tongue.

27. And thus (scripture also) declares.

Scripture also, after having signified the soul's abiding in the heart and its atomic size, declares by means of such

<sup>1</sup> Single atoms could not produce any sensations ; *trasareṇus*, i. e. combinations of three atoms even could not produce lively sensations.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. that smell cannot exist apart from the odorous substance, because it is a quality like colour.

passages as 'Up to the hairs, up to the tips of the nails' (Kau. Up. IV, 20; *Bri. Up.* I. 4, 7), that the soul pervades the entire body by means of intelligence which is its quality.

28. On account of the separate statement (of soul and intelligence).

From the passage 'Having by knowledge taken possession of the body' which represents the soul and intelligence as separate, viz. as respectively the agent and the instrument of action, we understand that the soul pervades the body only by means of intelligence, its quality. Again the passage 'Then (the intelligent person) having through the intelligence of the senses absorbed within himself all intelligence' (*Bri. Up.* II, 1, 17) shows intelligence to be different from the agent, i.e. the embodied soul, and so likewise confirms our view.—The reply to all this is as follows.

29. But it is designated thus (i.e. as atomic), on account of its having for its essence the qualities of that (i.e. the buddhi); as in the case of the intelligent Self (i.e. Brahman).

The word 'but' is meant to set aside the opinion maintained hitherto.—The soul is not of atomic size, since scripture does not declare it to have had an origin. On the contrary, as scripture speaks of the highest Brahman entering into the elements and teaches that it is their Self, the soul is nothing else but the highest Brahman. And if the soul is the highest Brahman, it must be of the same extent as Brahman. Now scripture states Brahman to be all-pervading. Therefore the soul also is all-pervading.—On that view all the statements about the all-pervadingness of the soul made in *Sruti* and *Smṛiti* are justified, so, for instance, the passage, 'He is that great unborn Self who consists of knowledge, is surrounded by the *prāṇas* &c.' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 4, 22). Nor again could the soul, if it were of atomic size, experience sensations extending over the whole body. If it be said that that is possible owing to the soul's connexion

with the sense of touch (the skin), we deny that assertion. For from that it would follow that, when we tread on a thorn, the sensation extends over the whole body, since the connexion of the thorn and the skin abides in the entire skin, and the skin extends over the whole body. While as a matter of fact, when treading on a thorn we experience a sensation in the sole of the foot only.—Nor again is it possible that a quality of an atom should diffuse itself beyond the atom. For qualities occupy the same place with the substances of which they are qualities, and a quality not abiding in its substance would no longer be a quality. Concerning the light emitted from a lamp we have already shown that it is, not a quality, but rather a different kind of substance. Hence odour also, being avowedly a quality, can exist in so far only as it inheres in its substance; otherwise it would cease to be odour. Thus the reverend Dvaipâyana also says, 'Having perceived odour in water some unthinking people ascribe it to the latter; but know that it is in the earth only, and (merely) passes over into air and water.' If the intelligence of the soul pervades the whole body, the soul cannot be atomic; for intelligence constitutes the soul's proper nature, just as heat and light constitute that of fire. A separation of the two as quality and that which is qualified does not exist. Now it has already been shown (II, 2, 34) that the soul is not of the same size as the body; the only remaining alternative therefore is that it is all-pervading (infinite). But why then, our opponent asks, is the soul designated (in some scriptural passages) as being of atomic size, &c.?—It is designated as such 'on account of being of the nature of the essence of that (i.e. the buddhi).—The Self is here said to be of the nature of the essence of the mind's (buddhi) qualities, because those qualities, such as desire, aversion, pleasure, pain and so on, constitute the essence, i.e. the principal characteristics of the Self as long as it is implicated in transmigratory existence. Apart from the qualities of the mind the mere Self does not exist in the *samsâra* state; for the latter, owing to which the Self appears as an agent and enjoyer, is altogether due to the circumstance of

the qualities of the buddhi and the other limiting adjuncts being wrongly superimposed upon the Self. That the non-transmigrating eternally free Self which neither acts nor enjoys is declared to be of the same size as the buddhi, is thus due only to its having the qualities of the buddhi for its essence (viz. as long as it is in fictitious connexion with the buddhi). Moreover we have the scriptural passage, 'That living soul is to be known as part of the hundredth part of the point of a hair, divided a hundred times, and yet it is to be infinite' (Sve. Up. V, 9), which at first states the soul to be atomic and then teaches it to be infinite. Now this is appropriate only in the case of the atomicity of the soul being metaphorical while its infinity is real; for both statements cannot be taken in their primary sense at the same time. And the infinity certainly cannot be understood in a metaphorical sense, since all the Upanishads aim at showing that Brahman constitutes the Self of the soul. —The other passage also (Sve. Up. V, 8) which treats of the measure of the soul, 'The lower one, endowed with the quality of mind and the quality of body, is seen small even like the point of a goad,' teaches the soul's small size to depend on its connexion with the qualities of the buddhi, not upon its own Self. The following passage again, 'That small (anu) Self is to be known by thought' (Mu. Up. III, 1, 9), does not teach that the soul is of atomic size, since the subject of the chapter is Brahman in so far as not to be fathomed by the eye, &c., but to be apprehended by the serene light of knowledge, and since moreover the soul cannot be of atomic size in the primary sense of the word. Hence the statement about *anutva* (smallness, subtlety) has to be understood as referring either to the difficulty of knowing the soul, or else to its limiting adjuncts. Similarly such passages as 'Having by knowledge taken possession of the whole body' (Kau. Up. III, 6), which mention a difference (between the soul and knowledge), must be understood to mean that the soul takes possession of the whole body through the buddhi, its limiting adjunct; or else they must be considered as mere modes of expression, as when we speak of the body of a stone statue. For we have

already shown that the distinction of quality and thing qualified does not exist in the case of the soul.—The statements as to the soul abiding in the heart are likewise to be explained on the ground of the buddhi abiding there.—That also the soul's passing out and so on depend on the limiting adjuncts, is shown by the passage, 'What is it by whose passing out I shall pass out, and by whose staying I shall stay? He sent forth *prāṇa*, &c. (Pr. Up. VI, 3, 4). For where there is no passing out, no going and returning are known; for what has not left the body cannot go and return<sup>1</sup>.—As thus the soul (as long as involved in the *samsāra*) has for its essence the qualities of its limiting adjuncts, it is spoken of as minute. The case is analogous to that of Brahman (*prāgñā*). Just as in those chapters whose topic is the meditation on the qualified Brahman, the highest Self is spoken of as possessing relative minuteness and so on, because it has the qualities of its limiting adjuncts for its essence (cp. 'Smaller than a grain of rice or barley,' 'He who consists of mind, whose body is *prāṇa*, &c., *Kh. Up. III, 14, 2; 3*); so it is also with the individual soul.—Very well, let us then assume that the transmigratory condition of the soul is due to the qualities of the buddhi forming its essence. From this, however, it will follow that, as the conjunction of buddhi and soul—which are different entities—must necessarily come to an end, the soul when disjoined from the buddhi will be altogether undefinable and thence non-existing or rather non-existing in the *samsāra* state<sup>2</sup>.—To this objection the next Sūtra replies.

30. The objection (raised above) is not valid, since (the connexion of the soul with the buddhi) exists as long as the soul; it being thus observed (in scripture).

We need not fear that the objection formulated above can be proved.—Why?—'On account of the existence of the connexion of the soul with the buddhi, as long as the

<sup>1</sup> So that the distinction insisted on in Sūtra 20 is not valid.

<sup>2</sup> *Katham asattvam svarūpena sattvād ity āsaṅkhyāha samsāritvam veti. Ān. Gi.*



soul exists.' That means : as long as this Self is in the *samsāra*-state, as long as the *samsāra*-state is not brought to an end by means of perfect knowledge, so long the connexion of the soul with the buddhi does not cease. And as long as its connexion with the buddhi, its limiting adjunct, lasts, so long the individual soul remains individual soul, implicated in transmigratory existence. In reality, however, there is no individual soul but in so far as it is fictitiously hypostatized by the buddhi, its limiting adjunct. For in attempting to determine the object of the Vedānta-texts we meet with no other intelligent substance but the one omniscient Lord whose nature is eternal freedom. This appears from innumerable texts, such as the following :—'There is no other seer but he, there is no other hearer but he, there is no other perceiver but he, there is no other knower but he' (*Bri. Up.* III, 7, 23); 'There is nothing that sees, hears, perceives, knows but it' (*Bri. Up.* III, 8, 11); 'Thou art that' (*Kh. Up.* VI, 8, 7); 'I am Brahman' (*Bri. Up.* I, 4, 10).—How again is it known that the soul is connected with the buddhi as long as it exists?—We reply : because that is seen (*viz.* in scripture). For scripture makes the following declaration : 'He who is within the heart, consisting of knowledge, surrounded by the *prāṇas*, the person of light, he remaining the same wanders along the two worlds as if thinking, as if moving' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 3, 7). Here the term 'consisting of knowledge' means 'consisting of buddhi,' as we infer from another passage, *viz.* 'The Self consisting of knowledge, mind, life, sight, hearing' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 4, 5), where knowledge is enumerated among mind and so on<sup>1</sup>. By 'being made up of buddhi' is meant 'having for one's essence the qualities of buddhi.' Similarly a phrase like 'Devadatta is made up of womanishness,' which may be made use of in ordinary language, means that in Devadatta feminine attributes such as softness of voice and the like prevail. Moreover, the passage, 'He remaining the same wanders along the two worlds,' declares that the Self, even

<sup>1</sup> And therefore has to be understood in the sense of buddhi.

when going to another world, is not separated from the buddhi, &c. For if we ask whereby it does remain the same, the answer, based on proximity<sup>1</sup>, is 'by means of the buddhi.'—Further, such modes of expression, 'as if thinking,' 'as if moving,' lead us to the same conclusion; for they mean that the Self does not think and move on its own account, but thinks as it were and moves as it were, because the buddhi to which it is joined really moves and thinks.—Moreover, the connexion of the Self with the buddhi, its limiting adjunct, depends on wrong knowledge, and wrong knowledge cannot cease except through perfect knowledge; hence as long as there does not rise the cognition of Brahman being the universal Self, so long the connexion of the soul with the buddhi and its other limiting adjuncts does not come to an end. Thus scripture also says, 'I know that great person of sunlike lustre beyond the darkness. A man who knows him passes over death; there is no other path to go' (Sve. Up. III, 8).

But, an objection is raised, in the states of deep sleep and retraction (pralaya) no connexion of the Self with the buddhi can be acknowledged, since scripture declares that 'then he becomes united with the True, he is gone to his own' (*Kh. Up.* VI, 8, 1), and as then all modifications have avowedly passed away. How then can it be said that the connexion with the buddhi exists as long as the Self?—To this objection the following Sûtra replies.

31. On account of the appropriateness of the manifestation of that (connexion) which exists (potentially); like virile power.

As in ordinary life virile power and so on, existing potentially only in young children, and being then looked upon as non-existing, become manifest at the time of puberty—and do not originate at that time from previous non-existence, because in that case they might originate in eunuchs also—; so the connexion of the soul with the

---

<sup>1</sup> I.e. on the proximity of terms clearly indicating the buddhi, viz. *vigñāna-mayaḥ prāneshu*.

buddhi exists potentially merely during deep sleep and the period of general retraction, and again becomes manifest at the time of waking and the time of creation.—This explanation is appropriate, because nothing can be assumed to spring up unless from something else ; otherwise we should have to suppose that effects spring up without causes. That the rising from deep sleep is due to the existence of potential avidyā, scripture also declares, 'Having become merged in the True they know not that they are merged in the True. Whatever these creatures are here, whether a lion or a wolf,' &c. (*Kh. Up. VI, 9, 2 ; 3*).—It is therefore a proved matter that the connexion of the soul with the buddhi and the other adjuncts lasts as long as the soul (in its *samsāra*-state).

32. Otherwise (if no *manas* existed) there would result either constant perception or constant non-perception, or else a limitation of either of the two (i.e. of the soul or of the senses).

The internal organ which constitutes the limiting adjunct of the soul is called in different places by different names, such as *manas* (mind), *buddhi* (intelligence), *vijñāna* (knowledge), *kitta* (thought). This difference of nomenclature is sometimes made dependent on the difference of the modifications of the internal organ which is called *manas* when it is in the state of doubt, &c., *buddhi* when it is in the state of determination and the like.—Now we must necessarily acknowledge the existence of such an internal organ ; because otherwise there would result either perpetual perception or perpetual non-perception. There would result perpetual perception whenever there is a conjunction of the soul, the senses and the objects of sense—the three together constituting the instruments of perception ; or else, if on the conjunction of the three causes the effect did not follow, there would take place perpetual non-perception. But neither of these two alternatives is actually observed.—Or else we should have to assume that there are obstacles in the way of the energy either of the Self or the sense-organs. But the former is not possible, as the

Self is not capable of any modification; nor the latter, as we cannot assume that the energy of the sense-organ which is non-obstructed in the preceding and the following moment should, without any cause, be obstructed (in the intervening moment). Hence we have to acknowledge the existence of an internal organ through whose attention and non-attention perception and non-perception take place. Thus scripture declares, 'My mind was elsewhere, I did not see; my mind was elsewhere, I did not hear; for a man sees with his mind and hears with his mind' (*Bri. Up. I, 5, 3*). Scripture moreover shows that desire and similar states are modifications of the mind, 'Desire, representation, doubt, faith, want of faith, memory, forgetfulness, shame, reflection, fear, all this is mind.' The explanation given in *Sûtra 29* is therefore an appropriate one.

33. (The soul is) an agent, on account of scripture having a purport (thereby).

In connexion with the doctrine that the soul possesses for its essence the qualities of the buddhi, another attribute of the soul is set forth.—The individual soul is an agent, because thus scripture has a purport. For only on that assumption scriptural injunctions (such as 'He is to sacrifice,' 'He is to make an oblation into the fire,' 'He is to give,' &c.) acquire a purport; otherwise they would be purportless. For they all teach special acts to be done by agents; which would not be possible if the soul did not possess the quality of being an agent.—On that supposition a meaning belongs to the following passage also, 'For it is he who sees, hears, perceives, conceives, acts, he the person whose Self is knowledge' (*Pr. Up. IV, 9*).

34. And on account of (the text) teaching its wandering about.

The quality of being an agent has to be attributed to the soul for that reason also, that, in a chapter treating of the soul, the text declares it to wander about in the state of sleep, 'The immortal one goes wherever he likes' (*Bri. Up.*

IV, 3, 12); and again, 'He moves about, according to his pleasure, within his own body' (*Bṛi. Up. II, 1, 18*).

35. On account of its taking.

The quality of being an agent has to be attributed to the soul for that reason also that in the same chapter treating of the soul the text speaks of the soul taking its instruments, 'Having taken, through the intelligence of the senses, intelligence,' and 'having taken the senses' (*Bṛi. Up. II, 1, 18; 17*).

36. (The soul is an agent) also because it is designated as such with regard to actions; if it were not such, there would be a change of designation.

The quality of being an agent belongs to the soul for that reason also that the sacred texts speak of its agency in sacred and secular actions, 'Understanding performs the sacrifice, it performs all acts' (*Taitt. Up. II, 5*).—But, an objection may here be raised, we have seen that the word 'understanding' applies to the buddhi; how then can it indicate the circumstance of the soul being an agent?—The soul only, we reply, is designated there, not the buddhi. If the soul were not meant to be designated, there would be a change in the designation, i. e. the passage would run, 'through understanding it performs,' &c. For we see that in another passage where the buddhi is meant the word 'understanding' is exhibited in the instrumental form, 'Having through the understanding (intelligence) of these senses taken all understanding' (*Bṛi. Up. II, 1, 17*). In the passage under discussion, on the other hand, the word 'understanding' is given in the case characteristic of the agent (*viz.* the nominative), and therefore indicates the Self which is distinct from the buddhi. Hence your objection is not valid.—Another objection is raised. If the soul in so far as distinct from the buddhi were the agent, it would, because it is independent, bring about exclusively what is pleasant and useful to itself, not the opposite. We, however, observe that it does bring about the opposite also. But such an unrestricted proceeding does not become

the independent Self.—To this objection the following Sûtra replies.

37. The absence of restriction is as in the case of perception.

Just as this Self, although free with regard to perception, yet perceives unrestrictedly what is unpleasant as well as what is pleasant, so we assume that it also brings about what is unpleasant as well as what is pleasant.—The objection that in the act of perception also the soul is not free because it depends on the employment of the causes of perception (i.e. the sense-organs), we invalidate by the remark that the use of the causes of perception is merely to present the objects of perception, that however in the act of perception the soul because endowed with intelligence does not depend on anything else<sup>1</sup>.—Moreover in actions also the soul is not absolutely free, as it depends on differences of place, time, and efficient causes. But an agent does not cease to be so because he requires assistance. A cook remains the agent in the action of cooking although he requires fuel, water, and so on. The presence of a plurality of co-operating factors is therefore not opposed to the activity of the soul unrestrictedly extending to actions productive of pleasant as well as unpleasant results.

38. On account of the reversal of power.

The soul distinct from 'understanding' has to be viewed as an agent for the following reason also. If the buddhi which is denoted by the term 'understanding' were the agent, there would take place a reversal of power, i.e. the instrumental power which appertains to the buddhi would have to be set aside, and to be replaced by the power of an agent. But if the buddhi has the power of an agent, it must be admitted that it is also the object of self-conscious-

<sup>1</sup> *Kakshurâdînâm vishayopanâyakatvât tadupalabdhou kâttmanas ketanatvena svâtantryâd udâharasiddhir ity âha neti. Ân. Gi.*

ness (ahampratyaya)<sup>1</sup>, since we see that everywhere activity is preceded by self-consciousness, 'I go, I come, I eat, I drink,' &c. But if the buddhi is endowed with the power of an agent and effects all things, we have to assume for it another instrument by means of which it effects everything. For we see that agents although themselves capable of acting yet become really active only through making use of instruments.—Hence the whole dispute is about a name only, and there is no real difference, since in either case that which is different from the instrument of action is admitted to be the agent.

39. And on account of the impossibility of meditation (samādhi).

Moreover the meditation taught in the Vedānta-texts, whose aim is the realisation of the Self as represented by the Upanishads, is possible only if the Self is the agent<sup>2</sup>. Compare the following passages, '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 seek out, we must try to understand' (*Kh. Up. VIII, 7, 1*); 'Meditate on the Self as Om' (*Mu. Up. II, 2, 6*).—Therefrom also it follows that the Self is an agent.

40. And as the carpenter, in double fashion.

That the embodied Self is an agent, has been proved by the reasons set forth in Sūtra 33, &c. We now have to consider whether this agency depends on the fundamental nature of the Self, or is due to its limiting adjuncts.—If here it be maintained that for the same reasons which were employed to prove the Self's being an agent its agency must be held to be natural, there being no reasons to the contrary, we reply as follows.

---

<sup>1</sup> And that would virtually identify the buddhi with the *gīva*, the individual soul.

<sup>2</sup> The Self which enjoys the fruit of final release must be the agent in the meditation which is instrumental in bringing about final release.

The Self's being an agent cannot be founded on its real nature, because (if it were so) the impossibility of final release would follow. For if being an agent belongs to the soul's nature, it can never free itself from it—no more than fire can divest itself of heat,—and as long as man has not freed himself from activity he cannot obtain his highest end, since activity is essentially painful.—But, an objection will be raised, the end of man may be obtained, even as long as the potentiality of activity remains, viz. by man avoiding the effects of activity, and this he may accomplish by avoiding its occasions, just as fire, for instance, although endowed with the potentiality of burning, does, if fuel is withheld from it, not produce its natural effect, i.e. burning.—This objection we invalidate by the remark that the occasions, because connected (with the soul) by means of the peculiar connexion called 'potentiality' (power), cannot be avoided absolutely<sup>1</sup>.—Nor can it be said that release will be obtained through the means effecting it being employed, because whatever depends on means to be employed is non-eternal. Scripture moreover declares that release results from the instruction about the eternally pure, intelligent, free Self. Now instruction of this nature would not be possible, if the agentship of the Self formed part of its nature. The agentship of the Self is therefore due to the attributes of its adjuncts being ascribed to it, and does not form part of its nature. Hence scripture says of the Self, 'As if thinking, as if moving' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 3, 7*), and 'He (the Self) when in union with the body, the senses, and the mind, is called the enjoyer by wise people' (*Ka. Up. I, 3, 4*); which passages show that the Self passes into the special condition of being an enjoyer, &c., only through its

<sup>1</sup> *Kartṛitvasya dharmādīni nimittāni teshām gñānānivartyatve muktāv api sambhavāt kartṛitvam syāt gñānena tannivṛttau teshām agñānakāryatvāt kṛitam kartṛitvam api tathā syāt, sakter ā saktarākyaśāpekshatayā sanimittakriyālakṣaṇasakyaśāpekshakatvād anirmokṣas tasmān nimittaparihārasya duranushānatvān na śaktivāde muktir iti. Ān. Gi.*

*Śaktarākyaśārayā śaktiḥ svasattayāśāśāmyam śakyam ākshipati. Bhā.*



connexion with the limiting adjuncts. For to the discerning there is no Self called the living Self and being either agent or enjoyer, apart from the highest Self ; according to the scriptural passage 'There is no other seer but he,' &c. (*Bri. Up. III. 7, 23*). Nor must we suppose that, if there were no intelligent individual Soul, different from the highest Self and distinct from the aggregate consisting of buddhi, &c., it would follow that the highest Self is involved in the *samsāra*-state as agent and enjoyer. For the conditions of being agent and enjoyer are presented by Nescience merely. Scripture also, after having declared (in the passage, 'For where there is duality, as it were, there one sees the other,' &c., *Bri. Up. IV, 5, 15*) that the conditions of being an agent and an enjoyer belong to the state of Nescience only, excludes them from the state of knowledge, 'But where the Self only is all this, how should he see another?' And again, after having declared that the Self, in the states of waking and of dreaming, suffers weariness owing to the contact with its limiting adjuncts, like a falcon flying about in the air, scripture teaches that that fatigue ceases in deep sleep when the soul is embraced by the intelligent (highest) Self. 'This indeed is his true form in which his wishes are fulfilled, in which the Self only is his wish, in which no wish is left,—free from any sorrow'—up to 'This is his highest goal, this is his highest success, this is his highest world, this is his highest bliss' (*Bri. Up. IV, 3, 21-32*).—This the teacher intimates in the Sūtra, 'and as the carpenter in both ways.' 'And' is here used in the sense of 'but.' It is not to be supposed that the agentship of the Self belongs to its true nature, as heat belongs to the nature of fire. But just as in ordinary life a carpenter as long as working with his axe and other tools undergoes pain, while on the other hand he enjoys ease and leisure after having finished his work, laid his tools aside and returned to his home ; so the Self also, as long as it is joined with duality presented by Nescience and is an agent in the states of waking and dreaming, undergoes pain ; but as soon as, for the purpose of shaking off its weariness, it enters into its own highest Self, it frees itself from the complex of effects and instruments, and enjoys full ease in

the state of deep sleep. And in the state of final release also, the Self, having dispelled the darkness of ignorance by the light of knowledge, and having reached the state of absolute isolation and rest, enjoys full ease.—The case of the carpenter must be considered as being parallel to the following extent. The carpenter is, in certain kinds of work, such as cutting wood, &c., an agent with regard to certain definite tools, such as the axe and so on, but a non-agent with his mere body ; so this Self also is an agent in all its functions with regard to its instruments, such as the mind, &c., but is a non-agent by its own Self. On the other hand, the Self has no parts corresponding to the hands and other limbs of the carpenter, by means of which it could take up or put aside its instruments, as the carpenter takes up and puts aside his tools.

In reply to the reasons brought forward in favour of the soul's agentship being natural, as, for instance, the reason based on scripture having a purport, we remark that the scriptural injunctions in prescribing certain acts presuppose an agentship established somehow, but do not themselves aim at establishing the (direct) agentship of the Self. Now we have shown that the agentship of the Self does not constitute part of its real nature because scripture teaches that its true Self is Brahman ; we therefore conclude that the Vedic injunctions are operative with reference to that agentship of the soul which is due to Nescience. Such scriptural passages also as 'The agent, the person whose Self is understanding' (Pr. Up. IV, 9), must be assumed, because being of the nature of anuvādas<sup>1</sup>, to refer to an agentship already established elsewhere, and being the product of Nescience.

The preceding remarks refute also the reasons founded on 'the wandering about' and the 'taking' (Sūtras 34, 35), as the statements about them also are mere anuvādas.—But, an objection may be raised, the passage which teaches that the soul while its instruments are asleep, 'moves about,

---

<sup>1</sup> I.e. being only incidental remarks about matters established or taught elsewhere.

according to its pleasure, within its own body' (*Bṛi. Up. II. 1, 18*), clearly implies that the pure Self is an agent. And in the passage relative to the taking ('(the puruṣa) having through the intelligence of the senses absorbed all intelligence'), the fact of the instruments appearing in the objective and instrumental cases likewise intimates that the pure Self is the agent.—To this we reply that even in the state of dream the instruments of the Self are not altogether at rest; for scripture states that even then it is connected with the buddhi, 'Having become a dream, together with buddhi it passes beyond this world.' *Smṛiti* also says, 'When, the senses being at rest, the mind not being at rest is occupied with the objects, that state know to be a dream.' And scripture says that desire, &c., are modifications of the mind (cp. *Bṛi. Up. I, 5, 3*). Now these are observed in dreams; therefore the Self wanders about in dreams together with the mind only. That wandering about moreover is founded on the mental impressions (*vāsanā*) only, is not real. Thus scripture also in describing our doings in dreams qualifies them by an 'as it were.' 'As it were rejoicing together with women, or laughing as it were, or seeing terrible sights' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 3, 13*). Ordinary people also describe their dreams in the same manner, 'I ascended as it were the summit of a mountain,' 'I saw a tree as it were.'—And although it is true that, in the statement about the taking, the instruments are exhibited in the objective and instrumental cases, still the agentship of the Self must be considered as connected with those instruments, since we have shown that the pure Self cannot be an agent.

In ordinary language also we meet with similar variations of expression; the two sentences, for instance, 'the warriors fight' and 'the king fights by means of his warriors,' really have the same meaning. Moreover, the statement about the taking means to express only the cessation of activity on the part of the instruments, not the independent activity of any one.—The passage referred to above, 'understanding performs the sacrifice,' establishes the agentship of the buddhi merely, as the word 'understanding' is known to

have that sense, and as the mind is mentioned close by, and as in the passage, 'Faith is its head,' &c., faith and so on are declared to be the members of the Self which consists of understanding, and as faith, &c., are known to be attributes of the buddhi. Another reason is furnished by the complementary sentence, 'All gods worship understanding as the oldest, as Brahman' (Taïtt. Up. II, 5), for buddhi is known to be the oldest, i. e. the first produced<sup>1</sup>. Another scriptural passage also avers that that sacrifice is accomplished by means of speech and buddhi, 'The sacrifice is what results from speech and mind.' Nor can it rightly be maintained (cp. Sûtra 38) that to view the instruments as agents would lead to an exchange of power on the part of the buddhi; for all instruments must necessarily be considered as agents in regard of their special functions<sup>2</sup>. But with reference to perception (upalabdhi) those instruments are (not agents, but) mere instruments, and perception belongs to the Self. Nor can agentship be ascribed to the Self on account of perception, since permanent perception constitutes its nature (and hence cannot be viewed as a mere transitory activity). Nor can the agentship which has self-consciousness for its antecedent belong to the perceiving principle (upalabdhri); for self-consciousness itself is an object of perception (on the part of the upalabdhri, i. e. the pure, isolated, intelligent Self). And on this doctrine there is no occasion for assuming a further instrument, as we maintain the buddhi itself to be the instrument.

The objection founded on the impossibility of meditation (Sûtra 39) is already refuted by the fact, pointed out above, of scripture having a purport, meditation being enjoined by scripture with reference to such agentship as is already established by other passages.—The result of all this is

<sup>1</sup> According to the *sruti*: mahad yaksham prathamagam veda yo ha vai gyesh/ham ka sresh/ham ka veda.

<sup>2</sup> Wood, for instance, is an 'agent' in regard of the function of burning, while it is a mere instrument with reference to the action of cooking.

that the agentship of the Self is due to its limiting adjuncts only.

41. But from the highest (Lord there result *samsāra* and *moksha*), because scripture teaches that.

We now enter on the discussion whether the agentship, characterising the individual soul in the state of Nescience and founded on its limiting adjuncts, is independent of the Lord or dependent on him.

The *pūrvapakshin* maintains that the soul as far as it is an agent does not depend on the Lord, because the assumption of such a dependence would serve no purpose. For as the individual soul has motives in its own imperfections, such as passion, aversion, and so on, and is furnished with the whole apparatus of the other constituents of action<sup>1</sup>, it is able to occupy on its own account the position of an agent; and what then should the Lord do for it? Nor does ordinary experience show that in addition to the oxen which are required for such actions as ploughing and the like the Lord also is to be depended upon. Moreover (if all activity depended on the Lord) it would follow that the Lord is cruel because imposing on his creatures activity which is essentially painful, and at the same time unjust because allotting to their activities unequal results.—But it has already been shown (II, 1, 34) that the Lord cannot be taxed with cruelty and injustice, on account of his dependence.—True, that has been shown, but only on the condition of the dependence on the Lord being possible. Now such dependence is possible only if there exist religious merit and demerit on the part of the creatures, and these again exist if the soul is an agent; if then the agentship of the soul again depends on the Lord, whereupon will the Lord's dependence depend? And (if we should assume the Lord to determine the souls without reference to their merits and demerits) it would follow that the souls have to undergo

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the constituents of action such as instrument, object, &c., exclusive of the agent.

consequences not due to their actions.—Hence the soul's activity is independent.

Setting aside this *primâ facie* view by means of the word 'but,' the Sûtrakâra asserts 'from the highest.' For the soul which in the state of Nescience is blinded by the darkness of ignorance and hence unable to distinguish itself from the complex of effects and instruments, the *samsâra*-state in which it appears as agent and enjoyer is brought about through the permission of the Lord who is the highest Self, the superintendent of all actions, the witness residing in all beings, the cause of all intelligence; and we must therefore assume that final release also is effected through knowledge caused by the grace of the Lord.

Why so?—'Because scripture teaches that.' For although the soul has its own imperfections, such as passion and so on, for motives, and is furnished with the whole apparatus of action, and although ordinary experience does not show that the Lord is a cause in occupations such as ploughing and the like, yet we ascertain from scripture that the Lord is a causal agent in all activity. For scripture says, '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' (Kau. Up. III, 8); and again, 'He who dwelling within the Self pulls the Self within' (Sat. Br. XIV, 6, 7, 30).

But if causal agency thus belongs to the Lord, it follows that he must be cruel and unjust, and that the soul has to undergo consequences of what it has not done.—This objection the following Sûtra refutes.

42. But with a view to the efforts made (by the soul) (the Lord makes it act), on account of the (otherwise resulting) purportlessness of the injunctions and prohibitions, &c.

The word 'but' removes the objections started.—The Lord makes the soul act, having regard to the efforts made by it, whether meritorious or non-meritorious. Hence

there is no room for the objections raised. Having regard to the inequality of the virtuous and vicious actions of the souls, the Lord, acting as a mere occasional cause, allots to them corresponding unequal results. An analogous case is furnished by rain. As rain constitutes the common occasional cause for shrubs, bushes, corn, and so on, which belong to different species and spring each from its particular seed—for the inequality of their sap, flowers, fruits, and leaves results neither when rain is absent nor when the special seeds are absent—; so we also must assume that the Lord arranges favourable or unfavourable circumstances for the souls with a view to their former efforts.—But if the activity of the soul is dependent on something else, this having regard (on the part of the Lord) to former effort is inappropriate.—By no means, we reply; for although the activity of the soul is not independent, yet the soul does act. The Lord indeed causes it to act, but it acts itself. Moreover, the Lord in causing it to act now has regard to its former efforts, and he caused it to act in a former existence, having regard to its efforts previous to that existence; a regressus against which, considering the eternity of the *samsāra*, no objections can be raised.—But how is it known that the Lord has regard to the efforts made (in former existences)?—The Sūtra replies: from the purportlessness, &c., of injunctions and prohibitions. For thus (i.e. if the Lord has regard to former actions) injunctions such as ‘he who is desirous of the heavenly world is to sacrifice,’ and prohibitions such as ‘a Brāhmaṇa must not be killed,’ are not devoid of purport. On the other alternative they would be without purport, and the Lord would in fact be enjoined in the place of injunctions and prohibitions<sup>1</sup>, since the soul would be absolutely dependent. And then the Lord might requite with good those who act according to the injunctions, and with evil men doing what is forbidden; which would

<sup>1</sup> *Īśvara eva vidhinishedhayoḥ sthāne niyugyeta yad vidhinishedhayoḥ phalam tad īśvareṇa tatpratipāditadharmādharmanirapekṣheṇa kṛtam iti. Bhā.*

subvert the authoritativeness of the Veda. Moreover, if the Lord were absolutely without any regard, it would follow that also the ordinary efforts of men are without any purport; and so likewise the special conditions of place, time, and cause. And also the difficulty mentioned above<sup>1</sup> would present itself.—All these latter difficulties the Sûtrakâra comprises in his ‘&c.’

43. (The soul is) a part of the Lord, on account of the declarations of difference, and (because) in a different way also some record that (Brahman) is of the nature of slaves, fishers, and so on.

We have shown that the individual soul and the Lord stand to each other in the relation of what is being acted upon and what is acting upon. This relation is observed in ordinary life to exist only between things connected, such as a master and a servant, or a fire and its sparks. Now as the soul and the Lord also are acknowledged to stand in the relation of what is acted upon and what is acting, a doubt arises whether their connexion is analogous to that of a master and a servant, or to that of a fire and its sparks.

The pûrvapakshin maintains that either the matter is to be considered as undetermined, or that the connexion is like that of master and servant, because that connexion only is well known to be the relation of ruler (Lord) and subject ruled.

To this the Sûtra replies that the soul must be considered a part of the Lord, just as a spark is a part of the fire. By ‘part’ we mean ‘a part as it were,’ since a being not composed of parts cannot have parts in the literal sense.—Why, then, do we not view the Lord, who is not composed of parts, as identical with the soul?—‘On account of the declarations of difference.’ For such scriptural passages as ‘That (self) it is which we must search out, that it is which we must try to understand’ (*Kh. Up.*

---

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the objectionable assumption that men have to undergo consequences not resulting from their own former actions.



VIII, 7); 'He who knows him becomes a muni' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 22*); 'He who dwelling within the Self pulls the Self within' (*Bṛi. Up. III, 7, 23*); which all of them refer to a difference (between the highest and the individual Self) would be inappropriate, if there were no difference.—But, it may be said, these statements of difference would agree better with a relation similar to that of master and servant.—Hence the sūtrakāra adds, 'and otherwise also.' That the soul is a part (of the Lord) we learn not only from the passages declaring their difference, but there are other statements also which teach their non-difference. The members of a certain śākhā of the Atharva-veda record in a Brahma-sūkta that 'Brahman are the fishermen, Brahman the slaves, Brahman these gamblers,' &c. Here low creatures such as fishermen, and slaves depending on their masters, and gamblers are called Brahman; whence it appears that all individual souls which have entered into aggregates of effects and instruments (i.e. bodies) depending on name and form are Brahman. The same view is set forth in other passages such as '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 'The wise one who, having produced all forms and made all names, sits calling (the things by their names)' (*Taitt. Âr. III, 12, 7*). Passages such as 'There is no other seer but he' and other similar ones establish the same truth.—Non-differenced intelligence belongs to the soul and the Lord alike, as heat belongs to the sparks as well as the fire.—From these two views of difference and non-difference there results the comprehensive view of the soul being a part of the Lord.—The following Sūtra supplies a further reason.

#### 44. And on account of the mantra.

A mantra also intimates the same view. 'Such is the greatness of it; greater than it is the Person. One foot of it are all beings, three feet of it are the Immortal in heaven' (*Kh. Up. III, 12, 6*). Here the word 'beings'

denotes all moving and non-moving things, among which the souls occupy the first place ; in accordance with the use of the word in the following passage, ' Not giving pain to any being (bhūta) except at the tīrthas ' (*Kṛ. Up. VIII, 15*). Herefrom also we conclude that the individual soul is a part of the Lord.—And again from the following reason.

45. Moreover it is so stated in *Smṛiti*.

In the *Īsvara-gītā* (*Bhagavad-gītā*) also it is said that the soul is a part of the Lord, ' an eternal part of me becomes the individual soul in the world of life ' (*Bha. Gī. XV, 7*). With regard to the assertion made above, viz. that in ordinary life the relation of ruler and ruled is known to hold good in the case of master and servant &c. only, we remark that, although that may be the case in ordinary life, we ascertain from scripture that the relation of part and whole and that of ruler and ruled may go together. Nor is there anything contradictory in assuming that the Lord who is provided with superexcellent limiting adjuncts rules the souls which are connected with inferior adjuncts only.

Here the *pūrvapakshin* raises another objection. If we admit that the souls are parts of the Lord, it follows that the Lord also, whose part the soul is, will be afflicted by the pain caused to the soul by its experience of the *samsāra*-state ; as we see in ordinary life that the entire *Devadatta* suffers from the pain affecting his hand or foot or some other limb. Herefrom it would follow that they who obtain *Brahman* obtain a greater pain<sup>1</sup> ; so that the former *samsāra*-condition would be preferable, and complete knowledge be devoid of purpose.—To this the following *Sūtra* replies.

46. (As the soul is affected by pleasure and pain) not so the highest (Lord) ; as in the case of light and so on.

We maintain that the highest Lord does not feel the pain of the *samsāra*-state in the same way as the soul does. The soul being engrossed by Nescience identifies itself as it were

<sup>1</sup> Viz. by participating in all pain.

with the body and so on, and imagines itself to be affected by the experience of pain which is due to Nescience, 'I am afflicted by the pain due to the body;' the highest Lord, on the other hand, neither identifies himself with a body, nor imagines himself to be afflicted by pain. The pain of the individual soul also is not real, but imaginary only, caused by the error consisting in the non-discrimination of (the Self from) the body, senses, and other limiting adjuncts which are due to name and form, the effects of Nescience. And as a person feels the pain of a burn or cut which affects his body by erroneously identifying himself with the latter, so he feels also the pain affecting others, such as sons or friends, by erroneously identifying himself with them, entering as it were into them through love, and imagining 'I am the son, I am the friend.' Wherefrom we infer with certainty that the feeling of pain is due merely to the error of false imagination. At the same conclusion we arrive on the ground of negative instances. Let us consider the case of many men, each of whom possesses sons, friends, &c., sitting together, some of them erroneously imagining that they are connected with their sons, friends, &c., while others do not. If then somebody calls out 'the son has died,' 'the friend has died,' grief is produced in the minds of those who are under the imagination of being connected with sons and friends, but not in the minds of religious mendicants who have freed themselves from that imagination. From this it appears that perfect knowledge is of use even to an ordinary man; of how much greater use then will it be to him (i.e. the Lord) whose nature is eternal pure intelligence, who sees nothing beside the Self for which there are no objects. Hence it follows that perfect knowledge is not purposeless. —To illustrate this view the Sūtra introduces a comparison 'like light,' &c. Just as the light of the sun or the moon which pervades the entire space becomes straight or bent as it were when the limiting adjuncts with which it is in contact, such as a finger, for instance, are straight or bent, but does not really become so; and just as the ether, although imagined to move as it were when jars are being moved, does not really move; and as the sun does not tremble,

although its image trembles when you shake the cup filled with water in which the sun's light is reflected ; thus the Lord also is not affected by pain, although pain be felt by that part of him which is called the individual soul, is presented by Nescience, and limited by the buddhi and other adjuncts. That also the soul's undergoing pain is due to Nescience only, we have already explained. Accordingly the Vedānta-texts teach that, when the soul's individual state, due to Nescience, is sublated, it becomes Brahman, 'Thou art that &c.'—Thus there is no occasion to conclude that the highest Self is affected by the pain of the individual soul.

#### 47. And the Smṛitis state (that).

Vyāsa and others state in their smṛitis that the highest Self is not afflicted by the pain of the individual soul, 'That highest Self is said to be eternal, devoid of qualities, nor is it stained by the fruits of actions any more than a lotus leaf by water. But that other Self whose essence is action is connected with bondage and release ; again and again it is joined with the seventeenfold aggregate<sup>1</sup>.—On the ground of the particle 'and' (in the Sūtra) we have to supply 'and scripture also records that.' So, for instance, 'One of them eats the sweet fruit, the other looks on without eating' (Mu. Up. III, 1, 1), and 'The one Self within all things is never contaminated by the misery of the world, being himself without' (Ka. Up. II, 5, 11).

Here the pūrvapakshin raises a new objection.—If there is only one internal Self of all beings, what room is there for permissions and prohibitions, worldly as well as Vedic ? You must not reject this objection on the ground of your having proved that the individual soul is a part of the Lord, and that thus injunctions and prohibitions may, without any mutual interference, apply to the soul which is different from the Lord. For there are other scriptural passages which teach that the soul is not different from the Lord, and therefore not a part of him, as, for instance, the following ones :

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the subtle body consisting of the ten sense-organs, the five prāṇas, manas, and buddhi.

'Having sent forth that he entered into it' (Taitt. Up. II, 6); 'There is no other seer but he' (Bri. Up. III, 7, 23); 'From death to death goes he who perceives therein any diversity' (Bri. Up. IV, 4, 19); 'Thou art that' (Kṛ. Up. VI, 8, 7); 'I am Brahman' (Bri. Up. I, 4, 10). Should you say that just from this concurrence of intimations of difference on the one hand and non-difference on the other hand it follows that the soul is a part of the Lord, we reply that such might be the case if the intention of the texts were to teach difference as well as non-difference. But the fact is that the texts aim solely at teaching non-difference, because through the knowledge of Brahman being the universal Self the highest end of man is obtained. About difference on the other hand mere occasional statements (anuvāda) are made as about something already established naturally (i.e. apart from scripture). Moreover, we have already maintained that Brahman as not composed of parts can have no parts. Hence it follows that the one highest Self which is within all beings appears as individual soul, and it therefore remains to show how injunctions and prohibitions are possible.

48. (The possibility of) injunctions and prohibitions (results) from the connexion (of the Self) with bodies; as in the case of light and so on.

Passages such as 'He is to approach his wife at the proper time,' and 'he is not to approach the wife of his guru,' are examples of permissions (or injunctions) and prohibitions; or again passages such as 'He is to kill the animal devoted to Agnīshomau,' and 'He is not to hurt any being.' Corresponding examples from ordinary life are: 'A friend is to be served,' and 'Enemies are to be shunned.' Permissions and prohibitions of this kind are possible, because the Self although one only is connected with various bodies.—Of what kind then is that connexion?—It consists in the origination in the Self of the erroneous notion that the Self is the aggregate consisting of the body and so on. This erroneous notion is seen to prevail in all living beings, and finds its expression in thoughts such as the following: 'I go,' 'I come,' 'I am blind,' 'I am not blind,' 'I am con-

fused,' *'I am not confused.'* That erroneous notion cannot be removed by anything but perfect knowledge, and before the latter supervenes, it remains spread among all living beings. And thus, although the Self must be admitted to be one only, injunctions and prohibitions are possible owing to the difference effected by its connexion with bodies and other limiting adjuncts, the products of Nescience.—It then follows that for him who has obtained perfect knowledge, injunctions and prohibitions are purportless.—No, we reply, (they are not purportless for him, but they do not refer to him), since to him who has obtained the highest aim no obligation can apply. For obligations are imposed with reference to things to be avoided or desired; how then should he, who sees nothing, either to be wished or avoided, beyond the universal Self, stand under any obligation? The Self certainly cannot be enjoined on the Self.—Should it be said that injunctions and prohibitions apply to all those who discern that the soul is something different from the body (and therefore also to him who possesses perfect knowledge), we reply that (such an assertion is too wide, since) obligation depends on a man's imagining his Self to be (actually) connected with the body. It is true that obligation exists for him only who views the soul as something different from the body; but fundamentally all obligation is an erroneous imagination existing in the case of him only who does not see that his Self is no more connected with a body than the ether is with jars and the like. For him, on the other hand, who does not see that connexion no obligation exists, much less, therefore, for him who discerns the unity of the Self.—Nor does it result from the absence of obligation, that he who has arrived at perfect knowledge can act as he likes; for in all cases it is only the wrong imagination (as to the Self's connexion with a body) that impels to action, and that imagination is absent in the case of him who has reached perfect knowledge.—From all this it follows that injunctions and prohibitions are based on the Self's connexion with the body; 'as in the case of light.' The case under discussion is analogous to cases such as the following: Light is one only, and yet we shun

a fire which has consumed dead bodies, not any other fire. The sun is one only ; yet we shun only that part of his light which shines on unholy places, not that part which falls on pure ground. Some things consisting of earth are desired, e.g. diamonds and beryls ; other things likewise consisting of earth are shunned, e.g. dead bodies. The urine and dung of cows are considered pure and used as such ; those of other animals are shunned. And many similar cases.

49. And on account of the non-extension (of the individual soul), there is no confusion (of the results of actions).

Well, let it be granted that injunctions and prohibitions are valid, because the Self although one is joined with particular bodies.—From the admission, however, of the unity of the Self it follows that there must be a confusion of the fruits of actions, there being only one master (i.e. one soul to enjoy the fruits of action).—This is not so, we reply, because there is no extension of the acting and enjoying Self, i.e. no connexion on its part with all bodies. For, as we have shown, the individual soul depends on its adjuncts, and owing to the non-extension of those adjuncts there is also non-extension of the soul. Hence there is no confusion of actions or fruits of actions.

50. And (the individual soul is) an appearance (reflection) only.

And that individual soul is to be considered a mere appearance of the highest Self, like the reflection of the sun in the water ; it is neither directly that (i.e. the highest Self), nor a different thing. Hence just as, when one reflected image of the sun trembles, another reflected image does not on that account tremble also ; so, when one soul is connected with actions and results of actions, another soul is not on that account connected likewise. There is therefore no confusion of actions and results. And as that 'appearance' is the effect of Nescience, it follows that the *samsāra* which is based on it (the appearance) is also the

effect of Nescience, so that from the removal of the latter there results the cognition of the soul being in reality nothing but Brahman.

For those, on the other hand, who maintain that there are many Selfs and all of them all-pervading, it follows that there must be a confusion of actions and results.—In what way?—According to the opinion of the Sāṅkhyas there exist many all-pervading Selfs, whose nature is pure intelligence, devoid of qualities and of unsurpassable excellence. For the common purpose of all of them there exists the *pradhāna*, through which the souls obtain enjoyment and release.—According to the followers of *Kaṇāda* there exist many all-pervading Selfs, but they are, like so many jars or stools, mere substances and unintelligent in themselves. With those Selfs there co-operate the internal organs (*manas*), atomic and also unintelligent. From the conjunction of these two classes of substances, viz. the Selfs and the internal organs, there spring the nine special qualities of the Selfs, viz. desire, &c.<sup>1</sup> These qualities inhere in the individual Selfs separately, without any confusion, and that constitutes the *samsāra*-state. Final release, on the other hand, consists in the absolute non-origination of those nine qualities.

With regard to these opinions we remark that, as far as the Sāṅkhyas are concerned, their doctrine that all Selfs are of the nature of intelligence, and that there is no difference between them in the point of proximity (to the *pradhāna*), &c.<sup>2</sup>, implies that, if one Self is connected with pleasure and pain, all Selfs will be so connected.—Well but, the Sāṅkhya might reply, a difference (in the connexion of the individual Selfs with pleasure and pain) may result from the circumstance that the activity of the *pradhāna* aims at the isolation (emancipation) of the Selfs<sup>3</sup>. Other-

<sup>1</sup> Cognition, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, endeavour, merit, demerit, and *bhāvanā*.

<sup>2</sup> The &c. implies the non-activity (*audāsīnya*) of the Selfs.

<sup>3</sup> And therefore proceeds in a special definite direction capable of effecting in the end the emancipation of some particular Self.



wise the activity of the *pradhāna* would serve no other end but to manifest the *pradhāna*'s power, in consequence whereof no final release would ever take place.—This argumentation, we reply, is not sound. For we have no right to assume a difference which has for its only motive the accomplishment of an end desirable (to us, viz. the emancipation of the Self), but we must rather bring forward some proof for that difference. If no such proof can be brought forward, the desired end, i.e. the emancipation of the soul, must be supposed not to take place; while at the same time the absence of any cause of difference establishes the confusion of actions and their results.—Against the *Kāṇādas* we urge that if, on their theory, the internal organ is connected with one soul, it must in the same way be connected with all other souls as well, as there is no difference in the point of proximity, &c.<sup>1</sup> Hence, there being no difference of cause and consequently no difference of effect, it follows that, when one soul is connected with pleasure and pain, all souls are thus connected.—But may not the limitation (of actions and their results) be caused by the unseen principle (*adrishṭa*)? By no means, the following Sūtra replies.

51. On account of the unseen principle being non-limitative.

While there are many souls, all-pervading like ether, and in equal proximity to all bodies from within as well as without, the so-called unseen principle (*adrishṭa*), which is of the nature of religious merit or demerit, is acquired through mind, speech, and body (i.e. thoughts, words, and actions).—Now, according to the *Sāṅkhyas*, that principle inheres not in the Self, but abides in the *pradhāna* and cannot, on account of the *pradhāna* being the same (for all souls), be the limitative cause of the enjoyment of pleasure and pain for each individual Self.—And according to the *Kāṇādas* also the unseen principle is due to the non-particular conjunction of the Selfs with the internal

<sup>1</sup> The ' &c.' implies substantiality and so on.

organs, and as thus there is no limitative reason for any particular *adrishṭa* belonging to any particular soul, the doctrine is open to the same objection.—Well, but there are at work in every particular Self resolutions, &c., such as, ‘I wish to obtain that result,’ ‘I wish to avoid that other result,’ ‘I am striving for that purpose,’ ‘I wish to act in that way,’ &c. &c., and these may, we assume, define the relation of ownership in which particular Selves stand to particular *adrishṭas*.—This objection is negated in the following Sūtra.

52. And this is also the case in resolutions, &c.

The objection pointed out before applies also to resolutions, &c., for they also are made through the non-particular conjunction of the internal organ and the Self, in proximity to all Selves. Hence they also cannot furnish a reason for limitation.

53. (Should it be said that distinction of pleasure, pain, &c., results) from (difference of) place; we say no, on account of the (Self’s) being within (all things).

Here it might be objected that, although all Selves are all-pervading, yet their conjunction with the internal organ which is seated in the body must take place in that part of each Self which is limited by the body; and that thus there may result from difference of locality a limitative distinction of resolutions, &c., of the *adrishṭa*, and of pleasure and pain.—This also, we reply, is not possible ‘on account of the being within.’ For, as being equally infinite, all Selves are within all bodies. Thus the *Vaiśeṣikas* have no right whatever to assume any part of the Self to be limited by the body. And if they do assume such a part of the Self which in reality is without any parts, that part because merely assumptive will be incapable of limiting a real effect. Moreover, it is impossible to limit the body which originates in proximity to all (omnipresent) Selves to one particular Self to the exclusion of all others. Moreover, on the doctrine of limitation due

to difference of place, it would follow that sometimes two Selfs enjoying the same pleasure or pain might effect their fruition by one and the same body, since it may happen that the unseen principle of two Selfs occupies the same place. For we may observe, e.g. that after Devadatta's body has moved away from a certain spot in which Devadatta had enjoyed a certain amount of pleasure or pain, and the body of Yağñadatta has moved into that very same place, Yağñadatta enjoys an equal amount of pleasure or pain; a thing which (on the theory discussed) could not happen if the unseen principles of the two men did not occupy the same place. From the doctrine that the unseen principles occupy fixed places it would, moreover, follow that no enjoyment of the heavenly world, &c. can take place; for the *adrīṣṭa* is effected in definite places such as e.g. the body of a Brāhmaṇa, and the enjoyment of the heavenly world is bound to a definite different place.—It further<sup>1</sup> is impossible to maintain that there exist many all-pervading Selfs<sup>2</sup>, as there are no parallel instances. Mention if you can a plurality of other things occupying the same place!—You will perhaps bring forward colour and so on<sup>3</sup>. But we refuse to accept that instance as parallel, because colour, &c., although non-different in so far as they are attributes of one substance, yet differ through their essential characteristics. On the other hand there is no difference of characteristics between your (alleged) many Selfs. If you say that a difference of characteristics can be established on the ground of the ultimate special differences (of all substances), we point out that you implicate yourself in a logical circle as the assumption of difference of characteristics and the assumption of ultimate differences presuppose each other.

---

<sup>1</sup> And this is an attack on the basis of the position of the Sāṅkhyas as well as of the Vāireśhikas.

<sup>2</sup> Which being equally omnipresent would all occupy the same space.

<sup>3</sup> Many attributes such as colour, smell, touch, &c. reside in one place as belonging to one material object.

---

Should you adduce as parallel instances the all-pervadingness of ether, &c. (the ' &c.' implying place and time), we reply that their all-pervadingness is not proved for him who holds the doctrine of Brahman and looks upon ether and so on as mere effects.

All which establishes the conclusion that the only doctrine not open to any objections is the doctrine of the unity of the Self.

## FOURTH PĀDA.

## REVERENCE TO THE HIGHEST SELF!

## I. Thus the vital airs.

In the third pāda it has been shown that a conflict of Vedic passages as to ether, &c., does not exist. The same is now done in this fourth pāda with regard to the vital airs. On the one hand the chapters treating of the origin of things do not record an origin of the vital airs; so e.g. (*Kh. Up.* VI, 2, 3) 'It sent forth fire,' &c.; and (*Taitt. Up.* II, 1) 'From that Self sprang ether,' &c. On the other hand it is said expressly in some places that the vital airs were not produced. The following passage, e.g. 'Non-being indeed was this in the beginning; they say: what was that non-being? those *rīshis* indeed were the non-being in the beginning; they say: who are those *rīshis*? the vital airs indeed are the *rīshis*' (*Sat. Br.* VI, 1, 1, 1), states that the vital airs existed before the origin of things.—In other passages again we read of the origin of the vital airs also, so e.g. 'As small sparks come forth from fire, thus do all vital airs come forth from that Self' (*Bṛi. Up.* II, 1, 20); 'From that is born the vital air, mind, and all organs of sense' (*Mu. Up.* II, 1, 3); 'The seven vital airs also spring from him' (*Mu. Up.* II, 1, 8); 'He sent forth the vital air; from the vital air *śraddhā*, ether, air, light, water, earth, sense, mind, food' (*Pr. Up.* VI, 4). Hence as there is a conflict of scriptural passages, and as no reason can be made out for deciding in favour of either alternative, the *pūrvapakshin* thinks that either no opinion can be formed, or that the passages relative to the origin of the vital airs must be taken in a metaphorical sense, since scripture expressly states the *prāṇas* to have existed before the creation.

In reply to this the author of the Sūtras says, 'thus the

*prāṇas*.—What then, it will be asked, is the fitness of the word ‘thus,’ as there is no point of comparison with the matter under discussion? The matter under discussion at the conclusion of the preceding pāda was the refutation of those who maintain a plurality of omnipresent Selfs, and with this no comparison can be instituted because there is no similarity. For a comparison is possible only where there is similarity; as when we say, e.g. ‘as a lion so is Bala-varman.’ Possibly it might be said that the comparison is meant to intimate similarity with the *advīṣṭa*; the meaning being that as the *advīṣṭa* is not limited because it is produced in proximity to all Selfs, so the *prāṇas* also are not limited with regard to all the different Selfs. But, on that explanation, the Sūtra would be an idle repetition, as it has already been explained that that absence of limitation is due to the non-limitation of bodies.—Nor can the *prāṇas* be compared with the individual soul, because that would be contrary to the conclusion about to be established. For it has been shown that the individual soul is without an origin, while the intention is to declare that the *prāṇas* have an origin. Hence it appears that the word ‘so’ is devoid of connexion.—Not so, we reply. A connexion may be established by means of a comparison based on the exemplifying passages. Under that category fall those passages which state the origin of the *prāṇas*, as e.g. ‘From that Self come forth all *prāṇas*, all worlds, all gods, all beings’ (*Bṛi. Up. II, 1, 20*); which passage means that as the worlds and so on are produced from the highest Brahman so the *prāṇas* also. Such passages also as (*Mu. Up. II, 1, 3*) ‘From him are born *prāṇa*, mind and all organs of sense, ether, air, light, water, and the earth the support of all,’ are to be considered as intimating that the origin of the *prāṇas* is analogous to that of the ether, &c.—Or else, as a connexion with a somewhat remote object of comparison is resorted to in such cases as the one treated of in *Pū. Mī. Sū. III, 4, 32* (‘and the accident in drinking Soma, in the same manner’)<sup>1</sup>, we may construe our Sūtra in the following

<sup>1</sup> The ‘*tadvat*’ in the quoted Sūtra refers not to the immediately preceding *adikarṇa* but to Sūtra III, 4, 28.

way: in the same way as ether and so on, which are mentioned in the beginning of the preceding pāda, are understood to be effects of the highest Brahman, so the prāṇas also are effects of the highest Brahman. And if it be asked what reason we have for assuming the prāṇas to be so, we reply: the fact of this being stated by scripture.—But it has been shown above that in some places the origin of the prāṇas is not mentioned.—That is of no weight, we reply, as it is mentioned in other places. For the circumstance of a thing not being stated in some places has no power to invalidate what is stated about it in other places. Hence, on account of equality of scriptural statement, it is proper to maintain that the prāṇas also are produced in the same way as ether and so on.

## 2. On account of the impossibility of a secondary (origin of the prāṇas).

Against the objection that the origin of the prāṇas must be understood in a secondary sense because the text states that they existed before the origin of the world, the Sūtra-kāra declares 'on account of the impossibility of a secondary origin.' The statement as to the origin of the prāṇas cannot be taken in a secondary sense because therefrom would result the abandonment of a general assertion. For after the text has asserted that the knowledge of everything depends on the knowledge of one ('What is that through which when it is known everything else becomes known?' Mu. Up. I, 1, 3), it goes on to say, in order to prove that assertion, that 'From him is born prāṇa,' &c. (Mu. Up. II, 1, 3). Now the assertion is made good only if the whole world including the prāṇas is an effect of Brahman, because then there is no effect independent of the material cause; if on the other hand the statement as to the origin of the prāṇas were taken in a secondary sense, the assertion would thereby be stultified. The text, moreover, makes some concluding statements about the matter asserted, 'The Person is all this, sacrifice, penance, Brahman, the highest Immortal' (II, 1, 10), and 'Brahman alone is all this; it is the Best.'—That same

assertion is to be connected with such passages as the following, 'When we see, hear, perceive, and know the Self, then all this is known' (*Bṛi.* Up. II, 4, 5).—How then have we to account for the statement that the *prānas* existed before the creation?—That statement, we reply, does not refer to the fundamental causal substance; for we ascertain from scriptural passages, such as *Mu.* Up. II, 1, 2 ('That heavenly Person is without breath and without mind, pure, higher than the high Imperishable'), that the fundamental causal substance is devoid of all distinctions such as breath and the like. We must rather view the statement about the existence of the *prānas* before the creation as having for its object a subordinate causal substance<sup>1</sup>, and being made with reference to the effects of the latter only. For it is known from *Sruti* and *Smṛiti* that even in the universe of evolved things many states of being may stand to each other in the relation of causal substance and effect. —In the *adhikaraṇa* treating of the ether there occurred a *Sūtra* (composed of the same syllables) '*gauṇyasambhavāt*,' which as being the *pūrvapaksha-sūtra* had to be explained as '*gauṇī asambhavāt*,' 'the statement about the origin of ether must be taken in a secondary sense on account of the impossibility (of the primary sense).' There the final conclusion was established by means of the abandonment of the general assertion. Here on the other hand the *Sūtra* is the *Siddhānta Sūtra* and we have therefore explained it as meaning 'on account of the impossibility of a secondary meaning.'—Those who explain the present *Sūtra* in the same way as the previous *Sūtra* overlook the fact of the general assertion being abandoned (*viz.* if the passages referring to the origin of the *prānas* were taken in a secondary sense).

3. On account of that (word which indicates origin) being enunciated at first (in connexion with the *prānas*).

That the scriptural statement about the origin of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Such as *Hiranyagarbha*.



*prāṇas* is to be taken in its literal sense just as the statements about the ether, &c., appears from that circumstance also that the one word which (in the passage from the Mu. Up.) indicates origination, viz. 'is born' (*gāyate*), is in the first place connected with the *prāṇas* and has afterwards to be joined with ether, &c., also ('from him is born breath, mind, and all organs of sense, ether, air,' &c.). Now as it is a settled matter that the phrase 'is born' must be taken in its primary sense with reference to ether and so on, it follows that the origin of the *prāṇas* also to which the same word is applied must be understood as a real origin. For it would be impossible to decide that a word enunciated once only in one chapter and one sentence, and connected with many other words, has in some cases to be taken in its primary sense, and in others in a secondary sense; for such a decision would imply want of uniformity.—So likewise in the passage, 'He sent forth *prāṇa*, from *prāṇa* *śraddhā*,' &c. (Pr. Up. VI, 4), the phrase 'he sent forth' which the text exhibits in conjunction with the *prāṇas* has to be carried on to *śraddhā* and the other things which have an origin.—The same reasoning holds good in those cases where the word expressing origination occurs at the end and has to be connected with the preceding words; as e.g. in the passage ending 'all beings come forth from the Self,' where the word 'come forth' must be connected with the *prāṇas*, &c., mentioned in the earlier part of the sentence.

4. Because speech is preceded by that (viz. fire and the other elements).

Although in the chapter, 'That sent forth fire,' &c., the origin of the *prāṇas* is not mentioned, the origin of the three elements, fire, water, and earth only being stated, nevertheless, the fact of the text declaring that speech, *prāṇa*, and mind presuppose fire, water, and earth—which in their turn have Brahman for their causal substance—proves that they—and, by parity of reasoning, all *prāṇas*—have sprung from Brahman. That speech, *prāṇa*, and mind presuppose fire, water, and earth is told in the same chapter, 'For truly, my child, mind consists of earth, breath of water,

speech of fire' (*Kh. Up.* VI, 5, 4). If their consisting of earth and so on is taken literally, it follows at once that they have sprung from Brahman. And if it be taken in a metaphorical sense only, yet, as the sentence forms part of the chapter which treats of the evolution of names and forms effected by Brahman; and as the introductory phrase runs, 'That by which we hear what is not heard' (*Kh. Up.* VI, 1, 3); and as the concluding passage is 'In it all that exists has its Self' (*Kh. Up.* VI, 8, 7); and as the matter is moreover known from other scriptural passages; we understand that also the statement about mind and so on consisting of earth, &c., is meant to teach that they are products of Brahman.—It is therefore an established conclusion that the *prāṇas* also are effects of Brahman.

5. (The *prāṇas* are) seven, on account of this being understood (from scriptural passages) and of the specification (of those seven).

So far we have shown that there is in reality no conflict of scriptural passages regarding the origin of the *prāṇas*. It will now be shown that there is also no conflict regarding their number. The chief vital air (*mukhya prāṇa*) will be discussed later on. For the present the *Sūtrakāra* defines the number of the other *prāṇas*. A doubt arises here owing to the conflicting nature of the scriptural passages. In one place seven *prāṇas* are mentioned, 'The seven *prāṇas* spring from him' (*Mu. Up.* II, 1, 8). In another place eight *prāṇas* are mentioned as being *grahas*, 'Eight *grahas* there are and eight *atigrahas*' (*Bṛi. Up.* III, 2, 1). In another place nine, 'Seven are the *prāṇas* of the head, two the lower ones' (*Taitt. Samh.* V, 3, 2, 5). Sometimes ten, 'Nine *prāṇas* indeed are in men, the navel is the tenth' (*Taitt. Samh.* V, 3, 2, 3). Sometimes eleven, 'Ten are these *prāṇas* in man, and *Ātman* is the eleventh' (*Bṛi. Up.* III, 9, 4). Sometimes twelve, 'All touches have their centre in the skin,' &c. (*Bṛi. Up.* II, 4, 11). Sometimes thirteen, 'The eye and what can be seen,' &c. (*Pr. Up.* IV, 8).—Thus the scriptural passages disagree about the number of the *prāṇas*.

Here the pūrvapakshin maintains that the prāṇas are in reality seven in number, on account of understanding, i.e. because they are understood to be so many, from passages such as 'The seven prāṇas spring from him,' &c. These seven prāṇas are moreover specified in the other passage quoted above, 'Seven indeed are the prāṇas of the head.'—But in the same passage we meet with the following reiteration, 'Resting in the cave they are placed there seven and seven,' which intimates that there are prāṇas in addition to the seven.—No matter, we reply; that reiteration is made with reference to the plurality of men, and means that each man has seven prāṇas; it does not mean that there are two sets of seven prāṇas each of different nature.—But, another objection will be raised, other scriptural passages speak of the prāṇas as eight in number; how then should they be seven?—True, we reply, the number of eight also is stated; but on account of the contradictory nature of the statements we have to decide in favour of either of the two numbers; hence we decide in favour of the number seven, in deference to the (simpler) assumption of a low number, and consider the statements of other numbers to refer to the difference of modifications (of the fundamental seven prāṇas).—To this argumentation the next Sūtra replies.

6. But (there are also, in addition to the seven prāṇas mentioned,) the hands and so on. This being a settled matter, therefore (we must) not (conclude) thus (viz. that there are seven prāṇas only).

In addition to the seven prāṇas scripture mentions other prāṇas also, such as the hands, &c., 'The hand is one graha and that is seized by work as the atigraha; for with the hands one does work' (*Bṛi. Up. III, 2, 8*), and similar passages. And as it is settled that there are more than seven, the number seven may be explained as being contained within the greater number. For wherever there is a conflict between a higher and a lower number, the higher number has to be accepted because the lower one is contained within it; while the higher is not contained within the lower. We therefore must not conclude that, in deference to the lower

number, seven *prāṇas* have to be assumed, but rather that there are eleven *prāṇas*, in deference to the higher number. This conclusion is confirmed by one of the passages quoted, 'Ten are these *prāṇas* in man, and *Ātman* is the eleventh.' By the word *Ātman* we have to understand the internal organ, on account of its ruling over the organs. Should it be objected that scripture also mentions numbers higher than eleven, viz. twelve and thirteen, we admit that, but remark that there are no objective effects in addition to the eleven (well-known) objective effects on account of which additional organs would have to be assumed. There are five distinctions of *buddhi* having for their respective objects sound, touch, colour, taste, and smell, and on their account there are the five intellectual organs; again there are five classes of action, viz. speaking, taking, going, evacuation, and begetting, and on their account there are the five organs of action; finally there is the *manas* which has all things for its objects and extends to the past, the present, and the future; it is one only but has various functions. On account of the plurality of its functions we find it designated by different terms in different places, as *manas* or *buddhi* or *ahamkāra* or *kitta*. Thus scripture also after having enumerated the various functions such as desire, &c., says at the end, 'All this is *manas* only.'—That passage again which speaks of the *prāṇas* of the head as seven means four *prāṇas* only, which on account of the plurality of their places may be counted as seven; viz. the two ears, the two eyes, the two nostrils, and speech.—Nor can it be maintained that there are in reality only so many (i.e. seven), the other *prāṇas* being mere functions of the seven; for the functions of the hands and so on are absolutely different (from the functions of the seven senses admitted by the *pūrvapakshin*).—Again, in the passage 'Nine *prāṇas* indeed are in man, the navel is the tenth,' the expression 'ten *prāṇas*' is used to denote the different openings of the human body, not the difference of nature of the *prāṇas*, as we conclude from the navel being mentioned as the eleventh. For no *prāṇa* is known that bears the name of navel; but the navel as being one of the special abodes of the chief *prāṇa* is here enu-

merated as a tenth *prāna*.—In some places so and so many are counted for the purpose of meditation ; in other places so and so many for the purpose of illustration <sup>1</sup>. As the statements concerning the number of the *prānas* are of so varying a nature we must therefore distinguish in each case what the object of the statement is. Meanwhile it remains a settled conclusion that that statement which makes the *prānas* to be eleven is authoritative, on account of the objective effects (being eleven also).

The two Sūtras (referring to the number of the *prānas*) may be construed in the following manner also. The *prānas* are seven because scripture mentions the going (*gati*) of seven only, 'When he thus departs life departs after him, and when life thus departs all the other *prānas* <sup>2</sup> depart after it' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 2*).—But, it may be objected, this passage says 'all the other *prānas*;' how then does it declare the going of seven only?—The Sūtra replies, 'on account of their being specified.' Seven senses only, from seeing up to feeling, are specified there because so many only are under discussion ; as we see from the enumeration given in the passage, 'When that person in the eye turns away then he ceases to know any forms. He has become one they say, he does not see' &c. The word 'all' refers here only to what is under discussion, i.e. only to the seven *prānas* mentioned before, not to any other. Analogously when we say 'all the *Brāhmanas* have been fed,' we mean only those *Brāhmanas* who have been invited and concern us at the time, not any other.—If it be objected that the passage quoted mentions understanding (*viṣṇāna*) as the eighth thing departing, and that we therefore have no right to speak of the departing of seven only, we reply that *manas* and understanding differ not in essential nature but only in function, and that on this account we are entitled to speak of seven *prānas* only.—The answer to this

<sup>1</sup> *Sapta prānāḥ prabhavāntīty āder gatim āha kvaṇid iti, aśṭau grahā ityāder gatim sūtrayati gatim iti. Ān. Gi.*

<sup>2</sup> I.e. seeing, smelling, tasting, speaking, hearing, feeling, and the *manas*.

pūrvapaksha is as follows.—In addition to the seven senses, other *prāṇas* also, such as the hands, are known to exist, as we see from such passages as ‘The hands are one *graha*,’ &c. (*Bṛi. Up.* III, 2, 8). By their being a *graha* (seizer) is meant that they are bonds by which the individual soul (*kshetragñā*) is tied. Now the individual soul is tied not in one body only, but is equally tied in other bodies also. Hence it follows that that bond called *graha* (i.e. among other things the hands) moves over into other bodies also. *Smṛiti* also (‘He—the Self—is joined with the aggregate of eight, comprising breath, &c.<sup>1</sup>, as his mark; his bondage consists in being bound by it, his release in being freed from it’) shows that the Self is, previous to final release, not freed from the bonds called *grahas*. And also in the enumeration of the senses and their objects given by the *Atharvāna Upanishad* (‘The eye and what can be seen,’ &c., *Pr. Up.* IV, 8), the organs of action such as the hands and so on, together with their objects, are specified as well, ‘the hands and what can be grasped; the member and what can be delighted; the anus and what can be evacuated; the feet and what can be walked.’ Moreover the passage, ‘These ten vital breaths and *ātman* as the eleventh; when they depart from this mortal body they make us cry’ (*Bṛi. Up.* III, 9, 4), shows that eleven *prāṇas* depart from the body.—Moreover the word ‘all’ (which occurs in the passage, *Bṛi. Up.* IV, 4, 2) must, because connected with the word ‘*prāṇas*,’ denote all *prāṇas*, and cannot, on the ground of general subject-matter, be limited to the seven *prāṇas*; for a direct statement has greater force than the subject-matter. Even in the analogous sentence, ‘all *Brāhmaṇas* have been fed,’ we have, on the ground of the words, to understand all *Brāhmaṇas* living on the earth; but because it is impossible to feed all *Brāhmaṇas* in the latter sense, we accept that meaning of

---

<sup>1</sup> The eightfold aggregate of which the Self is freed in final release only comprises the five *prāṇas* (vital airs), the pentad of the five subtle elements, the pentad of the organs of intellect, the pentad of the organs of action, the tetrad of internal organs (*manas*, &c.), *avidyā*, desire (*kāma*), and *karman*.

'all,' according to which it denotes all invited Brāhmaṇas. In our case on the other hand there is no reason whatever for narrowing the meaning of 'all.'—Hence the word 'all' includes all prāṇas without exception. Nothing on the other hand prevents the enumeration of seven prāṇas being taken as illustrative only. It is therefore an established conclusion, resting on the number of the effects as well as on Vedic statement, that there are eleven prāṇas.

### 7. And (they are) minute.

The author of the Sūtras adds another characteristic quality of the prāṇas. The prāṇas under discussion must be viewed as minute. By their minuteness we have to understand subtilty and limited size; but not atomic size, as otherwise they would be incapable of producing effects which extend over the whole body. They must be subtle; for if they were big the persons surrounding a dying man would see them coming out from the body at the moment of death, as a snake comes out of its hole. They must be limited; for if they were all-pervading the scriptural statements as to their passing out of the body, going and coming, would be contradicted thereby, and it could not be established that the individual soul is 'the essence of the qualities of that' (i. e. the manas; cp. II, 3, 29). Should it be said that they may be all-pervading, but at the same time appear as functions (*vr̥tti*) in the body only, we rejoin that only a function can constitute an instrument. Whatever effects perception, may it be a function or something else, just that is an instrument for us. The disagreement is therefore about a name only, and the assumption of the instruments (prāṇas) being all-pervading is thus purposeless.—Hence we decide that the prāṇas are subtle and of limited size.

### 8. And the best (i. e. the chief vital air).

The Sūtra extends to the chief vital air (*mukhya prāṇa*) a quality already asserted of the other prāṇas, viz. being an effect of Brahman.—But, an objection may be raised, it has already been stated of all prāṇas without difference that they are effects of Brahman; e. g. the passage, 'From him

is born breath, mind, and all organs of sense' (Mu. Up. II, 1, 3), states the origin of *prāṇa* separately from the senses and the manas; and there are other passages also such as 'He sent forth *prāṇa*' (Pr. Up. VI, 4). Why then the formal extension?—We reply: For the purpose of removing further doubt. For in the *Nāsadiya-sūkta* whose subject is Brahman there occurs the following mantra: 'There was neither death nor the Immortal; nor manifestation of either night or day. By its own law the One was breathing without wind; there was nothing different from that or higher than it' (*Ri. Samh.* X, 129, 2). Here the words, 'was breathing,' which denote the proper function of breath, intimate that breath existed as it were before the creation. And therefrom it might be concluded that *prāṇa* is not produced; an idea which the *Sūtrakāra* discards by the formal extension (to *prāṇa* of the quality of having originated from Brahman).—Moreover the word 'breathed' does not intimate that *prāṇa* existed before the creation; for in the first place it is qualified by the addition 'without wind,' and in the second place scriptural passages—such as 'He is without breath, without mind, pure' (Mu. Up. II, 1, 2)—declare expressly that the causal substance is without any qualifications such as *prāṇa* and so on. Hence the word 'breathed' has merely the purpose of setting forth the existence of the cause.—The term 'the best' (employed in the *Sūtra*) denotes the chief vital air, according to the declaration of scripture, 'Breath indeed is the oldest and the best' (*Kh. Up.* V, 1, 1). The breath is the oldest because it begins its function from the moment when the child is conceived; the senses of hearing, &c., on the other hand, begin to act only when their special seats, viz. the ears, &c., are formed, and they are thus not 'the oldest.' The designation 'the best' belongs to the *prāṇa* on account of its superior qualities and on account of the passage, 'We shall not be able to live without thee' (*Bṛi. Up.* VI, 1, 13).

9. (The chief *prāṇa* is) neither air nor function, on account of its being mentioned separately.



An inquiry is now started concerning the nature of that chief *prāṇa*.—The *pūrvapakshin* maintains that the *prāṇa* is, according to *Sruti*, nothing but air. For *Sruti* says, 'Breath is air; that air assuming five forms is *prāṇa*, *apāna*, *vyāna*, *udāna*, *samāna*.'—Or else the *pūrvapaksha* may be formulated according to the view of another philosophical doctrine, and *prāṇa* may be considered as the combined function of all organs. For so the followers of another doctrine (*viz.* the *Sāṅkhyas*) teach, 'The five airs, *prāṇa*, &c., are the common function of the instruments<sup>1</sup>.'

To this we reply that the *prāṇa* is neither air nor the function of an organ; for it is mentioned separately. From air *prāṇa* is distinguished in the following passage, 'Breath indeed is the fourth foot of Brahman. That foot shines as *Agni* with its light and warmth.' If *prāṇa* were mere air, it would not be mentioned separately from air.—Thus it is also mentioned separately from the functions of the organs; for the texts enumerate speech and the other organs and mention *prāṇa* separately from them, and the function and that to which the function belongs (the organ) are identical. If it were a mere function of an organ, it would not be mentioned separately from the organs. Other passages also in which the *prāṇa* is mentioned separately from air and the organs are here to be considered so, e.g. 'From him is born breath, mind, and all organs of sense, ether, air,' &c. (*Mu. Up.* II, 1, 3). Nor is it possible that all the organs together should have one function (and that that function should be the *prāṇa*); for each organ has its own special function and the aggregate of them has no active power of its own.—But—an objection may be raised—the thing may take place in the manner of the moving bird-cage. Just as eleven birds shut up in one cage may, although each makes a separate effort, move the cage by the combination of their efforts; so the eleven

<sup>1</sup> *Sāṅkhya Sū.* II, 31; where, however, the reading is '*sāmānya-karavṛtīḥ*,' explained by the Comm. as *sādhārāṇī karavṛtīḥ antaḥ-karavṛtīḥ* *pariṇāma* *abhedā* *iti*. *Sāṅkara*, on the other hand, understands by *karava* the eleven *prāṇas* discussed previously.

prāṇas which abide in one body may, although each has its own special function, by the combination of these functions, produce one common function called prāṇa.—This objection, we reply, is without force. The birds indeed may, by means of their separate subordinate efforts, which all favour the movement of the cage, move the cage by combination; that is a matter of observation. But we have no right to assume that the different prāṇas with their subordinate functions such as hearing &c. can, by combination, produce the function of vital breath; for there is no means to prove this, and the vital breath is in kind absolutely different from hearing and so on.—Moreover, if the vital breath were the mere function of an organ (or the organs) it could not be glorified as the ‘best,’ and speech and so on could not be represented as subordinate to it. Hence the vital breath is different from air and the functions (of the organs).—How then have we to understand the scriptural passage, ‘The prāṇa is air,’ &c.?—The air, we reply, passing into the adhyātma-state, dividing itself fivefold and thus abiding in a specialized condition is called prāṇa. It therefore is neither a different being nor is it mere air. Hence there is room for those passages as well which identify it with air as those which do not.—Well, let this be granted. The prāṇa then also must be considered to be independent in this body like the individual soul, as scripture declares it to be the ‘best’ and the organs such as speech, &c., to be subordinate to it. For various powers are ascribed to it in scriptural passages. It is said, for instance, that when speech and the other (organs) are asleep the prāṇa alone is awake; that the prāṇa alone is not reached by death; that the prāṇa is the absorber, it absorbs speech, &c.; that the prāṇa guards the other senses (prāṇas) as a mother her sons<sup>1</sup>. Hence it follows that the prāṇa is independent in the same way as the individual soul.—This view is impugned in the next Sūtra.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Ka. Up. II, 5, 8; Bri. Up. I, 5, 21; Kh. Up. IV, 3, 3; Pr. Up. II, 13.

10. But (the *prāṇa* is subordinate to the soul) like the eye, &c., on account of being taught with them (the eye, &c.), and for other reasons.

The word 'but' sets aside the independence of the *prāṇa*. As the eye and so on stand, like the subjects of a king, in mere subordinate relation to the acting and enjoying of the soul and are not independent, so the chief vital air also, occupying a position analogous to that of a king's minister, stands in an entirely subordinate relation to the soul and is not independent.—Why?—Because it is taught (spoken of) together with them, i. e. the eye and the other organs, in such passages as the colloquy of the *prāṇas*, &c. For to be mentioned together is appropriate only in the case of things with the same attributes, as e. g. the *Bṛihat-sāman* and the *Rathantara-sāman*<sup>1</sup>. The words 'and so on' (in the *Sūtra*) indicate other reasons refuting the independence of the *prāṇa*, such as its being composed of parts, its being of a non-intelligent nature and the like.—Well, but if it be admitted that the *prāṇa* stands to the soul in the relation of an instrument as the eye and so on, it will follow that we must assume another sense-object analogous to colour and so on. For the eyes, &c., occupy their specific subordinate position with regard to the soul through their functions which consist in the seeing of colour and so on. Now we can enumerate only eleven classes of functions, viz. the seeing of colour and so on, on whose account we assume eleven different *prāṇas*, and there is no twelfth class of effects on account of which a twelfth *prāṇa* could be assumed.—To this objection the following *Sūtra* replies.

11. And on account of (its) not being an instrument the objection is not (valid); for thus (scripture) declares.

The objection urged, viz. that there would result another sense-object, is not valid; because the *prāṇa* is not an

<sup>1</sup> Which go together because they are both *sāmans*.

instrument. For we do not assume that the *prāṇa* is, like the eye, an organ because it determines a special sense-object. Nor is it on that account devoid of an effect; since scripture declares that the chief vital air has a specific effect which cannot belong to the other *prāṇas*. For in the so-called colloquies of the *prāṇas* we read in the beginning, 'The *prāṇas* quarrelled together who was best;' after that we read, 'He by whose departure the body seems worse than worst, he is the best of you;' thereupon the text, after showing how, on the successive departure of speech and so on, the life of the body, although deprived of one particular function, went on as before, finally relates that as soon as the chief *prāṇa* was about to depart all other *prāṇas* became loosened and the body was about to perish; which shows that the body and all the senses subsist by means of the chief *prāṇa*. The same thing is declared by another passage, 'Then *prāṇa* as the best said to them: Be not deceived; I alone dividing myself fivefold support this body and keep it' (Pr. Up. II, 3). Another passage, viz. 'With *prāṇa* guarding the lower nest' (*Bṛi.* Up. IV, 3, 12), shows that the guarding of the body depends on *prāṇa*. Again, two other passages show that the nourishing of the body depends on *prāṇa*, 'From whatever limb *prāṇa* goes away that limb withers' (*Bṛi.* Up. I, 3, 19), and 'What we eat and drink with it supports the other vital breaths.' And another passage declares that the soul's departing and staying depend on *prāṇa*, 'What is it by whose departure I shall depart, and by whose staying I shall stay?—The created *prāṇa*' (Pr. Up. VI, 3; 4).

12. It is designated as having five functions like mind.

The chief vital air has its specific effect for that reason also that in scripture it is designated as having five functions, *prāṇa*, *apāna*, *vyāna*, *udāna*, *samāna*. This distinction of functions is based on a distinction of effects. *Prāṇa* is the forward-function whose work is aspiration, &c.; *apāna* is the backward-function whose work is inspiration, &c.; *vyāna* is that which, abiding in the junction of the two,

is the cause of works of strength<sup>1</sup>; udāna is the ascending function and is the cause of the passing out (of the soul); samāna is the function which conveys the juices of the food equally through all the limbs of the body. Thus the prāṇa has five functions just as the mind (manas) has. The five functions of the mind are the five well-known ones caused by the ear, &c., and having sound and so on for their objects. By the functions of the mind we cannot here understand those enumerated (in *Bṛi. Up. I, 5, 3*), 'desire, representation,' &c., because those are more than five.—But on the former explanation also there exists yet another function of the mind which does not depend on the ear, &c., but has for its object the past, the future, and so on; so that on that explanation also the number five is exceeded.—Well, let us then follow the principle that the opinions of other (systems) if unobjectionable may be adopted, and let us assume that the five functions of the manas are those five which are known from the *Yogaśāstra*, viz. right knowledge, error, imagination, slumber, and remembrance. Or else let us assume that the *Sūtra* quotes the manas as an analogous instance merely with reference to the plurality (not the fivefoldness) of its functions.—In any case the *Sūtra* must be construed to mean that the prāṇa's subordinate position with regard to the soul follows from its having five functions like the manas.

### 13. And it is minute.

And the chief vital air is to be considered as minute like the other prāṇas.—Here also we have to understand by minuteness that the chief vital air is subtle and of limited size, not that is of atomic size; for by means of its five functions it pervades the entire body. It must be viewed as subtle because when passing out of the body it is not perceived by a bystander, and as limited because scripture speaks of its passing out, going and coming.—But, it may be said, scripture speaks also of its all-pervadingness; so,

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the holding in of the breath; cp. *Kh. Up. I, 3, 3-5*.

e.g. 'He is equal to a grub, equal to a gnat, equal to an elephant, equal to these three worlds, equal to this Universe' (*Bṛi.* Up. I, 3, 22).—To this we reply that the all-pervadingness of which this text speaks belongs to the Self of the *prâṇa* in its *adhidaivata* relation, according to which it appears as *Hiraṇyagarbha* in his double—universal and individual—form, not in its *adhyâtma* relation. Moreover the statements of equality 'equal to a grub,' &c., just declare the limited size of the *prâṇa* which abides within every living being.—Thus there remains no difficulty.

14. But there is guidance (of the *prâṇas*) by fire, &c., on account of that being declared by scripture.

Here there arises a discussion whether the *prâṇas* of which we have been treating are able to produce their effects by their own power or only in so far as guided by divinities.—The *pûrvapakshin* maintains that the *prâṇas* being endowed with the capacity of producing their effects act from their own power. If we, moreover, admitted that the *prâṇas* act only in so far as guided by divinities, it would follow that those guiding divinities are the enjoyers (of the fruits of the actions), and the individual soul would thus cease to be an enjoyer. Hence the *prâṇas* act from their own power.—To this we reply as follows. 'But there takes place guidance by fire,' &c.—The word 'but' excludes the *pûrvapaksha*. The different classes of organs, speech, &c., the *Sûtra* says, enter on their peculiar activities, guided by the divinities animating fire, and so on. The words, 'on account of that being declared by scripture,' state the reason. For different passages declare this, cp. *Ait. Âr.* II, 4, 2, 4, 'Agni having become speech entered the mouth.' This statement about Agni (fire) becoming speech and entering the mouth is made on the assumption of Agni acting as a ruler with his divine Self (not as a mere element). For if we abstract from the connexion with the divinity we do not see that there is any special connexion of fire either with speech or the mouth. The subsequent passages, 'Vâyu having become breath entered into the nostrils,' &c., are to be explained in the same way.

—This conclusion is confirmed by other passages also, such as ‘Speech is indeed the fourth foot of Brahman; that foot shines with Agni as its light and warms’ (*Kh. Up.* IV, 18, 3), which passage declares that speech is made of the light of Agni. Other passages intimate the same thing by declaring that speech, &c., pass over into Agni, &c., cp. *Bṛi. Up.* I, 3, 12, ‘He carried speech across first; when speech had become freed from death it became Agni.’ Everywhere the enumeration of speech and so on on the one side and Agni and so on on the other side—wherein is implied a distinction of the personal and the divine element—proceeds on the ground of the same relation (viz. of that which is guided and that which guides). *Smṛiti*-passages also declare at length that speech, &c., are guided by Agni and the other divinities, cp. for instance, ‘*Brāhmaṇas* knowing the truth call speech the personal element, that which is spoken the natural element and fire (Agni) the divine element.’—The assertion that the *prāṇas* being endowed with the capability of producing their effects act from their own power is unfounded, as we see that some things which possess the capability of motion, e.g. cars, actually move only if dragged by bulls and the like. Hence, as both alternatives are possible<sup>1</sup>, we decide on the ground of scripture that the *prāṇas* act under the guidance of the divinities.—The next *Sūtra* refutes the assertion that from the fact of the divinities guiding the *prāṇas* it would follow that they—and not the embodied soul—are the enjoyers.

15. (It is not so) (because the *prāṇas* are connected) with that to which the *prāṇas* belong (i.e. the individual soul), (a thing we know) from scripture.

Although there are divinities guiding the *prāṇas*, yet we learn from scripture that those *prāṇas* are connected with the embodied soul which is the Lord of the aggregate of

<sup>1</sup> Viz. that something should act by itself, and that it should act under guidance only.

instruments of action. The following passage, e.g. 'where the sight has entered into the void there is the person of the eye; the eye itself is the instrument of seeing. He who knows, let me smell this, he is the Self; the nose is the instrument of smelling,' declares that the *prânas* are connected with the embodied soul only. Moreover the plurality of the divinities guiding the organs renders it impossible that they should be the enjoyers in this body. For that there is in this body only one embodied enjoyer is understood from the possibility of the recognition of identity and so on<sup>1</sup>.

16. And on account of the permanence of this (viz. the embodied soul).

This embodied soul abides permanently in this body as the enjoyer, since it can be affected by good and evil and can experience pleasure and pain. Not so the gods; for they exist in the state of highest power and glory and cannot possibly enter, in this wretched body, into the condition of enjoyers. So scripture also says, 'Only what is good approaches him; verily evil does not approach the devas' (*Bri. Up.* I, 5, 20).—And only with the embodied soul the *prânas* are permanently connected, as it is seen that when the soul passes out &c. the *prânas* follow it. This we see from passages such as the following: 'When it passes out the *prâna* passes out after it, and when the *prâna* thus passes out all the other *prânas* pass after it' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 4, 2). Hence although there are ruling divinities of the organs, the embodied soul does not cease to be the enjoyer; for the divinities are connected with the organs only, not with the state of the soul as enjoyer.

17. They (the *prânas*) are senses, on account of being so designated, with the exception of the best (the *mukhya prâna*).

We have treated of the *mukhya prâna* and the other

<sup>1</sup> Yo=ham rūpam adrākṣham so=ham sṛinomīty ekasyaiva praty-abhigñānam pratisamdhānam. Go. Ân.



eleven *prāṇas* in due order.—Now there arises another doubt, viz. whether the other *prāṇas* are functions of the mukhya *prāṇa* or different beings.—The *pūrvapakshin* maintains that they are mere functions, on account of scriptural statement. For scripture, after having spoken of the chief *prāṇa* and the other *prāṇas* in proximity, declares that those other *prāṇas* have their Self in the chief *prāṇa*, ‘Well, let us all assume his form. Thereupon they all assumed his form’ (*Bṛi. Up. I, 5, 21*).—Their unity is moreover ascertained from the unity of the term applied to them, viz. *prāṇa*. Otherwise there either would result the objectionable circumstance of one word having different senses, or else the word would in some places have to be taken in its primary sense, in others in a derived sense. Hence, as *prāṇa*, *apāṇa*, &c. are the five functions of the one chief *prāṇa*, so the eleven *prāṇas* also which begin with speech are mere functions of the chief *prāṇa*.—To this we reply as follows. Speech and so on are beings different from the chief *prāṇa*, on account of the difference of designation.—Which is that difference of designation?—The eleven *prāṇas* remaining if we abstract from the best one, i.e. the chief *prāṇa*, are called the sense-organs (*indriya*), as we see them designated in *Sruti*, ‘from him is born breath, mind, and all organs of sense’ (*Mu. Up. II, 1, 3*). In this and other passages *prāṇa* and the sense-organs are mentioned separately.—But in that case the mind also would have to be excluded from the class of sense-organs, like the *prāṇa*; as we see that like the latter it is separately mentioned in the passage, ‘The mind and all organs of sense.’ True; but in *Smṛiti* eleven sense-organs are mentioned, and on that account the mind must, like the ear, and so on, be comprised in the sense-organs. That the *prāṇa* on the other hand is a sense-organ is known neither from *Smṛiti* nor *Sruti*.—Now this difference of designation is appropriate only if there is difference of being. If there were unity of being it would be contradictory that the *prāṇa* although one should sometimes be designated as sense-organ and sometimes not. Consequently the other *prāṇas* are different in being from the chief *prāṇa*.—For this conclusion the following *Sūtra* states an additional reason,

18. On account of the scriptural statement of difference.

The *prāṇa* is everywhere spoken of as different from speech, &c. The passage, e.g. beginning with 'They said to speech' (*Bṛi.* Up. I, 3, 2), enumerates speech, &c., which were overwhelmed by the evil of the Asuras, concludes thereupon the section treating of speech, &c., and then specially mentions the *mukhya prāṇa* as overcoming the Asuras, in the paragraph beginning 'Then they said to the breath in the mouth.'—Other passages also referring to that difference may be quoted, so, for instance, 'He made mind, speech, and breath for himself' (*Bṛi.* Up. I, 5, 3).—For this reason also the other *prāṇas* are different in being from the chief *prāṇa*.—Another reason follows.

19. And on account of the difference of characteristics.

There is moreover a difference of characteristics between the chief *prāṇa* and the other *prāṇas*. When speech &c. are asleep, the chief *prāṇa* alone is awake. The chief *prāṇa* alone is not reached by death, while the other *prāṇas* are. The staying and departing of the chief *prāṇa*—not that of the sense-organs—is the cause of the maintenance and the destruction of the body. The sense-organs, on the other hand, are the cause of the perception of the sense-objects, not the chief *prāṇa*. Thus there are manifold differences distinguishing the *prāṇa* from the senses, and this also shows the latter to be different in being from the *prāṇa*.—To infer from the passage, 'thereupon they all assumed his form,' that the sense-organs are nothing but *prāṇa* is wrong, because there also an examination of the context makes us understand their difference. For there the sense-organs are enumerated first ('Voice held, I shall speak,' &c.); after that it is said that speech, &c. were seized by death in the form of weariness ('Death having become weariness held them back; therefore speech grows weary'); finally *prāṇa* is mentioned separately as not having been overcome by death ('but death did not seize the central breath'), and is

asserted to be the best ('he is the best of us'). The assuming of the form of *prāṇa* has therefore, in accordance with the quoted passages, to be understood to mean that the energizing of speech and so on depends on the *prāṇa*, but not that they are identical with it.—Hence it follows that the word '*prāṇa*' is applied to the sense-organs in a secondary sense. Thus Sruti also says, 'Thereupon they all assumed his form, and therefore they are called after him *prāṇas*;' a passage declaring that the word *prāṇa*, which properly refers to the chief *prāṇa*, is secondarily applied to the sense-organs also. Speech and the other sense-organs are therefore different in being from the *prāṇa*.

20. But the fashioning of names and forms belongs to him who renders tripartite, on account of the teaching (of scripture).

In the chapter treating of the Being (*sat*), subsequently to the account of the creation of fire, water, and food (earth), the following statement is made, 'That divinity thought, let me now enter those three beings with this living Self (*gīva ātmā*), and let me then evolve names and forms<sup>1</sup>;—let me make each of these three tripartite' (*Kh. Up. VI, 3, 2 ; 3*).—Here the doubt arises whether the agent in that evolution of names and forms is the *gīva* (the living, i.e. the individual Self or soul) or the highest Lord.—The *pūrvapakshin* maintains the former alternative, on account of the qualification contained in the words 'with this living Self.' The use of ordinary language does, in such phrases as 'Having entered the army of the enemy by means of a spy I count it,' attribute the counting of the army in which the spy is the real agent to the Self of the king who is the causal agent; which attribution is effected by means of the use of the first person, 'I count.' So here the sacred text attributes the evolving of names and forms—in which the *gīva* is the real agent—to the Self of the divinity which is the causal agent; the attribution being effected by means

<sup>1</sup> Literally, with this living Self having entered let me evolve, &c.

of the use of the first person, 'let me evolve.'—Moreover we see in the case of names such as *Dittha*, *Davittha*, &c., and in the case of forms such as jars, dishes and the like that the individual soul only is the evolving agent<sup>1</sup>. Hence the evolution of names and forms is the work of the *gīva*.

To this the Sūtra replies: 'But the fashioning of names and forms belongs to him who renders tripartite.' The particle 'but' discards the *pūrvapaksha*. Fashioning means evolving. The term 'he who renders tripartite' denotes the highest Lord, his agency being designated as beyond contradiction in the case of the rendering tripartite (of fire, &c.). The entire evolution of names and forms which is seen, e.g. in fire, sun, moon, lightning, or in different plants such as *kusa*-grass, *kāsa*-grass, *palāsa*-trees, or in various living beings such as cattle, deer, men, all this manifold evolution according to species and individuals can surely be the work of the highest Lord only, who fashioned fire, water, and earth.—Why?—On account of the teaching of the sacred text.—For the text says at first 'that divinity,' &c., and then goes on in the first person 'let me evolve;' which implies the statement that the highest Brahman only is the evolving agent.—But we ascertain from the qualification contained in the words 'with this living Self,' that the agent in the evolution is the living Self!—No, we reply. The words 'with this living Self' are connected with the words 'having entered,' in proximity to which they stand; not with the clause 'let me evolve.' If they were connected with the former words, we should have to assume that the first person, which refers to the divinity—viz. 'let me evolve'—is used in a metaphorical sense. And with regard to all the manifold names and forms such as mountains, rivers, oceans, &c., no soul, apart from the Lord, possesses the power of evolution; and if any have such power, it is dependent on the highest Lord. Nor is the so-called 'living Self' absolutely different from the highest Lord, as the spy is from the king; as we see from its being qualified

<sup>1</sup> Names being given and vessels being shaped by a class of *gīvas*, viz. men.

as the living Self, and as its being the *gīva* (i. e. an individual soul apparently differing from the universal Self) is due to the limiting adjuncts only. Hence the evolution of names and forms which is effected by it is in reality effected by the highest Lord. And that the highest Lord is he who evolves the names and forms is a principle acknowledged by all the Upanishads ; as we see from such passages as 'He who is called ether is the evolver of all forms and names' (*Kh. Up. VIII, 14*). The evolution of names and forms, therefore, is exclusively the work of the highest Lord, who is also the author of the tripartite arrangement.—The meaning of the text is that the evolution of names and forms was preceded by the tripartition, the evolution of each particular name and form being already explained by the account of the origin of fire, water, and earth. The act of tripartition is expressly described by *Sruti* in the cases of fire, sun, moon, and lightning, 'The red colour of burning fire is the colour of fire, the white colour of fire is the colour of water, the black colour of fire the colour of earth,' &c. In this way there is evolved the distinctive form of fire, and in connexion therewith the distinctive name 'fire,' the name depending on the thing. The same remarks apply to the cases of the sun, the moon, and lightning. The instance (given by the text) of the tripartition of fire implies the statement that the three substances, viz. earth, water, fire, were rendered tripartite in the same manner ; as the beginning as well as the concluding clause of the passage equally refers to all three. For the beginning clause says, 'These three beings became each of them tripartite ;' and the concluding clause says, 'Whatever they thought looked red they knew was the colour of fire,' &c. &c., up to 'Whatever they thought was altogether unknown they knew was some combination of these three beings.' Having thus described the external tripartition of the three elements the text goes on to describe another tripartition with reference to man, 'those three beings when they reach man become each of them tripartite.' This tripartition in man the teacher sets forth (in the following *Sūtra*) according to scripture, with a view to the refutation of some foreseen objection.

21. The flesh, &c., originates from earth, according to the scriptural statement; and (so also) in the case of the two other (elements).

From tripartite earth when assimilated by man there are produced as its effects flesh, &c., according to scripture. For the text says, 'Food (earth) when eaten becomes three-fold; its grossest portion becomes feces, its middle portion flesh, its subtlest portion mind.' The meaning is that the tripartite earth is eaten in the shape of food such as rice, barley, &c.; that its grossest parts are discharged in the form of feces, that its middle parts nourish the flesh of the body, and its subtlest parts feed the mind. Analogously we have to learn from the text the effects of the two other elements, viz. fire and water; viz. that urine, blood, and breath are the effects of water; bone, marrow, and speech those of fire.—Here now an objection is raised. If all material things are tripartite (i.e. contain parts of the three elements alike)—according to the indifferent statement, 'He made each of these tripartite'—for what reason then has there been made the distinction of names, 'this is fire, this is water, this is earth?' And again, why is it said that among the elements of the human body, flesh, &c., is the effect of the eaten earth only; blood, &c., the effect of the water drunk; bone, &c., the effect of the fire eaten?—To this objection the next Sûtra replies.

22. But on account of their distinctive nature there is a (distinctive) designation of them.

The word 'but' repels the objection raised. By 'distinctive nature' we have to understand preponderance. Although all things are tripartite, yet we observe in different places a preponderance of different elements; heat preponderates in fire, water in all that is liquid, food in earth. This special tripartition aims at rendering possible the distinctions and terms of ordinary life. For if the tripartition resulted in sameness, comparable to that of the three strands of a tripartite rope, we could not distinguish—and speak of as distinguished—the three elements.—Hence,

although there is a tripartition, we are enabled 'on account of distinctive nature' to give special designations to the three elements, viz. fire, water, and earth and their products.—The repetition (of 'designation of them') indicates the termination of the adhyāya.

## THIRD ADHYĀYA.

### FIRST PĀDA.

#### REVERENCE TO THE HIGHEST SELF !

1. In obtaining a different (body) (the soul) goes enveloped (by subtle parts of the elements), (as appears from) question and explanation.

In the second adhyāya we have refuted the objections raised against the Vedāntic view of Brahman on the ground of *Smṛiti* and reasoning; we have shown that all other opinions are devoid of foundation, and that the alleged mutual contradictions of Vedic texts do not exist. Further we have demonstrated that the entities different from—but subordinate to—the individual soul (such as *prāṇa*, &c.) spring from Brahman.—Now in the third adhyāya we shall discuss the following subjects: the manner in which the soul together with its subordinate adjuncts passes through the *samsāra* (III, 1); the different states of the soul and the nature of Brahman (III, 2); the separateness or non-separateness of the *vidyās* and the question whether the qualities (of Brahman) have to be cumulated or not (III, 3); the accomplishment of man's highest end by means of perfect knowledge (*saṃyagdarsana*), the different injunctions as to the means of perfect knowledge and the absence of certain rules as to release which is the fruit (of perfect knowledge<sup>1</sup>) (III, 4). As occasion leads some other matters also will be explained.—The first pāda explains, on the ground of the so-called *vidyā* of the five fires (*Kh. Up. V, 3-10*), the different modes of the soul's passing through the *samsāra*; the reason of that doctrine being (the inculcation of) absence

---

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the absence of a rule laying down that release consequent on knowledge takes place in the same existence in which the means of reaching perfect knowledge are employed.



of all desire (*vairāgya*), in accordance with the scriptural remark at the end (of the *vidyā*), 'hence let a man take care to himself.'—The soul accompanied by the chief vital air, the sense-organs and the mind, and taking with itself nescience (*avidyā*), moral good or ill-desert (*karman*), and the impressions left by its previous existences<sup>1</sup>, leaves its former body and obtains a new body; this is known from the scriptural passage extending from *Bṛi.* Up. IV, 4, 1 ('Then those *prāṇas* gather around him') up to IV, 4, 4 ('It makes to itself another newer and more beautiful shape'); which passage forms part of a chapter treating of the *samsāra*-state. And it moreover follows from the possibility (thus resulting) of the soul enjoying the fruits of good and evil actions.—Here the question arises whether the soul when going to the new body is enveloped or not by subtle parts of the elements constituting the seeds of the body.—It is not so enveloped, the *pūrvapakshin* says.—Why?—Because scripture, while stating that the soul takes the organs with itself, does not state the same with regard to the elements. For the expression 'those parts of light' (*tegomâtrāḥ*) which occurs in the passage 'He taking with him those parts of light,' &c., intimates that the organs only are taken (and not the elements), since in the complementary portion of the passage the eye, &c., are spoken of, and not the subtle parts of the elements. The subtle parts of the elements can moreover easily be procured anywhere; for wherever a new body is to be originated they are present, and the soul's taking them with itself would, therefore, be useless. Hence we conclude that the soul when going is not enveloped by them.

To this the teacher replies, 'in obtaining another it goes enveloped.' That means: we must understand that the soul when passing from one body to another is enveloped by the subtle parts of the elements which are the seeds of the new

---

<sup>1</sup> I read *avidyā* with the commentators (*Go. Ān.*, however, mentions the reading '*vidyā*' also); although *vidyā* appears preferable. Cp. Max Müller's note 2, p. 175, Upan. II; Deussen, p. 405.—*Pūrvapragñā ganmāntariya-samskāraḥ.* Ān. Gi.

body.—How do we know this?—‘From the question and the explanation.’ The question is, ‘Do you know why in the fifth libation water is called man?’ (V, 3, 3.) The explanation, i.e. answer, is given in the entire passage which, after having explained how the five libations in the form of *śraddhā*, Soma, rain, food, seed are offered in the five fires, viz. the heavenly world, Parganya, the earth, man and woman, concludes, ‘For this reason is water in the fifth oblation called man.’ Hence we understand that the soul goes enveloped by water.—But—an objection will be raised—another scriptural passage declares that like a caterpillar the soul does not abandon the old body before it makes an approach to another body<sup>1</sup>. (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 3*, ‘And as a caterpillar.’)—We reply that what there is compared to the (action of the) caterpillar is (not the non-abandonment of the old body but) merely the lengthening out of the creative effort whose object is the new body to be obtained, which (new body) is presented by the *karman* of the soul<sup>2</sup>. Hence there is no contradiction.—As the mode of obtaining a new body is thus declared by *Sruti*, all hypotheses which owe their origin to the mind of man only are to be set aside because they are contradicted by scripture. So e.g. the opinion (of the *Sāṅkhyas*) that the Self and the organs are both all-pervading<sup>3</sup>, and when obtaining a new body only begin to function in it in consequence of the *karman*; or the opinion (of the *Bauddhas*) that the Self alone

<sup>1</sup> *Evam hi sūkshmadehaparishvaktō ramhet yady asya sthūlam sarīram ramhato na bhavet, asti tv asya vartamānasthūlasarīrayogaś ādehāntaraprāptes trinagalāyukānidarsanena, tasmān nidarsana-srutivirodhān na sūkshmadehaparishvaktō ramhatiti. Bhā.*

<sup>2</sup> *Pratipattavyaś prāptavyo yo dehas tadviśayāyā bhāvanāyā utpādanāyā dīrghibhāvamātram galūkayopamīyate. Bhā.—Ān. Gi.* explains: *prāptavyo yo dehas tadviśayabhāvanāyā devo+ham ityādikāyā dīrghibhāvo vyavahitārthālambanatvam tāvanmātram ityādi.*

<sup>3</sup> *Karānānām āhamkārikatvāt tasya vyāpītvāt teshām api tadāt-makānām vyāpītvam. Go. Ān.—*The organs are, according to the *Sāṅkhya*, the immediate effects of the *āhamkāra*, but why all-pervading on that account?

(without the organs) begins to function in a new body, and that as the body itself, so new sense-organs also are produced in the new abode of fruition<sup>1</sup>; or the opinion (of the *Vaisheshikas*) that the mind only proceeds to the new abode of fruition<sup>2</sup>; or the opinion (of the *Digambara Gainas*) that the individual soul only flying away from the old body alights in the new one as a parrot flies from one tree to another.—But—an objection will be raised—from the quoted question and answer it follows that the soul goes enveloped by water only, according to the meaning of the word made use of by scripture, viz. water. How then can the general statement be maintained that the soul goes enveloped by subtle parts of all elements?—To this doubt the next Sūtra replies.

2. But on account of (water) consisting of three (elements) (the soul is enveloped not by water merely; the latter alone is, however, mentioned) on account of preponderance.

The word 'but' disposes of the objection raised.—Water consists of three elements, as we know from the scriptural statement regarding tripartition. If, therefore, water is admitted to originate (the new body) the other two elements also have necessarily to be admitted (as taking part in the origination). The body moreover consists of three elements, as the effects of the three, i.e. fire, water, and earth, are observed in it, and further as it contains three materials, viz. wind, bile, and phlegm<sup>3</sup>. Being such it cannot originate from mere water, the other elements being left aside. Hence the term water made use of in the scriptural question and answer refers to the fact of water preponderating,

<sup>1</sup> *Ātmā khalv ālayagñānasamtānas tasya vṛttayaḥ sabdādignānāni tallābhāḥ sarīrāntare bhavati, kevalasābhas tu karaṇasāhityam ātmano vārayati.* Go. Ān.

<sup>2</sup> *Kevalam karaṇair ātmanā ka rahitam iti yāvat, karaṇāni nūtanany eva tatrārabhyante ātmā tu vibhutvād akriyoḥpi tatra vṛttimātram āpnoti.* Ān. Gi.

<sup>3</sup> The last of which only is of prevailing watery character.

not to its being the only element. As a matter of fact we see that in all animated bodies liquid substances such as juices, blood, and the like preponderate.—But we likewise observe in bodies a large amount of earthy matter!—True, but the amount of water is larger than that of any other matter. Moreover, liquid matter prevails in that which is the seed of the body. Further, we know that works (karma) constitute the efficient cause for the origination of a new body, and (sacrificial) works such as the agnihotra, &c., consist in the offering of liquid substances such as Soma, butter, milk and the like. Thereby also the preponderance of water is established. And on account of that preponderance the word ‘water’ implies the subtle parts of all the elements which constitute the seed of the body.

### 3. And on account of the going of the prānas.

Scripture states that, when a new body is obtained, the prānas also go (from the old body to the new one). Cp. ‘When he thus departs the (chief) prāna departs after him, and when the prāna thus departs all the other prānas depart after it’ (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 2*), and similar passages. Now this going of the prānas is not possible without a base; hence we infer that water also—mixed with parts of the other elements—goes (from the old body to the new one), serving the purpose of supplying a base for the moving prānas. For the prānas cannot, without such a base, either move or abide anywhere; as we observe in living beings.

### 4. If it be said (that the prānas do not go) on account of the scriptural statement as to entering into Agni, &c., we deny this on account of the metaphorical nature (of those statements).

Well, the pûrvapakshin resumes, we deny that at the time when a new body is obtained the prānas go with the soul, because scripture speaks of their going to Agni, &c. For that at the time of death speech and the other prānas go to Agni and the other gods the following passage expressly declares: ‘When the speech of the dead person

enters into the fire, breath into the air,' &c. (*Bṛi. Up.* III, 2, 13).—To this we reply that the objection is of no force on account of the metaphorical character of those statements. The entering of speech, &c., into Agni is metaphorical, because we observe no such entering in the case of the hairs of the head and body. For although the text says that 'the hairs of the body enter into the shrubs and the hairs of the head into the trees;' still we cannot understand this to mean that the hairs actually fly away from the body and enter into trees and shrubs. On the other hand, the soul could not go at all if we denied to it the limiting adjunct formed by the *prāṇas*, and without the latter it could not, in the new body, enter into the state of fruition. Besides, other passages distinctly declare that the *prāṇas* go with the soul.—From all this we conclude that the passage about speech, &c. entering into Agni, metaphorically expresses that Agni and the other divinities who act as guides of the *prāṇas* and co-operate with them stop their co-operation at the time of death.

5. If an objection be raised on the ground of (water) not being mentioned in the first fire, we refute it by remarking that just it (*viz.* water) (*is meant*), on the ground of fitness.

Well, the *pūrvapakshin* resumes, but how can it be ascertained that 'in the fifth oblation water is called man,' considering that water is not mentioned by scripture with reference to the first fire (altar)? For the text enumerates five fires—the first of which is the heavenly world—as the abodes of the five oblations. With reference to the first of those fires—introduced by the words 'The fire is that world, O Gautama,' it is stated that *śraddhā* (faith) is the material constituting the oblation ('on that altar the *devas* offer *śraddhā*'); while nothing is said about water being the offered material. If, with reference to the four following fires, *viz.* *Parganya*, &c., water is assumed to constitute the offering, we have no objection because in the substances stated there as forming the oblations, *viz.* *Soma*, and so on, water may preponderate. But to set aside, in the case of

the first fire, *śraddhâ* (i.e. faith) which is directly mentioned in the text, and to substitute in its place the assumption of water, about which the text says nothing, is an arbitrary proceeding. In reality *śraddhâ* must be explained, in conformity with its ordinary meaning, as a kind of mental state, viz. faith. Hence it is objectionable to maintain that water, in the fifth oblation, becomes man.

To this view of the *pûrvapakshin* we demur, because, in the case of the first fire, the word *śraddhâ* is to be taken in the sense of 'water.'—On what ground?—On the ground of fitness. For on that explanation only beginning, middle, and end of the passage harmonise so that the syntactical unity of the whole remains undisturbed. On the other explanation (i.e. *śraddhâ* being taken in the sense of 'faith'), if the question were asked how water, in the fifth oblation, can be called man, and if, in way of reply, the text could point only to faith, i.e. something which is not water, as constituting the material of the oblation; then question and answer would not agree, and so the unity of the whole passage would be destroyed. The text, moreover, by concluding 'For this reason is water in the fifth oblation called man,' indicates the same interpretation<sup>1</sup>.—Further, the text points out, as effects of *śraddhâ*, substances in which water in its gross form preponderates, viz. Soma, rain, &c. And this again furnishes a reason for interpreting *śraddhâ* as water, because the effect generally is cognate in nature to the cause. Nor again can the mental conception called faith be taken out from the mind or soul, whose attribute it is, and be employed as an offering, as the heart can be cut out of the sacrificial animal. For this reason also the word *śraddhâ* must be taken to mean 'water.' Water can, moreover, be fitly called by that name, on the ground of Vedic usage, cp. '*śraddhâ* indeed is water' (Taitt. *Samh.* I, 6, 8, 1). Moreover, water when forming the seed of the body enters into the state of thinness, subtilty, and herein again resembles faith, so that its being called *śraddhâ*

<sup>1</sup> *Upasamhârâlokanâyâm api śraddhâśabdatvam apâm evety âha tv iti. Ân. Gi.*

is analogous to the case of a man who is as valiant as a lion being himself called a lion.—Again, the word *śraddhā* may fitly be applied to water, because water is intimately connected with religious works (sacrifices, &c.) which depend on faith; just as the word ‘platform’ is applied to men (standing on the platform). And finally the waters may fitly be called *śraddhā*, on account of their being the cause of faith, according to the scriptural passage, ‘Water indeed produces faith in him for holy works<sup>1</sup>.’

6. (Should it be said that the souls are not enveloped by water) on account of this not being stated by scripture, we refute the objection on the ground of those who perform *ishṭis*, &c., being understood.

Well, let it be granted that, on account of question and answer, water, passing through the forms of *śraddhā*, &c., may in the fifth oblation obtain the shape of man. But still we cannot allow that the souls when moving from one body into another are enveloped by water. For this is not directly stated by scripture, there being in the whole passage no word referring to the souls, while there are words referring to water. Hence the assertion that the soul goes enveloped by water is unfounded.—This objection is invalid, we reply, ‘on account of those who perform *ishṭis*, &c., being understood.’ For in the passage beginning ‘But they who living in a village practise sacrifices, works of public utility and alms, they go to the smoke’ (V, 3, 10), it is said that those who perform *ishṭis* reach, on the road of the fathers leading through smoke, &c., the moon, ‘From ether they go to the moon; that is Soma, the king.’ Now these same persons are meant in the passage about the five fires also, as we conclude from the equality of scriptural statement in the passage, ‘In that fire the devas offer

---

<sup>1</sup> *Āpo hetī, asmai pumse-dhikāṛiṇe saṁnamante ganayanti darsanamātreṇa snānādīpunyakarmasiddhyartham śraddhām ity arthaḥ. Ān. Gi.*

śraddhā. From that oblation rises Soma the king<sup>1</sup>. To those<sup>2</sup> (persons who have performed ishṭis, &c.) water is supplied in the shape of the materials employed to perform the agnihotra, the darsapûrnamâsa and other sacrifices, viz. sour milk, milk, &c., which substances, as consisting mostly of water, may directly be considered as water. Of these, when offered in the âhavanīya, the subtle parts assume the form of an apûrva resulting from the oblation<sup>3</sup>, and attach themselves to the performer of the sacrifice. Then (when the sacrificer dies) the priests offer his body, with the funeral ceremonies<sup>4</sup>, into the crematory fire, with the mantra, '(may) he (go) to the heavenly world, svâhâ.' Then the water forming the oblation—which was connected with deeds resulting from faith<sup>5</sup>—having assumed the form of an apûrva envelops the souls of those who had performed the sacrifices, and leads them up to the heavenly world to receive their reward.—In accordance with the preceding interpretation scripture says in the agnihotra chapter also—in the complementary passage constituting the reply to the six questions—that the two agnihotra-oblations go up to the other world in order to originate the fruit (of the work of the sacrificer), 'Those two oblations when offered go up, &c.' (Sat. Br. XI, 6, 2, 6).—Hence we conclude that the

<sup>1</sup> Both passages speak of something reaching, i.e. becoming the moon. Now, as that something is, in the passage about the road of the fathers, the gîvas of those who have performed ishṭis, &c., we conclude that by the śraddhā also, from which in the other passage the moon is said to rise, those gîvas are meant, or, properly speaking, the subtle body of water which envelops those gîvas.—Dhûmâdivâkye pañkâgnivâkye ka somarâgatvaprapṭisravanâvivṛṣhād ishṭîdikârinâḥ śraddhârabditâdbhir veshiṭitâ dyulokam yāntīti bhātīty arthaḥ. Ân. Gi.

<sup>2</sup> Ân. Gi. introduces this clause by: nanu mahad iha śrutyor vailakshanyam, śraddhârabditânâm apâm kvaṭid dyuloke homaḥ śrutaḥ kvaṭid ishṭîdikârinâḥ dhûmâdikramenâkâsaprâptir na ka teshâm âpaḥ santi yena tadveshiṭitânâm gatis tatrâha teshâm keti.

<sup>3</sup> I read, with a MS. of Ân. Gi., âhutypûrvarûpâḥ.

<sup>4</sup> The so-called antyeshṭi.

<sup>5</sup> And is on that account properly called śraddhâ.



souls, when going to the enjoyment of the fruits of their works, are enveloped by the water of which the oblations consist<sup>1</sup>.

But how can it be maintained that those who perform sacrifices, &c., go to the enjoyment of the fruit of their works, considering that scripture declares them when having reached the moon—by the path leading through smoke, &c.—to become food, ‘That is Soma the king; that is the food of the gods; the gods do eat it’ (*Kh. Up.* V, 10, 4); and the corresponding passage, ‘Having reached the moon they become food, and then the Devas feed on them there as sacrificers feed on Soma as it increases and decreases’ (*Bri. Up.* VI, 2, 16)? If, in accordance with these passages, they are eaten by the gods as by tigers, &c., it is not possible that they should enjoy the fruit of their deeds.—To this the following Sūtra replies.

7. Or (the souls’ being the food of the gods is) metaphorical, on account of their not knowing the Self. For thus (scripture) declares.

The word ‘or’ is meant to set aside the started objection. The souls’ being food has to be understood in a metaphorical, not a literal, sense, as otherwise all scriptural statements of claims (*adhikāra*)—such as ‘He who is desirous of the heavenly world is to sacrifice’—would be contradicted. If

<sup>1</sup> Śaṅkara’s attempts to render plausible the interpretation of *śraddhā* by ‘water,’ and to base thereon the doctrine of the souls when going to a new body being enveloped by a subtle involucrum of water (and the other elements contained therein) are, of course, altogether artificial. I do not, however, see that he can be taxed with inconsistency (as he is by Deussen, p. 408). *Śraddhā* is to him in the first place the gross water which constitutes the chief material employed in the sacrifices; in the second place the *apūrva* which results from the sacrifice, and which is imagined to consist of the subtle parts of the water whose gross parts have been consumed by the sacrificial fire. These subtle parts attach themselves to the soul, accompany it as an involucrum when it goes to another world, and form the base of any new body which the soul may have to assume in accordance with its previous deeds.

the performers of sacrifices, &c., did not, in the sphere of the moon, enjoy the fruits of their works, why should they undertake works such as sacrifices, which are to him who performs them the cause of great trouble? We see, moreover, that the word 'food,' as denoting in general whatever is the cause of enjoyment, is metaphorically used of that also which is not food (in the narrower sense), as, for instance, in such phrases as 'the Vaisyas are the food of kings, the animals are the food of the Vaisyas.' Hence what is meant there by the term 'eating' is the rejoicing of the gods with the performers of sacrifices, &c., who stand in a subordinate (instrumental) relation to that rejoicing—a rejoicing analogous to that of an ordinary man with beloved persons such as wife, children, friends, and so on—not actual eating like the chewing and swallowing of sweet-meats. For that the gods eat in the ordinary way a scriptural passage expressly denies (*Kh. Up. III, 6, 1*), 'The gods do not eat or drink; by seeing the nectar they are satisfied.' At the same time the performers of sacrifices, although standing in a subordinate relation to the gods, may themselves be in a state of enjoyment, like servants who (although subordinate to the king) themselves live on the king.—That the performers of sacrifices are objects of enjoyment for the gods follows, moreover, from their quality of not knowing the Self. For that those who do not know the Self are objects of enjoyment for the gods the following scriptural passage shows, 'Now, if a man worships another deity, thinking the deity is one and he is another, he does not know. He is like a beast for the Devas' (*Bṛi. Up. I, 4, 10*). That means: he, in this life, propitiating the gods by means of oblations and other works, serves them like a beast, and does so in the other world also, depending on them like a beast and enjoying the fruits of his works as assigned by them.—The latter part of the Sūtra can be explained in another manner also<sup>1</sup>. Those who do not know the Self are those who perform works only, such as sacrifices, &c.,

<sup>1</sup> Anâtmasabdâsruter mukhyârthatvânurodhena sâtrâmsasyârtham uktvâ prakaraṇânurodhenârthântaram âha. Ân. Gi.

and do not join knowledge to works. We then take the expression, 'the knowledge of the Self,' as indirectly denoting the knowledge of the five fires; an explanation which rests on the general subject-matter. And on account of the performers of sacrifices being destitute of the knowledge of the five fires the circumstance of their serving as food is brought forward as a mere *gunavāda*<sup>1</sup> for the purpose of glorifying the knowledge of the five fires. For the latter is what the text aims at enjoining, as we infer from the general purport of the passage.—'For thus' another scriptural passage 'declares,' viz. that enjoyment (on the part of the *gṛīva*) takes place in the sphere of the moon, 'Having enjoyed greatness in the Soma world he returns again' (Pr. Up. V, 4). Another scriptural passage also declares that the performers of sacrifices dwelling together with the gods obtain enjoyment, 'A hundred blessings of the fathers who have conquered this world make one blessing of the work-gods, who obtain their godhead by work' (Bṛi. Up. IV, 3, 33).—As thus the statement about the performers of sacrifices becoming food is metaphorical only, we understand that it is their souls which go, and hence there is no longer any objection to the doctrine that they go enveloped by water.

8. On the passing away of the works (the soul redescends) with a remainder, according to scripture and *Smṛiti*, as it went (i.e. passing through the same stations) and not thus (i.e. in the inverse order).

Scripture states that the souls of those who perform sacrifices, and the like, rise on the road leading through smoke, and so on, to the sphere of the moon, and when they have done with the enjoyment (of the fruits of their works) again descend, 'Having dwelt there, *yāvatsampātam*<sup>2</sup>, they return again that way as they came,' &c., up to 'Those whose conduct has been good obtain some good birth, the

<sup>1</sup> See part i, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> About which term see further on.

birth of a Brāhmaṇa, &c.—Those whose conduct has been evil obtain the birth of a dog, &c.' (*Kh. Up. V, 10, 5-7*). Here it must be considered whether the souls, after having enjoyed the fruits of all their works, descend without a remainder (anusaya, of their works), or with such a remainder (of unrequited works).—The pûrvapakshin says: without such a remainder.—Why?—On account of the specification 'yâvat sampâtam.' The word sampâta here denotes the aggregate of works (karmâsaya)<sup>1</sup>, which is so called because by it the souls pass from this world to that world for the purpose of enjoying the fruits of the works. So that the entire clause 'Having dwelt there as far as the aggregate of the works extends' indicates their works being completely requited there. The same thing is indicated by another scriptural passage, 'But when in their case that (i.e. the effect of their works) ceases' (*Bri. Up. VI, 2, 16*).—Well, but why should we not assume that these passages (do not mean that all works are requited there but) only indicate that the soul enjoys in the other world so long as there are works to be enjoyed there?—It is impossible to assume this, because elsewhere a reference is made to the totality of works. For the passage, *Bri. Up. IV, 4, 6*, 'Having obtained the end of whatever deed he does here on earth, he again returns from that world to this world to action,' intimates, by means of the comprehensive term 'whatever,' that all works done here are exhausted there.—Moreover, death has the power of manifesting those works whose fruit has not yet begun<sup>2</sup>; the manifestation of those works not being possible previously to death because then they are obstructed by those works whose fruits have already begun. Now death must manifest alike all works whose fruits had not begun previously, because the cause being the same the effects cannot be different. Analogously a lamp which is placed at the same distance from a jar and a piece of cloth

<sup>1</sup> The Comm. on *Kh. Up. V, 10, 5*, explains it by 'sambatanti yeneti sampâtâḥ karmanâḥ kshayaḥ, yâvat sampâtam yâvat karmanâḥ kshayaḥ.'

<sup>2</sup> Abhivyaktis ka karmanâm phaladânâyonmukhatvam. Ân. Gi.

illuminates the latter as well as the former.—Hence it follows that the souls descend without a remainder of unrequited works.

To this we reply as follows : ‘ On the passing away of the works with a remainder.’ That means : when the aggregate of works with which the souls had risen to the moon for the purpose of the enjoyment of their fruits is, by such enjoyment, exhausted, then the body, consisting of water, which had originated in the moon for the purpose of such enjoyment, is dissolved by contact with the fire of the grief springing from the observation that the enjoyment comes to an end ; just as snow and hail are melted by contact with the rays of the sun, or the hardness of ghee by contact with the heat of fire. Then, at the passing away of the works, i. e. when the works performed, such as sacrifices, &c., are, by the enjoyment of their fruits, exhausted, the souls descend with a remainder yet left.—But on what grounds is that remainder assumed ?—On the ground of what is seen (*Sruti*) and *Smṛiti*. For scripture declares manifestly that the souls descend joined with such a remainder, ‘ Those whose conduct (*karana*) has been good will quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a Brāhmaṇa, or a Kshattriya, or a Vaiśya. But those whose conduct has been evil will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog, or a hog, or a *Kāṇḍāla*.’ That the word *karana* here means the remainder (of the works) will be shown later on. Moreover, the different degrees of enjoyment which are implied in the difference of birth on the part of the living beings point, as they cannot be accidental, to the existence of such a remainder of works. For we know from scripture that good fortune as well as misfortune is caused by good and evil works. *Smṛiti* also teaches that the members of the different castes and āśramas do, in accordance with their works, at first enjoy the fruit of their works and then enter into new existences, in which they are distinguished from each other by locality, caste, family, shape, length of life, knowledge, conduct, property, pleasure, and intelligence ; which doctrine implies that they descend with a remainder of their works.—Of what kind then is that so-called re-

mainder?—Some say that thereby we have to understand a remainder of the works which had been performed (in the previous existence) for the sake of the heavenly world, and whose fruits have (for the greater part) been enjoyed. That remainder might then be compared to the remainder of oil which sticks to the inside of a vessel previously filled with oil even after it has been emptied.—But you have no right to assume a remainder in the case of works, the fruits of which have been enjoyed already, since the *adrishṭa* (which springs from works) is opposed to the works (so as to destroy them completely<sup>1</sup>).—This objection, we reply, is not valid, as we do not maintain that the works are completely requited (previously to the new existence).—But the souls do ascend to the sphere of the moon for the express purpose of finding there a complete requital of their works!—True; but when only a little of the effects of their works is left, they can no longer stay there. For as some courtier who has joined the king's court with all the requisites which the king's service demands is unable to remain at court any longer, when in consequence of his long stay most of his things are worn out, so that he is perhaps left with a pair of shoes and an umbrella only; so the soul, when possessing only a small particle of the effects of its works, can no longer remain in the sphere of the moon.—But all this reasoning is in fact altogether unfounded<sup>2</sup>. For it has already been stated that, on account of (the *adrishṭa*) being opposed to the work, the continued existence of a remainder cannot be admitted in the case of works which had been performed with a view to the heavenly world, and which have been requited in the moon.—But has it not also been said above that not all the work whose fruit the heavenly world is meets with requital there?—Yes, but that statement is not defensible. For works which are performed for

<sup>1</sup> *Bhândānusārīnaḥ snehasyāvirodhād yuktaḥ seshah, karma tu phalodayavirodhitvât phalam keḡ gâtam nashṭam eveti na tasya seshasiddhir iti saṅkate nanv iti. Ân. Gi.*

<sup>2</sup> *Īvakâro madhuroktyâ prayukto vastutas tv evakâro vivakshitaḥ. Ân. Gi.*

the purpose of obtaining the heavenly world produce their entire heavenly fruit for the soul only as long as it stays in heaven, and if we take our stand on scripture we have no right to assume that they produce even a particle of fruit for the souls after those have again descended from heaven. That some part of the oil continues to remain in the vessel is unobjectionable because we see it, and we likewise see that some part of the courtier's equipment continues to remain with him ; but that some part of those works which led the soul to heaven continues to exist, that we neither see nor are able to surmise, because it would contradict the texts declaring that the heavenly world (alone) is the fruit of the works.—That of works whose fruit is heaven, such as sacrifices and the like, no remainder continues to exist, we must necessarily acknowledge for the following reason also. If some part of those good works, such as sacrifices, &c., on account of which the agents enjoyed the heavenly world, were surmised to continue in existence as a remainder, that remainder would in all cases be itself a good one, would never be of a contrary nature. But then our supposition would be in conflict with the scriptural passage which distinguishes remainders of a different kind, viz. 'Those whose conduct has been good ;—those whose conduct has been evil,' &c. Hence after the fruits of that set of works which is required in the other world have been (completely) enjoyed, the remaining other set of works whose fruits are to be enjoyed in this world constitutes the so-called *anusaya* with which the souls re-descend.—It was said above that we must assume the souls to descend without any such remainder, after having reached, by the enjoyment of the fruits, the end of all the works done here below, on account of the comprehensive statement implied in the expression 'whatever.' But that assertion cannot be upheld as the existence of such a remainder has been proved. Hence we have to understand that the souls re-descend after having exhausted, by the enjoyment of its fruits, only that entire part of the works done here below whose fruit belongs to the other world and is begun to be enjoyed there.—The proof given by us of the existence of the remainder refutes at the same

time the other assertion made above, viz. that death manifests equally all works the enjoyment of whose fruits was not begun here below, and that on that account we are not entitled to draw a line between works whose fruits begin in the other world and works whose fruits begin in this world only (i.e. in a new existence on earth).—We, moreover, have to ask for what reason it is maintained that death manifests (i.e. lays open and makes ready for requital) those works whose fruits have not begun here below. The answer will be that in this life the operation of certain works cannot begin because it is obstructed by other works whose fruits already begin here below, that, however, that operation does begin as soon as, at the moment of death, the obstruction ceases. Well, then, if previously to death those actions whose fruits have already begun prevent other actions from beginning their operation, at the time of death also certain works of less force will be obstructed in their operation by other works of greater force, it being impossible that the fruits of works of opposite tendency should begin at the same time. For it is impossible to maintain that different deeds whose fruits must be experienced in different existences should, merely because they have this in common that their fruits have not begun (previously to death), become manifest on the occasion of one and the same death, and originate one new existence only; against this militates the fact of the definite fruits (attached to each particular work) being of contrary natures<sup>1</sup>. Nor, on the other hand, can we maintain that at the time of death some works manifest themselves while others are altogether extinguished; for that would contradict the fact that absolutely all works have their fruits. No work in fact can be extinguished except by means of expiatory actions, &c.<sup>2</sup> *Smṛiti* also declares that works whose operation is ob-

<sup>1</sup> On which account they cannot be experienced in one and the same existence.

<sup>2</sup> Works are extinguished either by expiatory ceremonies or by the knowledge of Brahman or by the full fruition of their consequences.



structed by other works leading to fruits of a contrary nature last for a long time, 'Sometimes a good deed persists immovable as it were, the doer meanwhile remaining immersed in the *samsāra*, until at last he is released from pain.'

Moreover, if all unrequited works becoming manifest on the occasion of one and the same death were to begin one new existence only, the consequence would be that those who are born again in the heavenly world, or in hell, or as animals, could, as not entitled thereto, perform no religious works, and being thus excluded from all chance of acquiring religious merit and demerit could not enter on any new forms of existence, as all reason for the latter would be absent<sup>1</sup>. And that would further contradict *Smṛiti*, which declares that some single actions, such as the murder of a *Brāhmaṇa*, are the causes of more than one new existence. Nor can we assume, for the knowledge of the particular results springing from religious merit and demerit, any other cause than the sacred texts<sup>2</sup>. Nor, again, does death manifest (bring about the requital of) those works whose fruit is observed to be enjoyed already here below, as, for instance, the *kārireshī*, &c.<sup>3</sup> How then can we allow the assumption that death manifests all actions? The instance of the lamp (made use of by the *pūrvapakshin*) is already refuted by our having shown the relative strength of actions<sup>4</sup>. Or else we may look on the matter as analogous to the manifestation (by a lamp) of bigger and smaller objects. For as a lamp, although equally distant from a big and a very small thing, may manifest the former only

<sup>1</sup> And in consequence of this they could never obtain final release.

<sup>2</sup> We have the sacred texts only to teach us what the effects of particular good or evil actions may be.

<sup>3</sup> The *kārireshī* is a sacrifice offered by those who are desirous of rain.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. by our having shown that death does not equally manifest all works, but that, after death has taken place, the stronger works bring about their requital while the operation of the weaker ones is retarded thereby.

and not the latter, so death provokes the operation of the stronger works only, not of the weaker ones, although an equal opportunity presents itself for both sets of works as hitherto unrequited.—Hence the doctrine that all works are manifested by death cannot be maintained, as it is contradicted by *Sruti*, *Smṛiti*, and reason alike. That the existence of a remainder of works should stand in the way of final release is a misplaced fear, as we know from *Sruti* that all works whatever are destroyed by perfect knowledge. It therefore is a settled conclusion that the souls re-descend with a remainder of works. They descend ‘as they came’ (mounted up); ‘not thus,’ i.e. in inverted order. We conclude that they descend ‘as they came’ from the fact of ether and smoke, which the text includes in the road of the fathers, being mentioned in the description of the descent also, and from the expression ‘as they came.’ That they follow the inverted order we conclude from night, &c., not being mentioned, and from the cloud, &c., being added.

9. Should it be objected that on account of conduct (the assumption of a remainder is not needed), we deny this because (the scriptural expression ‘conduct’) is meant to connote (the remainder); so *Kārshnâgini* thinks.

But—an objection may be raised—the scriptural passage, which has been quoted for the purpose of proving that the existence of a remainder of works (‘those whose conduct has been good,’ &c.), declares that the quality of the new birth depends on *karana*, not on *anusaya*. Now *karana* and *anusaya* are different things; for *karana* is the same as *karitra*, *âkâra*, *śīla*, all of which mean conduct<sup>1</sup>, while *anusaya* denotes work remaining from required work. Scripture also speaks of actions and conduct as different things, ‘According as he acts and according as he conducts himself so will he be’ (*Bṛi. Up.* IV, 4, 5); and ‘Whatever

---

<sup>1</sup> *Śīla* also means here ‘conduct’ only, as we see from its being co-ordinated with *karana*, *karitra*, &c.; not character.

works are blameless those should be regarded, not others ; whatever our good conduct was that should be observed by thee' (Taitt. Up. I, 11, 2). From the passage which proclaims the dependence of the quality of birth on conduct the existence of an unrequited remainder of works cannot therefore be proved.—This objection is without force, we reply, because the scriptural term 'conduct' is meant to connote the remainder of the works. This is the opinion of the teacher Kârṣṇāgini.

10. If it be said that purposelessness (of conduct would result therefrom), we deny this on account of the dependence (of work) on that (conduct).

That may be ; but for what reason should we abandon that meaning which the term '*karana*' directly conveys, viz. the meaning 'conduct,' and accept the merely connotative meaning 'remainder of the works?' Conduct, which the text directly mentions, may be supposed to have for its fruit either a good or an evil birth, according as it is enjoined or prohibited, good or evil. Some fruit will have to be allowed to it in any case ; for otherwise it would follow that it is purposeless.—This objection is without force 'on account of the dependence on it.' Such works as sacrifices, and the like, depend on conduct in so far as somebody whose conduct is not good is not entitled to perform them. This we know from *Smṛiti*-passages, such as the following, 'Him who is devoid of good conduct the Vedas do not purify.'—And also if conduct is considered as subservient to man<sup>1</sup> it will not be purposeless. For when the aggregate of works such as sacrifices, &c., begins to originate its fruit, the conduct which has reference to the sacrifice will originate there (i.e. in the fruit) some addition.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. as something which produces in man a *samskāra* analogous to that produced by other preparatory or purificatory rites such as bathing, &c.—In the preceding sentences conduct had been spoken of not as *purushārtha* but as *karmāṅga*. In that case it produces no separate result ; while if considered as *purushārtha* it has a special result of its own.

And it is known from *Sruti* as well as *Smṛiti* that work effects everything<sup>1</sup>. It is, therefore, the opinion of *Kārsh-nāgini* that the remainder of works only—which is connoted by the term ‘conduct’—is the cause of the souls entering on new births. For as work may be the cause of new births, it is not proper to assume that conduct is the cause. If a man is able to run away by means of his feet he will surely not creep on his knees.

11. But (*karana* means) nothing but good and evil works; thus *Bādari* opines.

The teacher *Bādari*, however, thinks that the word ‘*karana*’ denotes nothing else but good works and evil works. It means the same as *anushthāna* (performance) or *karman* (work). For we see that the root *kar* (to walk, to conduct oneself) is used in the general sense of acting. Of a man who performs holy works such as sacrifices, &c., people say in ordinary language, ‘that excellent man walks in righteousness.’ The word *ākāra* also denotes only a kind of religious duty. That works and *karana* (conduct) are sometimes spoken of as different things is analogous to the distinction sometimes made between *Brāhmanas* and *Pari-vrāgakas*<sup>2</sup>. We, therefore, decide that by men of good *karana* are meant those whose works are worthy of praise, by men of evil *karana* those whose works are worthy of blame.

12. Of those also who do not perform sacrifices (the ascent to the moon) is stated by scripture.

It has been said that those who perform sacrifices, &c., go to the moon. The question now arises whether those also who do not perform sacrifices go to the moon or not.—The *pūrvapakshin* maintains that it cannot be asserted that men belonging to the former class only go to the moon,

<sup>1</sup> A clause added to guard against the assumption—which might be based on the preceding remarks—that conduct is, after all, the cause of the quality of the new birth.

<sup>2</sup> Although the latter are a mere sub-class of the former.

because scripture speaks of the moon as being resorted to by those also who have not performed sacrifices. For the Kāushītakins make the following general statement, 'All who depart from this world go to the moon' (Kau. Up. I, 2). Moreover, the origination of a new body in the case of those who are born again is not possible without their having (previously) reached the moon, on account of the precise definition of number contained in the statement, 'In the fifth oblation' (*Kh. Up. V, 9, 1*)<sup>1</sup>. Hence all men must be supposed to resort to the moon. If it be objected that it does not appear proper that those who perform sacrifices and those who do not should go to the same place, we reply that there is no real objection, because those who do not perform sacrifices do not enjoy anything in the moon.

13. But of the others, after having enjoyed the fruits of their actions in *Samyamana*, ascent and descent take place; as such a course is declared (by scripture).

'But' discards the *pūrvapaksha*. It is not true that all men go to the moon. For the ascent to the moon is for the purpose of enjoyment only; it is neither without a special purpose nor for the mere purpose of subsequent re-descent. Just as a man climbs on a tree for the purpose of breaking fruit or blossoms, not either without any aim or for the mere purpose of coming down again. Now it has been admitted already that for those who do not offer sacrifices there is not any enjoyment in the moon; hence those only who perform sacrifices rise to the moon, not any other persons. The latter descend to *Samyamana*, the abode of Yama, suffer there the torments of Yama corresponding to their evil deeds, and then again re-ascend to this world. Such is their ascent and descent; as we maintain on the ground of such a course being declared by scripture. For a scriptural passage embodying Yama's own words declares that those who die without having offered sacrifices fall into Yama's

---

<sup>1</sup> Which statement presupposes four other oblations, the first of which is the one from which 'Soma the king rises.'

power. 'The other world never rises before the eyes of the careless child deluded by the delusion of wealth. This is the world, he thinks, there is no other; thus he falls again and again under my sway' (Ka. Up. I, 2, 6). Scripture contains many other passages likewise leading us to infer that men fall into Yama's power; cp. e.g. 'Yama, the gathering-place of men' (*Ri. Samh.* X, 14, 1).

#### 14. The *Smṛiti*s also declare this.

Moreover, authorities like Manu, Vyāsa, &c., declare that in the city *Samyamana* evil works are requited under Yama's rule; cp. the legend of *Nāṅiketa* and others.

#### 15. Moreover there are seven (hells).

Moreover, the *purāṇa*-writers record that there are seven hells, *Raurava*, &c., by name, which serve as abodes of enjoyment of the fruits of evil deeds. As those who do not sacrifice, &c. go there, how should they reach the moon?—But, an objection is raised, the assertion that evil doers suffer punishments allotted by Yama is contradicted by the circumstance that *Smṛiti* mentions different other beings, such as *Kitrugupta*, &c., who act as superintendents in *Raurava* and the other hells.—This objection the next *Sūtra* refutes.

#### 16. On account of his activity there also no contradiction exists.

There is no contradiction, as the same Yama is admitted to act as chief ruler in those seven hells. Of *Kitrugupta* and others *Smṛiti* merely speaks as superintendents employed by Yama.

#### 17. But on (the two roads) of knowledge and works, those two being under discussion.

In that place of the knowledge of the five fires, where the answer is expected to the question, 'Do you know why that world never becomes full?' the text runs as follows: 'On neither of these two ways are those small creatures continually returning, of whom it may be said, Live and die. Theirs is a third place. Therefore that world never becomes full.'

By the two ways mentioned in this passage we have to understand knowledge and works.—Why?—On account of their being the subjects under discussion. That means : knowledge and works are under discussion as the means for entering on the road of the gods and the road of the fathers. The clause, 'those who know this,' proclaims knowledge to be the means whereby to obtain the road of the gods ; the clause, 'sacrifices, works of public utility, and alms,' proclaims works to be that by which we obtain the road of the fathers. Under the heading of these two paths there stands the subsequent passage, 'on neither of these two ways, &c.' To explain. Those who are neither entitled, through knowledge, to follow the road of the gods, nor, by works, to follow the road of the fathers, for those there is a third path on which they repeatedly return to the existence of small animals. For this reason also those who do not perform sacrifices, &c. do not reach the moon.—But why should they not first mount to the sphere of the moon and thence descending enter on the existence of small animals? —No, that would imply entire purposelessness of their mounting.—Moreover, if all men when dying would reach the sphere of the moon, that world would be filled by the departed, and from that would result an answer contrary to the question (viz. 'why does not that world become full?'). For an answer is expected showing that that world does not become full.—Nor can we admit the explanation that the other world possibly does not become full because re-descent is admitted ; since this is not stated by scripture. For it is true, indeed, that the not becoming full might be explained from their re-descending ; but scripture actually explains it from the existence of a third place, 'Theirs is a third place ; therefore that world never becomes full.' Hence the fact of the other world not becoming full must be explained from their not-ascending only. For, otherwise, the descent equally taking place in the case of those who do perform sacrifices, &c., it would follow that the statement of a third place is devoid of purpose.—The word 'but' (in the Sūtra) is meant to preclude the idea—arising from the passage of another śākhā (i.e. the Kaush. Up.)

—that all departed go to the moon. Under the circumstances the word ‘all’ which occurs in that passage has to be taken as referring only to those qualified, so that the sense is ‘all those who depart from this world properly qualified go to the moon.’—The next Sûtra is directed against the averment that all must go to the moon for the purpose of obtaining a new body, in accordance with the definite statement of number (‘in the fifth oblation &c.’).

18. Not in (the case of) the third place, as it is thus perceived.

With regard to the third place, the rule of the oblations being five in number need not be attended to for the purpose of obtaining a new body.—Why?—On account of it being perceived thus. That means: because it is seen that the third place is reached in the manner described without any reference to the oblations being limited to the number five, ‘Live and die. That is the third place.’—Moreover, in the passage, ‘In the fifth oblation water is called man,’ the number of the oblations is stated to be the cause of the water becoming the body of a man, not of an insect or moth, &c.; the word ‘man’ applying to the human species only.—And, further, the text merely teaches that in the fifth oblation the waters are called man, and does not at the same time deny that, where there is no fifth oblation, they are not called man; for if it did the latter, the sentence would have the imperfection of having a double sense. We therefore have to understand that the body of those men who are capable of ascending and descending originates in connexion with the fifth oblation, that in the case of other men, however, a body forms itself from water mixed with the other elements even without a settled number of oblations.

19. It is, moreover, recorded in the (ordinary) world.

There are, moreover, traditions, apart from the Veda, that certain persons like Drona, Dhṛishadyumna, Sitā, Draupadī, &c., were not born in the ordinary way from



mothers. In the case of Drona and others there was absent the oblation which is made into the woman ; while in the case of Dhr̥ishṭadyumna and others, even two of the oblations, viz. the one offered into woman and the one offered into man, were absent. Hence in other cases also birth may be supposed to take place independently of the number of oblations.—It is, moreover, commonly known that the female crane conceives without a male.

20. And on account of observation.

It is, moreover, observed that out of the four classes of organic beings—viviparous animals, oviparous animals, animals springing from heat, and beings springing from germs (plants)—the two latter classes are produced without sexual intercourse, so that in their case no regard is had to the number of oblations. The same may therefore take place in other cases also.—But, an objection may here be raised, scripture speaks of those beings as belonging to three classes only, because there are three modes of origin only ; ' That which springs from an egg, that which springs from a living being, that which springs from a germ ' (*Kh. Up. VI, 3, 1*). How then can it be maintained that there are four classes?—To this objection the next Sūtra replies.

21. The third term comprises that which springs from heat.

The third term in the scriptural passage quoted, i.e. ' that which springs from a germ,' must be understood as implying those beings also which spring from heat ; the two classes having in common that they spring from earth or water, i.e. from something stable. Different from their origin is the origin of those beings which spring from moving things (viz. animals).—In other places the beings springing from heat and those springing from germs are spoken of as constituting separate classes.—Hence there is no contradiction.

22. (On the part of the soul's descending from the

moon) there is entering into similarity of being (with ether and so on); as this (only) is possible.

It has been explained that the souls of those who perform sacrifices, &c., after having reached the moon dwell there as long as their works last and then re-descend with a remainder of their works. We now have to inquire into the mode of that descent. On this point scripture makes the following statement: 'They return again the way they came, to the ether, from the ether to the air. Then the sacrificer having become air becomes smoke, having become smoke he becomes mist, having become mist he becomes a cloud, having become a cloud he rains down.'—Here a doubt arises whether the descending souls pass over into a state of identity with ether, &c., or into a state of similarity.—The *pûrvapakshin* maintains that the state is one of identity, because this is directly stated by the text. Otherwise there would take place so-called indication (*lakṣhaṇā*). Now whenever the doubt lies between a directly expressed and a merely indicated meaning the former is to be preferred. Thus the following words also, 'Having become air he becomes smoke,' &c., are appropriate only if the soul be understood to identify itself with them.—Hence it follows that the souls become identical with ether, &c.—To this we reply that they only pass into a state of similarity to ether, &c. When the body, consisting of water which the soul had assumed in the sphere of the moon for the purpose of enjoyment, dissolves at the time when that enjoyment comes to an end, then it becomes subtle like ether, passes thereupon into the power of the air, and then gets mixed with smoke, &c. This is the meaning of the clauses, 'They return as they came to the ether, from the ether to the air, &c.'—How is this known to be the meaning?—Because thus only it is possible. For it is not possible that one thing should become another in the literal sense of the word. If, moreover, the souls became identified with ether they could no longer descend through air, &c. And as connexion with the ether is, on account of its all-pervadingness, eternal, no other connexion (of the souls) with it can here be meant

but their entering into a state of similarity to it<sup>1</sup>. And in cases where it is impossible to accept the literal meaning of the text it is quite proper to assume the meaning which is merely indicated.—For these reasons the souls' becoming ether, &c., has to be taken in the secondary sense of their passing into a state of similarity to ether, and so on.

23. (The soul passes through the stages of its descent) in a not very long time ; on account of the special statement.

A doubt arises with reference to the period beginning with the soul's becoming ether and extending up to its entering into rice, &c., viz. whether the soul remains a long time in the state of similarity to each of the stages of its way before it enters into similarity to the next one, or only a short time.—The pūrvapakshin maintains that, on account of the absence of a definite text, no binding rule exists.—To this we reply that the souls remain in the state of similarity to ether, &c., for a short period only before they fall to the earth in raindrops. We infer this from the circumstance of the text making a special statement. For after having said that the souls enter into rice, &c., it adds, 'From thence the escape is beset with more pain ;' a statement implying that the escape from the previous states was comparatively easy and pleasant. Now this difference in point of pleasantness must be based on the comparative shortness or length of the escape ; for as, at that time, the body is not yet formed, enjoyment (in the ordinary sense) is not possible. Hence we conclude that, up to the moment when the souls enter into rice, &c., their descent is accomplished in a short time.

---

<sup>1</sup> It might be said that the relation to ether, &c., into which the souls enter, is the relation of conjunction (*samyoga*), not the relation of similarity. But as nothing can enter into the relation of *samyoga* with ether (everything being in eternal *samyoga* with it) we must assume that 'becoming ether' means 'becoming like ether,' and by parity of reasoning, that 'becoming air, &c.,' means 'becoming like air.'

24. (The descending souls enter) into (plants) animated by other (souls), as in the previous cases, on account of scriptural declaration.

In the description of the souls' descent we read, after their coming down in raindrops has been mentioned, 'Then they are born as rice and corn, herbs and trees, sesamum and beans.'—Here a doubt arises whether, at this stage of their descent, the souls to which a remainder of their works continues to cling really pass over into the different species of those immoveable things (plants) and enjoy their pleasures and pains, or if they enter merely into a state of conjunction with the bodies of those plants which are animated by different souls.—The *pûrvapakshin* maintains that they pass over into those species and enjoy their pleasures and pains, on account of the remainder of works still attaching to them ; firstly, because that enables us to take the verb 'to be born' in its literal sense ; secondly, because we know from *Sruti* and *Smṛiti* that the condition of a plant may be a place of enjoyment (of the fruits of actions) ; and thirdly, because sacrifices and similar actions, being connected with harm done to animals, &c., may lead to unpleasant results. We therefore take the 'being born as rice,' &c., of those to whom a remainder of their works attaches, in its literal sense, and consider the case to be analogous to that of a man who is born either as a dog or a hog or a *Kândâla*, where we have to understand that the man really becomes a dog, and so on, and experiences the pleasures and pains connected with that condition.

To this reasoning we reply as follows:—The souls to which a remainder attaches enter merely into conjunction with rice plants, &c., which are already animated by other souls ; and do not enjoy their pleasures and pains ; 'as in the previous cases.' As the souls' becoming air, smoke, &c., was decided to mean only that they become connected with them <sup>1</sup>, so here too their becoming rice, &c. merely means that they

---

<sup>1</sup> This does not agree well with what had been said above about the souls becoming similar to ether, air, &c.

become connected with those plants.—How is this known? —From the fact of the statement here also being of the same nature.—Of what nature?—Here, also, as in the case of the souls becoming ether, &c., down to rain, the text does not refer to any operation of the works; hence we conclude that the souls do not enjoy pleasure and pain. Where, on the other hand, the text wants to intimate that the souls undergo pleasure and pain, there it refers to the operation of the former works; so, e.g. in the passage which treats of men of good or evil conduct. Moreover, if we should take the souls' being born as rice, &c., in its literal sense, it would follow that when the rice plants are reaped, unhusked, split, cooked and eaten, the souls which have descended into them and are animating them would have to leave them; it being generally known that when a body is destroyed the soul animating it abandons it. And then (if the souls left the plants) the text could not state (as it does state, V, 10, 6) that the souls which had entered into the plants are transmitted by animal generation (on the part of those who eat the plants). Hence it follows that the souls which have descended are merely outwardly connected with the plants animated by other souls. This suffices to refute the assertions that 'to be born' must be taken in its literal sense; and that the state of vegetable existence affords a place for enjoyment. We do not entirely deny that vegetable existence may afford a place for enjoyment; it may do so in the case of other beings which, in consequence of their unholy deeds, have become plants. We only maintain that those souls which descend from the moon with an unrequited remainder of works do not experience the enjoyment connected with plant life.

25. Should it be said that (sacrificial work is) unholy; we deny this on the ground of scripture.

We proceed to refute the remark made by the pūrvapakshin that sacrificial works are unholy because involving harm done to animals, &c., that they may therefore lead to unpleasant results, and that hence the statement as to the souls being born as plants, &c., may be taken in its

literal sense; in consequence of which it would be uncalled-for to assume a derived sense.—This reasoning is not valid, because our knowledge of what is duty and the contrary of duty depends entirely on scripture. The knowledge of one action being right and another wrong is based on scripture only; for it lies out of the cognizance of the senses, and there moreover is, in the case of right and wrong, an entire want of binding rules as to place, time, and occasion. What in one place, at one time, on one occasion is performed as a right action, is a wrong action in another place, at another time, on another occasion; none therefore can know, without scripture, what is either right or wrong. Now from scripture we derive the certain knowledge that the *gyotishṭoma*-sacrifice, which involves harm done to animals (i.e. the animal sacrifice), &c., is an act of duty; how then can it be called unholy?—But does not the scriptural precept, ‘Do not harm any creature,’ intimate that to do harm to any being is an act contrary to duty?—True, but that is a general rule, while the precept, ‘Let him offer an animal to Agnīshomau,’ embodies an exception; and general rule and exception have different spheres of application. The work (i.e. sacrifice) enjoined by the Veda is therefore holy, being performed by authoritative men and considered blameless; and to be born as a plant cannot be its fruit. Nor can to be born as rice and other plants be considered analogous to being born as dogs, &c. For the latter birth scripture teaches with reference to men of evil conduct only; while no such specific qualification is stated in the case of vegetable existence. Hence we conclude that when scripture states that the souls descending from the moon become plants, it only means that they become enclosed in plants.

26. After that (there takes place) conjunction (of the soul) with him who performs the act of generation.

The conclusion arrived at under the preceding Sūtra is confirmed also by scripture stating that the souls, after having entered into plants, ‘become’ beings performing the

act of generation, 'for whoever eats the food, whoever performs the act of generation, that again he (the soul) becomes.' Here again the soul's 'becoming' he who performs the act of generation cannot be taken in its literal sense; for a person becomes capable of generation a long time after his birth only, viz. when he reaches puberty. How then should the soul contained in the food eaten enter into that condition in its true sense? Hence we must interpret the passage to mean only that the soul enters into conjunction with one who performs the act of generation; and from this we again infer that the soul's becoming a plant merely means its entering into conjunction with a plant.

27. From the yoni a (new) body (springs).

Then, subsequently to the soul having been in conjunction with a person of generative power, generation takes place, and a body is produced in which the soul can enjoy the fruits of that remainder of works which still attaches to it. This scripture declares in the passage, 'Those whose conduct has been good,' &c. From this, also, it appears that the souls to which a remainder clings, when descending and becoming rice plants, and so on, do not enter into the state of forming the body of those plants with its attendant pleasure and pain, but are 'born as plants' in so far only as they enter into conjunction with them.

## SECOND PÂDA.

## REVERENCE TO THE HIGHEST SELF!

1. In the intermediate place there is (a real) creation ; for (scripture) says (that).

In the preceding pâda we have set forth, with reference to the knowledge of the five fires, the various stages of the soul's passing through the *samsâra*. We shall now set forth the soul's different states (waking, dreaming, &c.)—Scripture says (*Bri. Up. IV, 3, 9; 10*), 'When he falls asleep—; there are no chariots in that state, no horses, no roads, but he himself creates chariots, horses, and roads,' &c.—Here a doubt arises whether the creation thus taking place in dreams is a real one (*pâramârthika*) like the creation seen in the waking state, or whether it consists of illusion (*mâyâ*).—The *pûrvapakshin* maintains that 'in the intermediate place (or state) there is (a real) creation.' By intermediate place we have to understand the place of dreams, in which latter sense the word is used in the Veda, 'There is a third intermediate state, the state of dreams' (*Bri. Up. IV, 3, 9*). That place is called the intermediate place because it lies there where the two worlds, or else the place of waking and the place of bliss (deep sleep), join. In that intermediate place the creation must be real ; because scripture, which is authoritative, declares it to be so, 'He creates chariots, horses, roads,' &c. We, moreover, infer this from the concluding clause, 'He indeed is the maker' (*Bri. Up. IV, 3, 10*).

2. And some (state the Self to be) the shaper (creator); sons and so on (being the lovely things which he shapes).

Moreover the members of one *śākhâ* state that the Self is, in that intermediate state, the shaper of lovely things, 'He, the person who is awake in us while we are asleep, shaping one lovely thing after another' (*Ka. Up. II, 5, 8*).



Kāma (lovely things) in this passage means sons, &c., that are so called because they are beloved.—But may not the term ‘kāmaḥ’ denote desires merely?—No, we reply; the word kāma is here used with reference to sons, &c.; for those form the general subject of discussion, as we see from some preceding passages, ‘Choose sons and grandsons,’ &c., and ‘I make thee the enjoyer of all kāmās’ (Ka. Up. I, 1, 23 ; 24).—And that that shaper is the highest Self (prāgñā) we infer from the general subject-matter and from the complementary sentence. That the highest Self is the general subject-matter appears from II, 14, ‘That which thou seest as neither this nor that.’ And to that highest Self there also refers the complementary sentence II, 5, 8, ‘That indeed is the Bright, that is Brahman, that alone is called the Immortal. All worlds are contained in it, and no one goes beyond.’—Now it is admitted that the world (creation) of our waking state of which the highest Self (prāgñā) is the maker is real; hence the world of our dreaming state must likewise be real. That the same reasoning applies to the waking and the sleeping state a scriptural passage also declares, ‘Here they say: No, this is the same as the place of waking, for what he sees while awake the same he sees while asleep’ (Bri. Up. IV, 3, 14).—Hence the world of dreams is real.—To this we reply as follows.

3. But it (viz. the dream world) is mere illusion (māyā), on account of its nature not manifesting itself with the totality (of the attributes of reality).

The word ‘but’ discards the pūrvapaksha. It is not true that the world of dreams is real; it is mere illusion and there is not a particle of reality in it.—Why?—‘On account of its nature not manifesting itself with the totality,’ i.e. because the nature of the dream world does not manifest itself with the totality of the attributes of real things.—What then do you mean by the ‘totality’?—The fulfilment of the conditions of place, time, and cause, and the circumstance of non-refutation. All these have their sphere in real things, but cannot be applied to dreams. In the first place there is, in a dream, no space for chariots and the like; for

those cannot possibly find room in the limited confines of the body.—Well, but why should not the dreaming person see the objects of his dream outside of his body? He does as a matter of fact perceive things as separated from himself by space; and, *Sruti*, moreover, declares that the dream is outside the body, 'Away from the nest the Immortal moves; that immortal one goes wherever he likes' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 3, 12*). And this distinction of the conceptions of staying and going would have no good sense if the being (the soul) did not really go out.—What you maintain is inadmissible, we reply. A sleeping being cannot possibly possess the power to go and return in a moment the distance of a hundred *yoganas*. Sometimes, moreover, a person recounts a dream in which he went to some place without returning from it, 'Lying on my bed in the land of the Kurus I was overcome by sleep and went in my dream to the country of the *Pañkālas*, and being there I awoke.' If, now, that person had really gone out of his country, he would on waking find himself in the country of the *Pañkālas* to which he had gone in his dream; but as a matter of fact he awakes in the country of the Kurus.—Moreover, while a man imagines himself in his dream going, in his body, to another place, the bystanders see that very same body lying on the couch. Further, a dreaming person does not see, in his dream, other places such as they really are. But if he in seeing them did actually go about, they would appear to him like the things he sees in his waking state. *Sruti*, moreover, declares that the dream is within the body, cp. the passage beginning 'But when he moves about in dream,' and terminating 'He moves about, according to his pleasure, within his own body' (*Bṛi. Up. II, 1, 18*). Hence the passage about the dreamer moving away from his nest must be taken in a metaphorical sense, as otherwise we should contradict scripture as well as reason; he who while remaining within his own body does not use it for any purpose may be said to be outside the body as it were. The difference of the ideas of staying within the body and going outside must, therefore, be viewed as a mere deception.—In the second place we see that dreams are in conflict with

the conditions of time. One person lying asleep at night dreams that it is day in the Bhārata Varsha ; another lives, during a dream which lasts one muhūrta only, through many crowds of years.—In the third place there do not exist in the state of dreaming the requisite efficient causes for either thought or action ; for as, in sleep, the organs are drawn inward, the dreaming person has no eyes, &c. for perceiving chariots and other things ; and whence should he, in the space of the twinkling of an eye, have the power of—or procure the material for—making chariots and the like ?—In the fourth place the chariots, horses, &c., which the dream creates, are refuted, i.e. shown not to exist by the waking state. And apart from this, the dream itself refutes what it creates, as its end often contradicts its beginning ; what at first was considered to be a chariot turns, in a moment, into a man, and what was conceived to be a man has all at once become a tree.—Scripture itself, moreover, clearly declares the chariots, &c., of a dream to have no real existence, ‘There are no chariots in that state, no horses, no roads, &c.’—Hence the visions of a dream are mere illusion.

4. (Not altogether) for it (the dream) is indicative (of the future), according to Śruti ; the experts also declare this.

Well then, as dreams are mere illusion, they do not contain a particle of reality ?—Not so, we reply ; for dreams are prophetic of future good and bad fortune. For scripture teaches as follows, ‘When a man engaged in some work undertaken for a special wish sees in his dreams a woman, he may infer success from that dream-vision.’ Other scriptural passages declare that certain dreams indicate speedy death, so, e.g. ‘If he sees a black man with black teeth, that man will kill him.’—Those also who understand the science of dreams hold the opinion that to dream of riding on an elephant and the like is lucky ; while it is unlucky to dream of riding on a donkey, &c. ; and that certain other dreams also caused by special mantras or devatās or substances contain a particle of truth.—In all

these cases the thing indicated may be real ; the indicating dream, however, remains unreal as it is refuted by the waking state. The doctrine that the dream itself is mere illusion thus remains uncontradicted.—On this account the Vedic passage to which the first Sûtra of this pâda refers is to be explained metaphorically. When we say ‘the plough bears, i.e. supports the bullocks,’ we say so because the plough is the indirect cause of the bullocks being kept<sup>1</sup>, not because we mean that the plough directly supports the bullocks. Analogously scripture says that the dreaming person creates chariots, &c., and is their maker, not because he creates them directly but because he is the cause of their creation. By his being their cause we have to understand that he is that one who performs the good and evil deeds which are the cause of the delight and fear produced by the apparition, in his dream, of chariots and other things<sup>2</sup>.—Moreover, as in the waking state, owing to the contact of the senses and their objects and the resulting interference of the light of the sun, &c., the self-luminousness of the Self is, for the beholder, difficult to discriminate, scripture gives the description of the dreaming state for the purpose of that discrimination. If then the statements about the creation of chariots, &c., were taken as they stand (i.e. literally) we could not ascertain that the Self is self-luminous<sup>3</sup>. Hence we have to explain the passage relative to the creation of chariots, &c., in a metaphorical sense, so as to make it agree with the statement about the non-existence of chariots, &c. This explains also the scriptural passage about the shaping (III, 2, 2). The statement made above that in the Kâtaka the highest Self is spoken of as the shaper

<sup>1</sup> Bullocks have to be kept because the fields must be tilled.

<sup>2</sup> The dreams have the purpose of either cheering or saddening and frightening the sleeper ; so as to requite him for his good and evil works. His *adrishâ* thus furnishes the efficient cause of the dreams.

<sup>3</sup> Because then there would be no difference between the dreaming and the waking state.

of dreams is untrue; for another scriptural passage ascribes that activity to the individual soul, 'He himself destroying, he himself shaping dreams with his own splendour, with his own light' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 3, 9*)<sup>1</sup>. And in the *Kāṭhaka Upanishad* itself also we infer from the form of the sentence, 'That one who wakes in us while we are asleep,'—which is an *anuvāda*, i.e. an additional statement about something well known—that he who is there proclaimed as the shaper of lovely things is nobody else than the (well-known) individual soul. The other passage which forms the complementary continuation of the one just quoted ('That indeed is the Bright, that is Brahman') discards the notion of the separate existence of the individual soul and teaches that it is nothing but Brahman, analogously to the passage 'That art thou.' And this interpretation does not conflict with Brahman being the general subject-matter.—Nor do we thereby deny altogether that the highest (*prāgñā*) Self is active in dreams; for as being the Lord of all it may be considered as the guide and ruler of the soul in all its states. We only maintain that the world connected with the intermediate state (i.e. the world of dreams) is not real in the same sense as the world consisting of ether and so on is real. On the other hand we must remember that also the so-called real creation with its ether, air, &c., is not absolutely real; for as we have proved before (*II, 1, 14*) the entire expanse of things is mere illusion. The world consisting of ether, &c., remains fixed and distinct up to the moment when the soul cognizes that Brahman is the Self of all; the world of dreams on the other hand is daily sublated by the waking state. That the latter is mere illusion has, therefore, to be understood with a distinction.

5. But by the meditation on the highest that which is hidden (*viz.* the equality of the Lord and

<sup>1</sup> *Svayam yihatya pūrvadeham nīkeshāṁ kṛtvā svayam nirmāyāpūrvam vāsanāmayam deham sampādya svena bhāsā svakīyabuddhivṛttiyā svena ghyotishā svarūpatāitanyenety arthaḥ. Ān. Gi.*

the soul, becomes manifest); for from him (the Lord) are its (the soul's) bondage and release.

Well, but the individual soul is a part of the highest Self as the spark is a part of the fire. And as fire and spark have in common the powers of burning and giving light, so the individual soul and the Lord have in common the powers of knowledge and rulership; hence the individual soul may, by means of its lordship, effect in the dreaming state a creation of chariots and the like, springing from its wishes (*samkalpa*).—To this we reply that although the Lord and the individual soul stand to each other in the relation of whole and part, yet it is manifest to perception that the attributes of the two are of a different nature.—Do you then mean to say that the individual soul has no common attributes with the Lord?—We do not maintain that; but we say that the equality of attributes, although existing, is hidden by the veil of Nescience. In the case of some persons indeed who strenuously meditate on the Lord and who, their ignorance being dispelled at last, obtain through the favour of the Lord extraordinary powers and insight, that hidden equality becomes manifest—just as through the action of strong medicines the power of sight of a blind man becomes manifest; but it does not on its own account reveal itself to all men.—Why not?—Because 'from him,' i.e. from the Lord there are bondage and release of it, viz. the individual soul. That means: bondage is due to the absence of knowledge of the Lord's true nature; release is due to the presence of such knowledge. (Thus Sruti declares, 'When that god is known all fetters fall off; sufferings are destroyed and birth and death cease.) From meditating on him there arises, on the dissolution of the body, a third state, that of universal Lordship; he who is alone is satisfied' (*Svet. Up. I, 11*), and similar passages.

6. Or that (viz. the concealment of the soul's powers springs) from its connexion with the body.

But if the soul is a part of the highest Self, why should its knowledge and lordship be hidden? We should rather

expect them to be as manifest as the light and the heat of the spark.—True, we reply ; but the state of concealment of the soul's knowledge and lordship is due to its being joined to a body, i.e. to a body, sense-organs, mind, buddhi, sense-objects, sensations, &c. And to this state of things there applies the simile : As the heat and light of the fire are hidden as long as the fire is still hidden in the wood from which it will be produced by friction, or as long as it is covered by ashes ; so, in consequence of the soul being connected with limiting adjuncts in the form of a body, &c., founded on name and form as presented by Nescience, its knowledge and lordship remain hidden as long as it is possessed by the erroneous notion of not being distinct from those adjuncts.—The word 'or' in the Sūtra is meant to discard the suspicion that the Lord and the soul might be separate entities.—But why should not the soul be separate from the Lord, considering the state of concealment of its knowledge and power? If we allow the two to be fundamentally separate, we need not assume that their separateness is due to the soul's connexion with the body.—It is impossible, we reply, to assume the soul to be separate from the Lord. For in the scriptural passage beginning with 'That divinity thought' &c. (*Kh. Up. VI, 3, 2*) we meet with the clause, 'It entered into those beings with this living Self' (*gīva ātman*) ; where the individual soul is referred to as the Self. And then we have the other passage, 'It is the True ; it is the Self ; that art thou, O Svetaketu,' which again teaches that the Lord is the Self of the soul. Hence the soul is non-different from the Lord, but its knowledge and power are obscured by its connexion with the body. From this it follows that the dreaming soul is not able to create, from its mere wishes, chariots and other things. If the soul possessed that power, nobody would ever have an unpleasant dream ; for nobody ever wishes for something unpleasant to himself.—We finally deny that the scriptural passage about the waking state ('dream is the same as the place of waking' &c.) indicates the reality of dreams. The statement made there about the equality of the two states

is not meant to indicate that dreams are real, for that would conflict with the soul's self-luminousness (referred to above), and scripture, moreover, expressly declares that the chariots, &c., of a dream have no real existence; it merely means that dreams, because due to mental impressions (*vāsanā*) received in the waking state, are equal to the latter in appearance. (From all this it follows that dreams are mere illusion.)

7. The absence of that (i.e. of dreams, i.e. dreamless sleep) takes place in the *nāḍis* and in the Self; according to scriptural statement.

The state of dream has been discussed; we are now going to enquire into the state of deep sleep. A number of scriptural passages refer to that state. In one place we read, 'When a man is asleep, reposing and at perfect rest so that he sees no dream, then he has entered into those *nāḍis*' (*Kh. Up.* VIII, 6, 3). In another place it is said with reference to the *nāḍis*, 'Through them he moves forth and rests in the surrounding body' (*Bri. Up.* II, 1, 19). So also in another place, 'In these the person is when sleeping he sees no dream. Then he becomes one with the *prāṇa* alone' (*Kau. Up.* IV, 20). Again in another place, 'That ether which is within the heart in that he reposes' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 4, 22). Again, 'Then he becomes united with that which is; he is gone to his Self' (*Kh. Up.* VI, 8, 1). And, 'Embraced by the highest Self (*prāgñā*) he knows nothing that is without, nothing that is within' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 3, 21). Here the doubt arises whether the *nāḍis*, &c., mentioned in the above passages are independent from each other and constitute various places for the soul in the state of deep sleep, or if they stand in mutual relation so as to constitute one such place only. The *pūrvapakshin* takes the former view on account of the various places mentioned serving one and the same purpose. Things serving the same purpose, as, e.g. rice and barley<sup>1</sup>, are never seen to be dependent

<sup>1</sup> Either of which may be employed for making the sacrificial cake.



on each other. That the *nâḍis*, &c., actually serve the same purpose appears from the circumstance of their being all of them exhibited equally in the locative case, 'he has entered into the *nâḍis*,' 'he rests in the pericardium,' &c.<sup>1</sup>—But in some of the passages quoted the locative case is not employed, so, e.g. in 'He becomes united with that which is' (*satâ*, instrumental case)!—That makes no difference, we reply, because there also the locative case is meant. For in the complementary passage the text states that the soul desirous of rest enters into the Self, 'Finding no rest elsewhere it settles down on breath' (*Kh. Up. VI, 8, 2*); a passage in which the word 'breath' refers to that which is (*the sat*). A place of rest of course implies the idea of the locative case. The latter case is, moreover, actually exhibited in a further complementary passage, 'When they have become merged in that which is (*sati*), they know not that they are merged in it.'—In all these passages one and the same state is referred to, viz. the state of deep sleep which is characterised by the suspension of all special cognition. Hence we conclude that in the state of deep sleep the soul optionally goes to any one of those places, either the *nâḍis*, or that which is, &c.

To this we make the following reply—'The absence of that,' i.e. the absence of dreams—which absence constitutes the essence of deep sleep—takes place 'in the *nâḍis* and in the Self;' i.e. in deep sleep the soul goes into both together, not optionally into either.—How is this known?—'From scripture.'—Scripture says of all those things, the *nâḍis*, &c., that they are the place of deep sleep; and those statements we must combine into one, as the hypothesis of option would involve partial refutation<sup>2</sup>. The assertion

<sup>1</sup> The argument of the *pūrvapakshin* is that the different places in which the soul is said to abide in the state of deep sleep are all exhibited by the text in the same case and are on that account co-ordinate. Mutual relation implying subordination would require them to be exhibited in different cases enabling us to infer the exact manner and degree of relation.

<sup>2</sup> By allowing option between two Vedic statements we lessen the

made above that we are compelled to allow option because the *nâḍis*, &c., serve one and the same purpose, is without foundation; for from the mere fact of two things being exhibited in the same case it does not follow by any means that they serve the same purpose, and that for that reason we have to choose between them. We on the contrary see that one and the same case is employed even where things serve different purposes and have to be combined; we say, e.g. 'he sleeps in the palace, he sleeps on the couch'<sup>1</sup>. So in the present case also the different statements can be combined into one, 'He sleeps in the *nâḍis*, in the surrounding body, in Brahman.' Moreover, the scriptural passage, 'In these the person is when sleeping he sees no dream; then he becomes one with the *prâṇa* alone,' declares, by mentioning them together in one sentence, that the *nâḍis* and the *prâṇa* are to be combined in the state of deep sleep. That by *prâṇa* Brahman is meant we have already shown (I, 1, 28). Although in another text the *nâḍis* are spoken of as an independent place of deep sleep as it were ('then he has entered into those *nâḍis*'), yet, in order not to contradict other passages in which Brahman is spoken of as the place of deep sleep, we must explain that text to mean that the soul abides in Brahman through the *nâḍis*. Nor is this interpretation opposed to the employment of the locative case ('into—or in—those *nâḍis*'); for if the soul enters into Brahman by means of the *nâḍis* it is at the same time in the *nâḍis*; just as a man who descends to the sea by means of the river Gaṅgā is at the same time on the Gaṅgā.—Moreover that passage about the *nâḍis*, because its purpose is to describe the road, consisting of the rays and *nâḍis*, to the Brahma world, mentions the entering of the soul into the *nâḍis* in order to glorify the latter (not in order to describe the state of deep sleep); for the clause following upon the one which refers to the enter-

---

authority of the Veda; for the adoption of either alternative sublates, for the time, the other alternative.

<sup>1</sup> Where the two locatives are to be combined into one statement, 'he sleeps on the couch in the palace.'

ing praises the *nâḍis*, 'There no evil touches him.' The text, moreover, adds a reason for the absence of all evil, in the words, 'For then he has become united with the light.' That means that on account of the light contained in the *nâḍis* (which is called bile) having overpowered the organs the person no longer sees the sense-objects. Or else Brahman may be meant by the 'light;' which term is applied to Brahman in another passage also, 'It is Brahman only, light only' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 7*). The passage would then mean that the soul becomes, by means of the *nâḍis*, united with Brahman, and that hence no evil touches it. That the union with Brahman is the reason for the absence of all contact with evil, is known from other scriptural passages, such as, 'All evils turn back from it; for the world of Brahman is free from all evil' (*Kh. Up. VIII, 4, 1*). On that account we have to combine the *nâḍis* with Brahman, which from other passages is known to be the place of deep sleep.—Analogously we conclude that the pericardium also, because it is mentioned in a passage treating of Brahman, is a place of deep sleep only in subordination to Brahman. For the ether within the heart is at first spoken of as the place of sleep ('He lies in the ether which is in the heart,' *Bṛi. Up. II, 1, 17*), and with reference thereto it is said later on, 'He rests in the pericardium' (*II, 1, 19*). Pericardium (*purītat*) is a name of that which envelops the heart; hence that which rests within the ether of the heart—which is contained in the pericardium—can itself be said to rest within the pericardium; just as a man living in a town surrounded by walls is said to live within the walls. That the ether within the heart is Brahman has already been shown (*I, 3, 14*).—That again the *nâḍis* and the pericardium have to be combined as places of deep sleep appears from their being mentioned together in one sentence ('Through them he moves forth and rests in the *purītat*'). That that which is (*sat*) and the intelligent Self (*prāgñā*) are only names of Brahman is well known; hence scripture mentions only three places of deep sleep, viz. the *nâḍis*, the pericardium, and Brahman. Among these three again Brahman alone is the lasting place of deep sleep; the

nāḍīs and the pericardium are mere roads leading to it. Moreover (to explain further the difference of the manner in which the soul, in deep sleep, enters into the nāḍīs, the pericardium and Brahman respectively), the nāḍīs and the pericardium are (in deep sleep) merely the abode of the limiting adjuncts of the soul; in them the soul's organs abide<sup>1</sup>. For apart from its connexion with the limiting adjuncts it is impossible for the soul in itself to abide anywhere, because being non-different from Brahman it rests in its own glory. And if we say that, in deep sleep, it abides in Brahman we do not mean thereby that there is a difference between the abode and that which abides, but that there is absolute identity of the two. For the text says, 'With that which is he becomes united, he is gone to his Self;' which means that the sleeping person has entered into his true nature.—It cannot, moreover, be said that the soul is at any time not united with Brahman—for its true nature can never pass away—; but considering that in the state of waking and that of dreaming it passes, owing to the contact with its limiting adjuncts, into something else, as it were, it may be said that when those adjuncts cease in deep sleep it passes back into its true nature. Hence it would be entirely wrong to assume that, in deep sleep, it sometimes becomes united with Brahman and sometimes not<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, even if we admit that there are different places for the soul in deep sleep, still there does not result, from that difference of place, any difference in the quality of deep sleep which is in all cases characterised by the cessation of special cognition; it is, therefore, more appropriate to say that the soul does (in deep sleep) not cognize on account of its oneness, having become united with Brahman; according to the Sruti, 'How should he know another?' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 5, 15*).—If, further, the sleeping soul did rest in the nāḍīs and the purītat, it would be impossible

<sup>1</sup> Ān. Gi. explains karaṇāni by karmāni: nāḍīṣhu purītatī ka gīvasyopādhyantarbhūtāni karaṇāni karmāni tishṭhantīty upādhyādhāratvam, gīvasya tv ādhāro brahmaiva.

<sup>2</sup> But with the nāḍīs or the pericardium only.

to assign any reason for its not cognizing, because in that case it would continue to have diversity for its object; according to the Sruti, 'When there is, as it were, duality, then one sees the other,' &c.—But in the case of him also who has diversity for his object, great distance and the like may be reasons for absence of cognition!—What you say might indeed apply to our case if the soul were acknowledged to be limited in itself; then its case would be analogous to that of Vishnumitra, who, when staying in a foreign land, cannot see his home. But, apart from its adjuncts, the soul knows no limitation.—Well, then, great distance, &c., residing in the adjuncts may be the reason of non-cognition!—Yes, but that leads us to the conclusion already arrived at, viz. that the soul does not cognize when, the limiting adjuncts having ceased, it has become one with Brahman.

Nor do we finally maintain that the *nāḍīs*, the pericardium, and Brahman are to be added to each other as being equally places of deep sleep. For by the knowledge that the *nāḍīs* and the pericardium are places of sleep, nothing is gained, as scripture teaches neither that some special fruit is connected with that knowledge nor that it is the subordinate member of some work, &c., connected with certain results. We, on the other hand, do want to prove that that Brahman is the lasting abode of the soul in the state of deep sleep; that is a knowledge which has its own uses, viz. the ascertainment of Brahman being the Self of the soul, and the ascertainment of the soul being essentially non-connected with the worlds that appear in the waking and in the dreaming state. Hence the Self alone is the place of deep sleep.

### 8. Hence the awaking from that (viz. Brahman).

And because the Self only is the place of deep sleep, on that account the scriptural chapters treating of sleep invariably teach that the awaking takes place from that Self. In the *Bṛi. Up.* when the time comes for the answer to the question, 'Whence did he come back?' (II, 1, 16), the text

says, 'As small sparks come forth from fire, thus all *prāṇas* come forth from that Self' (II, 1, 20). And *Kh. Up.* VI, 10, 2, we read: 'When they have come back from the True they do not know that they have come back from the True.' If there were optional places to which the soul might resort in deep sleep, scripture would teach us that it awakes sometimes from the *nāḍis*, sometimes from the pericardium, sometimes from the Self.—For that reason also the Self is the place of deep sleep.

9. But the same (soul returns from Brahman); on account of work, remembrance, text, and precept.

Here we have to enquire whether the soul when awaking from the union with Brahman is the same which entered into union with Brahman, or another one.—The *pūrvapakshin* maintains that there is no fixed rule on that point. For just as a drop of water, when poured into a large quantity of water, becomes one with the latter, so that when we again take out a drop it would be hard to manage that it should be the very same drop; thus the sleeping soul, when it has become united with Brahman, is merged in bliss and not able again to rise from it the same. Hence what actually awakes is either the Lord or some other soul.—To this we reply that the same soul which in the state of sleep entered into bliss again arises from it, not any other. We assert this on the ground of work, remembrance, sacred text, and precept; which four reasons we will treat separately. In the first place the person who wakes from sleep must be the same, because it is seen to finish work left unfinished before. Men finish in the morning what they had left incomplete on the day before. Now it is not possible that one man should proceed to complete work half done by another man, because this would imply too much<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> There would follow from it, e.g. that in the case of sacrifices occupying more than one day, there would be several sacrificers, and that consequently it would be doubtful to whom the fruit of the sacrifice, as promised by the Veda, belongs. And this would imply a stultification of the sacred text.

Hence we conclude that it is one and the same man who finishes on the latter day the work begun on the former.—In the second place the person rising from sleep is the same who went to sleep, for the reason that otherwise he could not remember what he had seen, &c., on the day before ; for what one man sees another cannot remember. And if another Self rose from sleep, the consciousness of personal identity (*âtmanusmarāṇa*) expressed in the words, 'I am the same I was before,' would not be possible.—In the third place we understand from Vedic texts that the same person rises again, 'He hastens back again as he came, to the place from which he started, to be awake' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 3, 16*) ; 'All these creatures go day after day into the Brahma-world and yet do not discover it' (*Kh. Up. VIII, 3, 2*) ; '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 and again' (*Kh. Up. VI, 10, 2*). These and similar passages met with in the chapters treating of sleeping and waking have a proper sense only if the same soul rises again.—In the fourth place we arrive at the same conclusion on the ground of the injunctions of works and knowledge, which, on a different theory, would be meaningless. For if another person did rise, it would follow that a person might obtain final release by sleep merely, and what then, we ask, would be the use of all those works which bear fruit at a later period, and of knowledge?—Moreover on the hypothesis of another person rising from sleep, that other person would either be a soul which had up to that time carried on its phenomenal life in another body ; in that case it would follow that the practical existence carried on by means of that body would be cut short. If it be said that the soul which went to sleep may, in its turn, rise in that other body (so that B would rise in A's body and A in B's body), we reply that that would be an altogether useless hypothesis ; for what advantage do we derive from assuming that each soul rises from sleep not in the same body in which it had gone to sleep, but that it goes to sleep in one body and rises in another?—Or else the soul rising (in A's body) would be

one which had obtained final release, and that would imply that final release can have an end. But it is impossible that a soul which has once freed itself from Nescience should again rise (enter into phenomenal life). Hereby it is also shown that the soul which rises cannot be the Lord, who is everlastingly free from Nescience.—Further, on the hypothesis of another soul rising, it would be difficult to escape the conclusion that souls reap the fruits of deeds not their own, and, on the other hand, are not required for what they have done.—From all this it follows that the person rising from sleep is the same that went to sleep.—Nor is it difficult to refute the analogical reasoning that the soul, if once united with Brahman, can no more emerge from it than a drop of water can again be taken out from the mass of water into which it had been poured. We admit the impossibility of taking out the same drop of water, because there is no means of distinguishing it from all the other drops. In the case of the soul, however, there are reasons of distinction, viz. the work and the knowledge (of each individual soul). Hence the two cases are not analogous.—Further, we point out that the flamingo, e.g. is able to distinguish and separate milk and water when mixed, things which we men are altogether incapable of distinguishing.—Moreover, what is called individual soul is not really different from the highest Self, so that it might be distinguished from the latter in the same way as a drop of water from the mass of water ; but, as we have explained repeatedly, Brahman itself is on account of its connexion with limiting adjuncts metaphorically called individual soul. Hence the phenomenal existence of one soul lasts as long as it continues to be bound by one set of adjuncts, and the phenomenal existence of another soul again lasts as long as it continues to be bound by another set of adjuncts. Each set of adjuncts continues through the states of sleep as well as of waking ; in the former it is like a seed, in the latter like the fully developed plant. Hence the proper inference is that the same soul awakes from sleep.

10. In him who is senseless (in a swoon, &c.)



there is half-union ; on account of this remaining (as the only possible hypothesis).

There now arises the question of what kind that state is which ordinarily is called a swoon or being stunned. Here the pûrvapakshin maintains that we know only of three states of the soul as long as it abides in a body, viz. the waking state, dreaming, and deep dreamless sleep ; to which may be added, as a fourth state, the soul's passing out of the body. A fifth state is known neither from *Sruti* nor *Smṛiti* ; hence what is called fainting must be one of the four states mentioned.—To this we make the following reply. In the first place a man lying in a swoon cannot be said to be awake ; for he does not perceive external objects by means of his senses.—But, it might be objected, may not his case be analogous to that of the arrow-maker ? Just as the man working at an arrow, although awake, is so intent on his arrow that he sees nothing else ; so the man also who is stunned, e.g. by a blow, may be awake, but as his mind is concentrated on the sensation of pain caused by the blow of the club, he may not at the time perceive anything else.—No, we reply, the case is different, on account of the absence of consciousness. The arrow-maker says, ' For such a length of time I was aware of nothing but the arrow ; ' the man, on the other hand, who returns to consciousness from a swoon, says, ' For such a length of time I was shut up in blind darkness ; I was conscious of nothing.'—A waking man, moreover, however much his mind may be concentrated on one object, keeps his body upright ; while the body of a swooning person falls prostrate on the ground. Hence a man in a swoon is not awake.—Nor, in the second place, is he dreaming ; because he is altogether unconscious.—Nor, in the third place, is he dead ; for he continues to breathe and to be warm. When a man has become senseless and people are in doubt whether he be alive or dead, they touch the region of his heart, in order to ascertain whether warmth continues in his body or not, and put their hands to his nostrils to ascertain whether breathing goes on or not. If, then, they perceive

neither warmth nor breath, they conclude that he is dead, and carry off his body into the forest in order to burn it; if, on the other hand, they do perceive warmth and breath, they decide that he is not dead, and begin to sprinkle him with cold water so that he may recover consciousness.—That a man who has swooned away is not dead follows, moreover, from the fact of his rising again (to conscious life); for from Yama's realm none ever return.—Let us then say that a man who has swooned lies in deep sleep, as he is unconscious, and, at the same time, not dead!—No, we reply; this also is impossible, on account of the different characteristics of the two states. A man who has become senseless does sometimes not breathe for a long time; his body trembles; his face has a frightful expression; his eyes are staring wide open. The countenance of a sleeping person, on the other hand, is peaceful, he draws his breath at regular intervals; his eyes are closed, his body does not tremble. A sleeping person again may be waked by a gentle stroking with the hand; a person lying in a swoon not even by a blow with a club. Moreover, senselessness and sleep have different causes; the former is produced by a blow on the head with a club or the like, the latter by weariness. Nor, finally, is it the common opinion that stunned or swooning people are asleep.—It thus remains for us to assume that the state of senselessness (in swooning, &c.) is a half-union (or half-coincidence)<sup>1</sup>, as it coincides in so far as it is an unconscious state and does not coincide in so far as it has different characteristics.—But how can absence of consciousness in a swoon, &c., be called half-coincidence (with deep sleep)? With regard to deep sleep scripture says, 'He becomes united with the True' (*Kh. Up.* VI, 8, 1); 'Then a thief is not a thief' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 3, 22); 'Day and night do not pass that bank, nor old age, death, and grief, neither good nor evil deeds' (*Kh. Up.* VIII, 4, 1). For the good and evil deeds reach the soul in that way that there arise in it the ideas of being affected by pleasure or pain. Those ideas are absent in deep sleep, but

---

<sup>1</sup> Viz. with deep sleep, as will be explained below.

they are likewise absent in the case of a person lying in a swoon ; hence we must maintain that, on account of the cessation of the limiting adjuncts, in the case of a senseless person as well as of one asleep, complete union takes place, not only half-union.—To this we make the following reply. —We do not mean to say that in the case of a man who lies in a swoon the soul becomes half united with Brahman ; but rather that senselessness belongs with one half to the side of deep sleep, with the other half to the side of the other state (i.e. death). In how far it is equal and not equal to sleep has already been shown. It belongs to death in so far as it is the door of death. If there remains (unrequited) work of the soul, speech and mind return (to the senseless person) ; if no work remains, breath and warmth depart from him. Therefore those who know Brahman declare a swoon and the like to be a half-union.—The objection that no fifth state is commonly acknowledged, is without much weight ; for as that state occurs occasionally only it may not be generally known. All the same it is known from ordinary experience as well as from the *Āyurveda* (medicine). That it is not considered a separate fifth state is due to its being avowedly compounded of other states.

11. Not on account of (difference of) place also twofold characteristics can belong to the highest ; for everywhere (scripture teaches it to be without any difference).

We now attempt to ascertain, on the ground of *Sruti*, the nature of that Brahman with which the individual soul becomes united in the state of deep sleep and so on, in consequence of the cessation of the limiting adjuncts.—The scriptural passages which refer to Brahman are of a double character ; some indicate that Brahman is affected by difference, so, e.g. ‘ He to whom belong all works, all desires, all sweet odours and tastes ’ (*Kh. Up.* III, 14, 2) ; others, that it is without difference, so, e.g. ‘ It is neither coarse nor fine, neither short nor long,’ &c. (*Bri. Up.* III, 8, 8). Have we, on the ground of these passages, to assume that Brah-

man has a double nature, or either nature, and, if either, that it is affected with difference, or without difference? This is the point to be discussed.

The *pûrvapakshin* maintains that, in conformity with the scriptural passages which indicate a double nature, a double nature is to be ascribed to Brahman.

To this we reply as follows.—At any rate the highest Brahman cannot, by itself, possess double characteristics; for on account of the contradiction implied therein, it is impossible to admit that one and the same thing should by itself possess certain qualities, such as colour, &c., and should not possess them.—Nor is it possible that Brahman should possess double characteristics ‘on account of place,’ i.e. on account of its conjunction with its limiting adjuncts, such as earth, &c. For the connexion with limiting adjuncts is unavailing to impart to a thing of a certain nature an altogether different nature. The crystal, e.g. which is in itself clear, does not become dim through its conjunction with a limiting adjunct in the form of red colour; for that it is pervaded by the quality of dimness is an altogether erroneous notion. In the case of Brahman the limiting adjuncts are, moreover, presented by Nescience merely<sup>1</sup>. Hence (as the *upâdhis* are the product of Nescience) if we embrace either of the two alternatives, we must decide in favour of that according to which Brahman is absolutely devoid of all difference, not in favour of the opposite one. For all passages whose aim it is to represent the nature of Brahman (such as, ‘It is without sound, without touch, without form, without decay,’ *Ka. Up. I, 3, 15*) teach that it is free from all difference.

12. If it be objected that it is not so, on account of the difference (taught by the Veda); we reply that it is not so on account of the declaration of (Brahman)

---

<sup>1</sup> The limiting adjunct of the crystal, i.e. the red colour of a thing, e.g. a flower with which the crystal is in contact, is as real as the crystal itself; only the effect is an illusion.—But the limiting adjuncts of Brahman are in themselves illusion.

being not such, with reference to each (declaration of difference).

Let this be, but nevertheless it cannot be maintained that Brahman is devoid of difference and attributes, and does not possess double attributes either in itself or on account of difference of station.—Why not?—‘On account of difference.’ The various vidyās teach different forms of Brahman; it is said to have four feet (*Kh. Up.* III, 18, 1); to consist of sixteen parts (*Pr. Up.* VI, 1); to be characterised by dwarfishness (*Ka. Up.* V, 3); to have the three worlds for its body (*Bṛi. Up.* I, 3, 22); to be named Vaisvanara (*Kh. Up.* V, 11, 2), &c. Hence we must admit that Brahman is qualified by differences also.—But above it has been shown that Brahman cannot possess twofold characteristics!—That also does not contradict our doctrine; for the difference of Brahman’s forms is due to its limiting adjuncts. Otherwise all those scriptural passages which refer to those differences would be objectless.

All this reasoning, we say, is without force ‘on account of the declaration of its being not such, with reference to each,’ i.e. because scripture declares, with reference to all the differences produced by the limiting adjuncts, that there is no difference in Brahman. Cp. such passages as the following: ‘This bright immortal person in this earth, and that bright immortal person incorporated in the body; he indeed is the same as that Self’ (*Bṛi. Up.* II, 5, 1). It, therefore, cannot be maintained that the connexion of Brahman with various forms is taught by the Veda.

13. Some also (teach) thus.

The members of one sākḥā also make a statement about the cognition of non-difference which is preceded by a censure of the perception of difference, ‘By the mind alone it is to be perceived, there is in it no diversity. He who perceives therein any diversity goes from death to death’ (*Bṛi. Up.* IV, 4, 19). Others also (‘By knowing the enjoyer, the enjoyed, and the ruler, everything has been declared to be threefold, and this is Brahman,’ *Svet. Up.* I, 12)

record in their text that the entire world, characterised by enjoyers, things to be enjoyed, and a ruler, has Brahman for its true nature.—But as among the scriptural passages referring to Brahman, there are some which represent it as having a form, and others teaching that it is devoid of form, how can it be asserted that Brahman is devoid of form, and not also the contrary?—To this question the next Sûtra replies.

14. For (Brahman) is merely devoid of form, on account of this being the main purport of scripture.

Brahman, we must definitively assert, is devoid of all form, colour, and so on, and does not in any way possess form, and so on.—Why?—‘On account of this being the main purport (of scripture).’—‘It is neither coarse nor fine, neither short nor long’ (*Bṛi. Up. III, 8, 8*); ‘That which is without sound, without touch, without form, without decay’ (*Ka. Up. I, 3, 15*); ‘He who is called ether is the revealer of all forms and names. That within which forms and names are, that is Brahman’ (*Kh. Up. VIII, 14, 1*); ‘That heavenly person is without body, he is both without and within, not produced’ (*Mu. Up. II, 1, 2*); ‘That Brahman is without cause and without effect, without anything inside or outside, this Self is Brahman, omnipresent and omniscient’ (*Bṛi. Up. II, 5, 19*). These and similar passages have for their purport the true nature of Brahman as non-connected with any world, and have not any other purport, as we have proved under I, 1, 4. On the ground of such passages we therefore must definitively conclude that Brahman is devoid of form. Those other passages, on the other hand, which refer to a Brahman qualified by form do not aim at setting forth the nature of Brahman, but rather at enjoining the worship of Brahman. As long as those latter texts do not contradict those of the former class, they are to be accepted as they stand; where, however, contradictions occur, the passages whose main subject is Brahman must be viewed as having greater force than those of the other kind.—This is the reason for our deciding that although there are two different classes of scriptural texts, Brahman must be held to be altogether without form, not

at the same time of an opposite nature.—But what then is the position of those passages which refer to Brahman as possessing form?—To this question the next Sūtra replies.

15. And as light (assumes forms as it were by its contact with things possessing form, so does Brahman;) since (the texts ascribing form to Brahman) are not devoid of meaning.

Just as the light of the sun or the moon after having passed through space enters into contact with a finger or some other limiting adjunct, and, according as the latter is straight or bent, itself becomes straight or bent as it were; so Brahman also assumes, as it were, the form of the earth and the other limiting adjuncts with which it enters into connexion. Hence there is no reason why certain texts should not teach, with a view to meditative worship, that Brahman has that and that form. We thus escape the conclusion that those Vedic passages which ascribe form to Brahman are devoid of sense; a conclusion altogether unacceptable since all parts of the Veda are equally authoritative, and hence must all be assumed to have a meaning.—But does this not imply a contradiction of the tenet maintained above, viz. that Brahman does not possess double characteristics although it is connected with limiting adjuncts?—By no means, we reply. What is merely due to a limiting adjunct cannot constitute an attribute of a substance, and the limiting adjuncts are, moreover, presented by Nescience only. That the primeval natural Nescience leaves room for all practical life and activity—whether ordinary or based on the Veda—we have explained more than once.

16. And (scripture) declares (Brahman) to consist of that (i.e. intelligence).

And scripture declares that Brahman consists of intelligence, is devoid of any other characteristics, and is altogether without difference; '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 alto-

gether a mass of knowledge' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 5, 13*). That means: That Self has neither inside nor outside any characteristic form but intelligence; simple non-differentiated intelligence constitutes its nature; just as a lump of salt has inside as well as outside one and the same saltish taste, not any other taste.

17. (This scripture) also shows, and it is likewise stated in *Smṛiti*.

That Brahman is without any difference is proved by those scriptural passages also which expressly deny that it possesses any other characteristics; so, e.g. 'Next follows the teaching by No, no' (*Bṛi. Up. II, 3, 6*); 'It is different from the known, it is also above the unknown' (*Ke. Up. I, 4*); 'From whence all speech, with the mind, turns away unable to reach it' (*Taitt. Up. II, 9*). Of a similar purport is that scriptural passage which relates how Bâhva, being questioned about Brahman by Vâshkalin, explained it to him by silence, 'He said to him, "Learn Brahman, O friend," and became silent. Then, on a second and third question, he replied, "I am teaching you indeed, but you do not understand. Silent is that Self."' The same teaching is conveyed by those *Smṛiti*-texts which deny of Brahman all other characteristics; so, e.g. 'I will proclaim that which is the object of knowledge, knowing which one reaches immortality; the highest Brahman without either beginning or end, which cannot be said either to be or not to be' (*Bha. Gîtâ XIII, 12*). Of a similar purport is another *Smṛiti*-passage, according to which the omniform Nârâyana instructed Nârada, 'The cause, O Nârada, of your seeing me endowed with the qualities of all beings is the Mâyâ emitted by me; do not cognize me as being such (in reality).'

18. For this very reason (there are applied to Brahman) comparisons such as that of the images of the sun and the like.

Because that Self is of the nature of intelligence, devoid of all difference, transcending speech and mind, to be



described only by denying of it all other characteristics, therefore the Moksha Śāstras compare it to the images of the sun reflected in the water and the like, meaning thereby that all difference in Brahman is unreal, only due to its limiting conditions. Compare, e.g. out of many, the two following passages: 'As the one luminous sun when entering into relation to many different waters is himself rendered multiform by his limiting adjuncts; so also the one divine unborn Self;' and 'The one Self of all beings separately abides in all the individual beings; hence it appears one and many at the same time, just as the one moon is multiplied by its reflections in the water.'

The next Sūtra raises an objection.

19. But there is no parallelism (of the two things compared), since (in the case of Brahman) there is not apprehended (any separate substance) comparable to the water.

Since no substance comparable to the water is apprehended in the case of Brahman, a parallelism between Brahman and the reflected images of the sun cannot be established. In the case of the sun and other material luminous bodies, there exists a separate material substance occupying a different place, viz. water; hence the light of the sun, &c., may be reflected. The Self, on the other hand, is not a material thing, and, as it is present everywhere and all is identical with it, there are no limiting adjuncts different from it and occupying a different place.—Therefore the instances are not parallel.

The next Sūtra disposes of this objection.

20. Since (the highest Brahman) is inside (of the limiting adjuncts), it participates in their increase and decrease; owing to the appropriateness (thus resulting) of the two (things compared) it is thus (i.e. the comparison holds good).

The parallel instance (of the sun's reflection in the water) is unobjectionable, since a common feature—with reference to which alone the comparison is instituted—does exist.

Whenever two things are compared, they are so only with reference to some particular point they have in common. Entire equality of the two can never be demonstrated; indeed if it could be demonstrated there would be an end of that particular relation which gives rise to the comparison. Nor does the sūtrakāra institute the comparison objected to on his own account; he merely sets forth the purport of a comparison actually met with in scripture.—Now, the special feature on which the comparison rests is ‘the participation in increase and decrease.’ The reflected image of the sun dilates when the surface of the water expands; it contracts when the water shrinks; it trembles when the water is agitated; it divides itself when the water is divided. It thus participates in all the attributes and conditions of the water; while the real sun remains all the time the same.—Similarly Brahman, although in reality uniform and never changing, participates as it were in the attributes and states of the body and the other limiting adjuncts within which it abides; it grows with them as it were, decreases with them as it were, and so on. As thus the two things compared possess certain common features no objection can be made to the comparison.

21. And on account of the declaration (of scripture).

Scripture moreover declares that the highest Brahman enters into the body and the other limiting adjuncts, ‘He made bodies with two feet, he made bodies with four feet. Having first become a bird he entered the bodies as purusha’ (*Bṛi.* Up. II, 5, 18); and ‘Having entered into them with this living (individual) Self’ (*Kh.* Up. VI, 3, 2).—For all these reasons the comparison set forth in Sūtra 18 is unobjectionable.

Some teachers assume that the preceding discussion (beginning from Sūtra 11) comprises two *adhikaraṇas*, of which the former discusses the question whether Brahman is an absolutely uniform being in which all the plurality of the apparent world vanishes, or a being multiform as the apparent world is; while the latter tries to determine

whether Brahman—whose absolute uniformity was established in the former *adhikaraṇa*—is to be defined as that which is (sat), or as thought (intelligence ; bodha), or as both.—Against this we remark that in no case there is a valid reason for beginning a second *adhikaraṇa*. For what should be the subject of a special second *adhikaraṇa*? Sūtra 15 and foll. cannot be meant to disprove that Brahman possesses a plurality of characteristics; for that hypothesis is already sufficiently disposed of in Sūtras 11–14. Nor can they be meant to show that Brahman is to be defined only as ‘that which is,’ not also as ‘thought ;’ for that would imply that the scriptural passage, ‘consisting of nothing but knowledge’ (*Bṛi. Up. II, 4, 12*), is devoid of meaning. How moreover could Brahman, if devoid of intelligence, be said to be the Self of the intelligent individual soul? Nor again can the hypothetical second *adhikaraṇa* be assumed to prove that Brahman must be defined as ‘thought’ only, not at the same time as ‘that which is ;’ for if it were so, certain scriptural passages—as e.g. *Ka. Up. II, 6, 13*, ‘He is to be conceived by the words, He is’—would lose their meaning. And how, moreover, could we admit thought apart from existence?—Nor can it be said that Brahman has both those characteristics, since that would contradict something already admitted. For he who would maintain that Brahman is characterised by thought different from existence, and at the same time by existence different from thought, would virtually maintain that there is a plurality in Brahman, and that view has already been disproved in the preceding *adhikaraṇa*.—But as scripture teaches both (viz. that Brahman is one only and that it possesses more than one characteristic) there can be no objection to such a doctrine!—There is, we reply, for one being cannot possibly possess more than one nature.—And if it finally should be said that existence is thought and thought existence and that the two do not exclude each other ; we remark that in that case there is no reason for the doubt<sup>1</sup> whether Brahman is that which is, or intelligence,

---

<sup>1</sup> And hence no reason for a separate *adhikaraṇa*.

or both.—On the other hand we have shown that the Sūtras can be explained as constituting one *adhikaraṇa* only. Moreover, as the scriptural texts concerning Brahman disagree in so far as representing Brahman as qualified by form and again as devoid of form we, when embracing the alternative of a Brahman devoid of form, must necessarily explain the position of the other texts, and if taken in that sense the Sūtras (15–21) acquire a more appropriate meaning. And if it is maintained that those scriptural passages also which speak of Brahman as qualified by form have no separate meaning of their own, but likewise teach that Brahman is devoid of all form, viz. by intimating that the plurality referred to has to be annihilated; we reply that this opinion also appears objectionable. In those cases, indeed, where elements of plurality are referred to in chapters treating of the highest knowledge, we may assume them to be mentioned merely to be abstracted from; so e.g. in the passage, *Bṛi. Up. II, 5, 19*, ‘His horses are yoked hundreds and ten. This is the horses, this is the ten and the thousands, many and endless,’ which passage is immediately followed by the words, ‘This is the Brahman without cause and without effect, without anything inside or outside.’ But where elements of plurality are referred to in chapters treating of devout meditation, we have no right to assume that they are mentioned only to be set aside. This is the case e.g. in the passage, ‘He who consists of mind, whose body is *prāṇa*, whose form is light’ (*Kh. Up. III, 14, 2*), which is connected with an injunction of devout meditation contained in the preceding passage, ‘Let him have this will and belief.’ In passages of the latter kind, where the determinations attributed to Brahman may be taken as they stand and viewed as subserving the purposes of devout meditation, we have no right to assume that they are mentioned with the indirect purpose of being discarded. Moreover, if all texts concerning Brahman equally aimed at discarding all thought of plurality, there would be no opportunity for stating the determinative reason (why Brahman is to be viewed as devoid of all form) as was done in Sūtra 14. And further scripture

informs us that devout meditations on Brahman as characterised by form have results of their own, viz. either the warding off of calamities, or the gaining of power, or else release by successive steps. All these reasons determine us to view the passages concerning devout meditation on the one hand and the passages concerning Brahman on the other hand as constituting separate classes, not as forming one whole. In what way moreover, we ask, could the two classes of texts be looked upon as constituting one whole?—Our opponent will perhaps reply, 'Because we apprehend them to form parts of one injunction, just as we do in the case of the darsapûrnamâsa-sacrifice and the oblations called prayâgas.'—But this reply we are unable to admit, since the texts about Brahman, as shown at length under I, 1, 4, merely determine an existing substance (viz. Brahman), and do not enjoin any performances. What kind of activity, we moreover ask, are those texts, according to our opponent's view, meant to enjoin? For whenever an injunction is laid upon a person, it has reference to some kind of work to be undertaken by him.—Our opponent will perhaps make the following reply. The object of the injunction is, in the present case, the annihilation of the appearance of duality. As long as the latter is not destroyed, the true nature of Brahman is not known; hence the appearance of duality which stands in the way of true knowledge must be dissolved. Just as the Veda prescribes the performance of certain sacrifices to him who is desirous of the heavenly world, so it prescribes the dissolution of the apparent world to him who is desirous of final release. Whoever wants to know the true nature of Brahman must first annihilate the appearance of plurality that obstructs true knowledge, just as a man wishing to ascertain the true nature of some jar or similar object placed in a dark room must at first remove the darkness. For the apparent world has Brahman for its true nature, not vice versa; therefore the cognition of Brahman is effected through the previous annihilation of the apparent world of names and forms.

This argumentation we meet by asking our opponent

of what nature that so-called annihilation of the apparent world is. Is it analogous to the annihilation of hardness in butter which is effected by bringing it into contact with fire? or is the apparent world of names and forms which is superimposed upon Brahman by Nescience to be dissolved by knowledge, just as the phenomenon of a double moon which is due to a disease of the eyes is removed by the application of medicine<sup>1</sup>? If the former, the Vedic injunctions bid us to do something impossible; for no man can actually annihilate this whole existing world with all its animated bodies and all its elementary substances such as earth and so on. And if it actually could be done, the first released person would have done it once for all, so that at present the whole world would be empty, earth and all other substances having been finally annihilated.—If the latter, i.e. if our opponent maintains that the phenomenal world is superimposed upon Brahman by Nescience and annihilated by knowledge, we point out that the only thing needed is that the knowledge of Brahman should be conveyed by Vedic passages sublating the apparent plurality superimposed upon Brahman by Nescience, such as ‘Brahman is one, without a second;’ ‘That is the true, it is the Self and thou art it.’ (*Kh. Up.* VI, 2, 1; 8, 7.) As soon as Brahman is indicated in this way, knowledge arising of itself discards Nescience, and this whole world of names and forms, which had been hiding Brahman from us, melts away like the imagery of a dream. As long, on the other hand, as Brahman is not so indicated, you may say a hundred times, ‘Cognize Brahman! Dissolve this world!’ and yet we shall be unable to do either the one or the other.

But, our opponent may object, even after Brahman has been indicated by means of the passages quoted, there is room for injunctions bidding us either to cognize Brahman or to dissolve the world.—Not so, we reply; for both these

---

<sup>1</sup> I. e. does the injunction bidding us to annihilate the phenomenal world look on it as real or as fictitious, due to Nescience only?

things are already effected by the indication of the true nature of Brahman as devoid of all plurality ; just as the pointing out of the true nature of the rope has for its immediate result the cognition of the true nature of the rope, and the dissolution of the appearance of a snake or the like. And what is done once need not be done again<sup>1</sup>. —We moreover ask the following question : Does the individual soul on which the injunction is laid belong to the unreal element of the phenomenal world or to the real element, i.e. Brahman, which underlies the phenomenal world? If the former, the soul itself is dissolved just as earth and the other elements are, as soon as the knowledge of Brahman's true nature has arisen, and on whom then should the dissolution of the world be enjoined, or who should, by acting on that injunction, obtain release?—If the latter, we are led to the same result. For as soon as there arises the knowledge that Brahman, which never can become the subject of an injunction, is the true being of the soul while the soul as such is due to Nescience, there remains no being on which injunctions could be laid, and hence there is no room for injunctions at all.

What then, it may be asked, is the meaning of those Vedic passages which speak of the highest Brahman as something to be seen, to be heard, and so on?—They aim, we reply, not at enjoining the knowledge of truth, but merely at directing our attention to it. Similarly in ordinary life imperative phrases such as 'Listen to this!' 'Look at this!' are frequently meant to express not that we are immediately to cognize this or that, but only that we are to direct our attention to it. Even when a person is face to face with some object of knowledge, knowledge may either arise or not ; all that another person wishing to inform him about the object can do is to point it out to him ; knowledge will thereupon spring up in his mind of itself, according to the object of knowledge and according

---

<sup>1</sup> I.e. after the true nature of Brahman has been once known, there is no longer room for a special injunction to annihilate this apparent world.

to the means of knowledge employed.—Nor must it be said that an injunction may have the purpose of modifying the knowledge of a thing which was originally obtained by some other means of knowledge<sup>1</sup>. For the modified knowledge due to such injunctions is not knowledge in the true sense of the word, but merely a mental energy (i.e. the product, not of an object of knowledge presented to us through one of the means of true knowledge, but of an arbitrary mental activity), and if such modification of knowledge springs up in the mind of itself (i.e. without a deliberate mental act) it is mere error. True knowledge on the other hand, which is produced by the means of true knowledge and is conformable to its object, can neither be brought about by hundreds of injunctions nor be checked by hundreds of prohibitions. For it does not depend on the will of man, but merely on what really and unalterably exists.—For this reason also injunctions of the knowledge of Brahman cannot be admitted.

A further point has to be considered here. If we admitted that injunctions constitute the sole end and aim of the entire Veda, there would remain no authority for the, after all, generally acknowledged truth that Brahman—which is not subject to any injunction—is the Self of all.—Nor would it be of avail to maintain that the Veda may both proclaim the truth stated just now and enjoin on man the cognition of that truth; for that would involve the conclusion that the one *Brahma-sāstra* has two—and more-over conflicting—meanings.—The theory combated by us gives moreover rise to a number of other objections which nobody can refute; it compels us to set aside the text as it stands and to make assumptions not guaranteed by the text; it implies the doctrine that final release is, like the results of sacrificial works, (not the direct result of true knowledge but) the mediate result of the so-called unseen

---

<sup>1</sup> The *pûrvapakshin* might refer e.g. to the Vedic injunction, 'he is to meditate upon woman as fire,' and maintain that the object of this injunction is to modify our knowledge of woman derived from perception &c., according to which a woman is not fire.



principle (*adrishṭa*), and non-permanent &c. &c.—We therefore again assert that the texts concerning Brahman aim at cognition, not at injunction, and that hence the pretended reason of 'their being apprehended as parts of one injunction' cannot induce us to look upon the entire Veda as one whole.

And finally, even if we admitted that the texts concerning Brahman are of an injunctive character, we should be unable to prove that the texts denying plurality, and the texts setting forth plurality enjoin one and the same thing ; for this latter conclusion cannot be accepted in the face of the several means of proof such as difference of terms<sup>1</sup>, and so on, which intimate that there is a plurality of injunctions. The passages respectively enjoining the *darsapûrnamâsa*-sacrifice and the offerings termed *prayâgas* may indeed be considered to form one whole, as the qualification on the part of the sacrificer furnishes an element common to the two<sup>2</sup>. But the statements about the Brahman devoid of qualities and those about the qualified Brahman have not any element in common ; for qualities such as 'having light for one's body' contribute in no way towards the dissolution of the world, nor again does the latter help in any way the former. For the dissolution of the entire phenomenal world on the one hand, and regard for a part of that world on the other hand do not allow themselves to be combined in one and the same subject.—The preferable theory, therefore, is to distinguish with us two classes of texts, according as Brahman is represented as possessing form or as devoid of it.

22. For (the clause 'Not so, not so') denies (of Brahman) the suchness which forms the topic of

<sup>1</sup> 'Difference of terms' (*śabdântaram*) is according to the Pûrva Mîmâṃsâ the first of the six means of proof showing karmabheda or niyogabheda. Cp. Sabara bhâṣya on II, 1, 1.

<sup>2</sup> For the sacrifice as well as its subordinate part—the offering of the *prayâgas*—has to be performed by a sacrificer acting for one end, viz. the obtainment of the heavenly world.

discussion ; and (the text) enounces something more than that.

We read, *Bṛi. Up. II, 3*, 'Two forms of Brahman there are indeed, the material and the immaterial, the mortal and the immortal, the solid and the fluid, *sat* and *tya*.' The text thereupon divides the five elements into two classes, predicates of the essence of that which is immaterial—which it calls *puruṣa*—saffron-colour, and so on, and then goes on to say, 'Now then the teaching by Not so, not so ! For there is nothing else higher than this (if one says) : It is not so.' Here we have to enquire what the object of the negative statement is. We do not observe any definite thing indicated by words such as 'this' or 'that ;' we merely have the word 'so' in 'Not so, not so !' to which the word 'not' refers, and which on that account indicates something meant to be denied. Now we know that the word 'so' (*iti*) is used with reference to approximate things, in the same way as the particle '*evam*' is used ; compare, e.g. the sentence 'so (*iti*) indeed the teacher said' (where the 'so' refers to his immediately preceding speech). And, in our passage, the context points out what has to be considered as proximate, viz. the two cosmic forms of Brahman, and that Brahman itself to which the two forms belong. Hence there arises a doubt whether the phrase, 'Not so, not so !' negatives both Brahman and its two forms, or only either ; and if the latter, whether it negatives Brahman and leaves its two forms, or if it negatives the two forms and leaves Brahman.—We suppose, the *pūrvapakṣin* says, that the negative statement negatives Brahman as well as its two forms ; both being suggested by the context. As the word 'not' is repeated twice, there are really two negative statements, of which the one negatives the cosmic form of Brahman, the other that which has form, i.e. Brahman itself. Or else we may suppose that Brahman alone is negated. For as Brahman transcends all speech and thought, its existence is doubtful, and admits of being negated ; the plurality of cosmic forms on the other hand falls within the sphere of perception and the other means of right

knowledge, and can, therefore, not be negated.—On this latter interpretation the repetition of 'not' must be considered as due to emphasis only.

To this we make the following reply. It is impossible that the phrase, 'Not so, not so!' should negative both, since that would imply the doctrine of a general Void. Whenever we deny something unreal, we do so with reference to something real; the unreal snake, e.g. is negated with reference to the real rope. But this (denial of something unreal with reference to something real) is possible only if some entity is left. If everything is denied, no entity is left, and if no entity is left, the denial of some other entity which we may wish to undertake, becomes impossible, i.e. that latter entity becomes real and as such cannot be negated.—Nor, in the second place, can Brahman be denied; for that would contradict the introductory phrase of the chapter, 'Shall I tell you Brahman?' (*Bṛi. Up. II, 1, 1*); would show disregard of the threat conveyed in *Taitt. Up. II, 6*, 'He who knows the Brahman as non-existing becomes himself non-existing;' would be opposed to definitive assertions such as 'By the words "He is" is he to be apprehended' (*Ka. Up. II, 6, 13*); and would involve a stultification of the entire Vedānta.—The phrase that Brahman transcends all speech and thought does certainly not mean to say that Brahman does not exist; for after the Vedānta-part of scripture has established at length the existence of Brahman—in such passages as 'He who knows Brahman obtains the highest;' 'Truth, knowledge, infinite is Brahman'—it cannot be supposed all at once to teach its non-existence. For, as the common saying is, 'Better than bathing it is not to touch dirt at all.' The passage, 'from whence all speech with the mind turns away unable to reach it' (*Taitt. Up. II, 4*), must, therefore, rather be viewed as intimating Brahman.

The passage of the *Bṛi. Up.* under discussion has, therefore, to be understood as follows. Brahman is that whose nature is permanent purity, intelligence, and freedom; it transcends speech and mind, does not fall within the category of 'object,' and constitutes the inward Self of all. Of this Brahman our text denies all plurality of forms; but

Brahman itself it leaves untouched. This the Sûtra expresses in the words, 'for it denies the suchness which forms the topic of discussion.' That means: The passage 'Not so,' &c., denies of Brahman the limited form, material as well as immaterial, which in the preceding part of the chapter is described at length with reference to the gods as well as the body, and also the second form which is produced by the first, is characterised by mental impressions, forms the essence of that which is immaterial, is denoted by the term *purusha*, rests on the subtle Self (*liṅgātman*) and is described by means of comparisons with saffron-colour, &c., since the *purusha*, which is the essence of what is immaterial, does not itself possess colour perceivable by the eye. Now these forms of Brahman are by means of the word 'so' (*iti*), which always refers to something approximate brought into connexion with the negative particle 'not.' Brahman itself, on the other hand (apart from its forms), is, in the previous part of the chapter, mentioned not as in itself constituting the chief topic, but only in so far as it is qualified by its forms; this appears from the circumstance of Brahman being exhibited in the genitive case only ('These are two forms of *Brahman*'). Now, after the two forms have been set forth, there arises the desire of knowing that to which the two forms belong, and hence the text continues, 'Now then the teaching by means of "Not so, not so."' This passage, we conclude, conveys information regarding the nature of Brahman by denying the reality of the forms fictitiously attributed to it; for the phrase, 'Not so, not so!' negatives the whole aggregate of effects superimposed on Brahman. Effects we know to have no real existence, and they can therefore be negated; not so, however, Brahman, which constitutes the necessary basis for all fictitious superimposition.—Nor must the question be asked here, how the sacred text, after having itself set forth the two forms of Brahman, can negative them in the end, contrary to the principle that not to touch dirt is better than bathing after having done so. For the text does not set forth the two forms of Brahman as something the truth of which is to be established, but merely mentions those two forms, which in

the sphere of ordinary thought are fictitiously attributed to Brahman, in order finally to negative them and establish thereby the true nature of the formless Brahman.

The double repetition of the negation may either serve the purpose of furnishing a special denial of the material as well as the immaterial form of Brahman ; or the first 'Not so' may negative the aggregate of material elements, while the second denies the aggregate of mental impressions. Or else the repetition may be an emphatic one, intimating that whatever can be thought is not Brahman. This is, perhaps, the better explanation. For if a limited number of things are denied each individually, there still remains the desire to know whether something else may not be Brahman ; an emphatic repetition of the denial on the other hand shows that the entire aggregate of objects is denied and that Brahman is the inward Self ; whereby all further enquiry is checked.—The final conclusion, therefore, is, that the text negatives only the cosmic plurality fictitiously superimposed on Brahman, but leaves Brahman itself untouched.

The Sūtra gives another argument establishing the same conclusion, 'and the text enounces something more than that,' i.e. more than the preceding negation. The words of the text meant are '(not) is there anything beyond.'—If the negation, 'Not so, not so !' were meant to negative all things whatever, and this terminated in absolute non-existence, the text could not even allude to 'anything beyond.'—The words of the text are to be connected as follows. After the clause, 'Not so, not so !' has given information about Brahman, the clause next following illustrates this teaching by saying : There is nothing beyond or separate from this Brahman ; therefore Brahman is expressed by 'Not so, not so !' which latter words do not mean that Brahman itself does not exist. The implied meaning rather is that different from everything else there exists the 'non-negated' Brahman.—The words of the text admit, however, of another interpretation also ; for they may mean that there is no teaching of Brahman higher than that teaching which is implied in the negation of plurality expressed by 'Not so, not so !' On this latter interpretation

the words of the Sūtra, 'and the text enounces something more than that,' must be taken to refer to the name mentioned in the text, 'Then comes the name, the True of the True; the senses being the True and he the True of them.'—This again has a sense only if the previous negative clause denies everything but Brahman, not everything but absolute non-existence. For, if the latter were the case, what then could be called the True of the True?—We therefore decide that the clause, 'Not so, not so!' negatives not absolutely everything, but only everything but Brahman.

23. That (Brahman) is unevolved; for (thus scripture) says.

If that highest Brahman which is different from the world that is negated in the passage discussed above really exists, why then is it not apprehended?—Because, the Sūtrakāra replies, it is unevolved, not to be apprehended by the senses; for it is the witness of whatever is apprehended (i.e. the subject in all apprehension). Thus Sruti says, 'He is not apprehended by the eye, nor by speech, nor by the other senses, not by penance or good works' (Mu. Up. III, 1, 8); 'That Self is to be described by No, no! He is incomprehensible, for he cannot be comprehended' (Bri. Up. III, 9, 26); 'That which cannot be seen nor apprehended' (Mu. Up. I, 1, 6); 'When in that which is invisible, incorporeal, undefined, unsupported' &c. (Taitt. Up. II, 7). Similar statements are made in Smṛiti-passages; so e.g. 'He is called unevolved, not to be fathomed by thought, unchangeable.'

24. And in the state of perfect conciliation also (the Yogins apprehend the highest Brahman), according to Sruti and Smṛiti.

At the time of perfect conciliation the Yogins see the unevolved Self free from all plurality. By 'perfect conciliation' we understand the presentation before the mind (of the highest Self), which is effected through meditation and devotion.—This is vouched for by Sruti as well as

Smṛiti. So, e.g. Ka. Up. IV, 1, 'The Self-existent pierced the openings of the senses so that they turn outward; therefore man looks without, not within himself. Some wise man, however, with his eyes closed and wishing for immortality, saw the Self within.' And Mu. Up. III, 1, 8, 'When a man's mind has become purified by the serene light of knowledge then he sees him, meditating on him as without parts.' Smṛiti-passages of the same tendency are the following ones, 'He who is seen as light by the Yogins meditating on him sleepless, with suspended breath, with contented minds, with subdued senses; reverence be to him<sup>1</sup>!' and 'The Yogins see him, the august, eternal one.'

But if in the state of perfect conciliation there is a being to be conciliated and a being conciliating, does not this involve the distinction of a higher and a lower Self?—No, the next Sūtra replies.

25. And as in the case of (physical) light and the like, there is non-distinction (of the two Selves), the light (i.e. the intelligent Self) (being divided) by its activity; according to the repeated declarations of scripture.

As light, ether, the sun and so on appear differentiated as it were through their objects such as fingers, vessels, water and so on which constitute limiting adjuncts<sup>2</sup>, while in reality they preserve their essential non-differentiatedness; so the distinction of different Selves is due to limiting adjuncts only, while the unity of all Selves is natural and original. For on the doctrine of the non-difference of the individual soul and the highest Self the Vedānta-texts insist again and again<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Whose Self is Yoga.

<sup>2</sup> Light is differentiated as it were by the various objects on which it shines; the all-pervading ether is divided into parts as it were by hollow bodies; the sun is multiplied as it were by its reflections in the water.

<sup>3</sup> It certainly looks here as if the Bhāṣyakāra did not know what to do with the words of the Sūtra. The 'karmāni,' which is

26. Hence (the soul enters into unity) with the infinite (i.e. the highest Self); for this scripture indicates.

Hence i.e. because the non-difference of all Selves is essential and their difference due to Nescience only, the individual soul after having dispelled Nescience by true knowledge passes over into unity with the highest Self. For this is indicated by scripture, cp. e.g. *Mu. Up. III, 2, 9*, 'He who knows that highest Brahman becomes even Brahman;' *Bri. Up. IV, 4, 6*, 'Being Brahman he goes to Brahman.'

27. But on account of twofold designation, (the relation of the highest Self to the individual soul has to be viewed) like that of the snake to its coils.

In order to justify his own view as to the relation of the conciliating individual soul and the conciliated highest Self, the *Sūtrakāra* mentions a different view of the same matter.—Some scriptural passages refer to the highest Self and the individual soul as distinct entities, cp. e.g. *Mu. Up. III, 1, 8*, 'Then he sees him meditating on him as without parts,' where the highest Self appears as the object of the soul's vision and meditation; *Mu. Up. III, 2, 8*, 'He goes to the divine Person who is greater than the great;' and *Bri. Up. III, 7, 15*, 'Who rules all beings within;' in which passages the highest Self is represented as the object of approach and as the ruler of the individual soul. In other places again the two are spoken of as non-different, so e.g. *Kh. Up. VI, 8, 7*, 'Thou art that;' *Bri. Up. I, 4, 10*, 'I am Brahman;' *Bri. Up. III, 4, 1*, 'This is thy Self who is within all;' *Bri. Up. III, 7, 15*, 'He is thy Self, the ruler within, the immortal.'—As thus difference and non-difference are equally vouched for by scripture, the acceptance of absolute non-difference would render futile all those

---

as good as passed over by him, is explained by *Go. Ân.* as 'dhyânâdikarmany upâdhau.' *Ân. Gi.* says, 'âtmaprakâsarabdito-gñânataatkârye karmany upâdhau savisheshas' &c.



texts which speak of difference. We therefore look on the relation of the highest Self and the soul as analogous to that of the snake and its coils. Viewed as a whole the snake is one, non-different, while an element of difference appears if we view it with regard to its coils, hood, erect posture and so on.

28. Or else like that of light to its substratum, both being fire.

Or else the relation of the two may be viewed as follows. Just as the light of the sun and its substratum, i.e. the sun himself, are not absolutely different—for they both consist of fire—and yet are spoken of as different, so also the soul and the highest Self.

29. Or else (the relation of the two is to be conceived) in the manner stated above.

Or else the relation of the two has to be conceived in the manner suggested by Sūtra 25. For if the bondage of the soul is due to Nescience only, final release is possible. But if the soul is really and truly bound—whether the soul be considered as a certain condition or state of the highest Self as suggested in Sūtra 27, or as a part of the highest Self as suggested in Sūtra 28—its real bondage cannot be done away with, and thus the scriptural doctrine of final release becomes absurd.—Nor, finally, can it be said that Śruti equally teaches difference and non-difference. For non-difference only is what it aims at establishing; while, when engaged in setting forth something else, it merely refers to difference as something known from other sources of knowledge (viz. perception, &c.).—Hence the conclusion stands that the soul is not different from the highest Self, as explained in Sūtra 25.

30. And on account of the denial.

The conclusion arrived at above is confirmed by the fact of scripture expressly denying that there exists any intelligent being apart from the highest Self. Cp. 'There is no other seer but he' (*Bṛi. Up. III, 7, 23*). And the same

conclusion follows from those passages which deny the existence of a world apart from Brahman and thus leave Brahman alone remaining, viz. 'Now then the teaching, Not so, not so !' (*Bri. Up.* II, 3, 6); 'That Brahman is without cause and without effect, without anything inside or outside' (*Bri. Up.* II, 5, 19).

31. Beyond (Brahman, there is something) further, on account of the designations of bank, measure, connexion, separation.

With reference to this Brahman which we have ascertained to be free from all plurality there now arises the doubt—due to the conflicting nature of various scriptural statements—whether something exists beyond it or not. We therefore enter on the task of explaining the true meaning of those scriptural passages which seem to indicate that there is some entity beyond, i.e. apart from Brahman.

The pûrvapakshin maintains that some entity must be admitted apart from Brahman, because Brahman is spoken of as being a bank; as having size; as being connected; as being separated.—As a bank it is spoken of in the passage, *Kh. Up.* VIII, 4, 1, 'That Self is a bank, a boundary.' The word 'bank' (*setu*) ordinarily denotes a structure of earth, wood and the like, serving the purpose of checking the flow of water. Here, being applied to the Self, it intimates that there exists something apart from the Self, just as there exists something different from an ordinary bank. The same conclusion is confirmed by the words, 'Having passed the bank' (*VIII, 4, 2*). For as in ordinary life a man after having crossed a bank reaches some place which is not a bank, let us say a forest; so, we must understand, a man after having crossed, i.e. passed beyond the Self reaches something which is not the Self.—As having size Brahman is spoken of in the following passages, 'This Brahman has four feet (quarters), eight hoofs, sixteen parts.' Now it is well known from ordinary experience that wherever an object, a coin, e.g. has a definite limited size, there exists something different from that object; we therefore must assume that there also

exists something different from Brahman.—Brahman is declared to be connected in the following passages, ‘Then he is united with the True’ (*Kh. Up.* VI, 8, 1), and ‘The embodied Self is embraced by the highest Self’ (*Bri. Up.* IV, 3, 21). Now we observe that non-measured things are connected with things measured, men, e.g. with a town. And scripture declares that the individual souls are, in the state of deep sleep, connected with Brahman. Hence we conclude that beyond Brahman there is something unmeasured.—The same conclusion is finally confirmed by those texts which proclaim difference, so e.g. the passage, I, 6, 6 ff. (‘Now that golden person who is seen within the sun’ &c.), which at first refers to a Lord residing in the sun and then mentions a Lord residing in the eye, distinct from the former (‘Now the person who is seen within the eye’). The text distinctly transfers to the latter the form &c. of the former<sup>1</sup> (‘The form of that person is the same as the form of the other’ &c.), and moreover declares that the lordly power of both is limited, ‘He obtains through the one the worlds beyond that and the wishes of the devas’ &c.; which is very much as if one should say, ‘This is the reign of the king of Magadha and that the reign of the king of Videha.’

From all this it follows that there exists something different from Brahman.

32. But (Brahman is called a bank &c.) on account of (a certain) equality.

The word ‘but’ is meant to set aside the previously established conclusion.—There can exist nothing different from Brahman, since we are unable to observe a proof for such existence. That all existences which have a beginning spring from, subsist through, and return into Brahman we have already ascertained, and have shown that the effect is non-different from the cause.—Nor can there exist, apart from Brahman, something which has no beginning, since scripture affirms that ‘Being only this was

---

<sup>1</sup> Which would be unnecessary if the two were not distinct.

in the beginning, one, without a second.' The promise moreover that through the cognition of one thing everything will be known, renders it impossible that there should exist anything different from Brahman.—But does not the fact that the Self is called a bank, &c. indicate that there exists something beyond the Self?—No, we reply; the passages quoted by the pûrvapakshin have no power to prove his conclusion. For the text only says that the Self is a bank, not that there is something beyond it. Nor are we entitled to assume the existence of some such thing, merely to the end of accounting for the Self being called a bank; for the simple assumption of something unknown is a mere piece of arbitrariness. If, moreover, the mere fact of the Self being called a bank implied the existence of something beyond it, as in the case of an ordinary bank, we should also be compelled to conclude that the Self is made of earth and stones; which would run counter to the scriptural doctrine that the Self is not something produced.—The proper explanation is that the Self is called a bank because it resembles a bank in a certain respect; as a bank dams back the water and marks the boundary of contiguous fields, so the Self supports the world and its boundaries. The Self is thus glorified by the name of bank because it resembles one.—In the clause quoted above, 'having passed that bank,' the verb 'to pass' cannot be taken in the sense of 'going beyond,' but must rather mean 'to reach fully.' In the same way we say of a student, 'he has passed the science of grammar,' meaning thereby that he has fully mastered it.

33. (The statement as to Brahman having size) subserves the purpose of the mind; in the manner of the four feet (quarters).

In reply to the pûrvapakshin's contention that the statements as to Brahman's size, prove that there exists something different from Brahman, we remark that those statements merely serve the purposes of the mind, i.e. of devout meditation.—But how can the cognition of something con-

sisting of four, or eight, or sixteen parts be referred to Brahman?—Through its modifications (effects), we reply, Brahman is assumed to be subject to measure. For as some men are of inferior, others of middling, others again of superior intelligence, not all are capable of fixing their mind on the infinite Brahman, devoid of all effects. ‘In the manner of the four feet,’ i.e. in the same way as (*Kṛ. Up. III, 18*), for the purpose of pious meditation, speech and three other feet are ascribed to mind viewed as the personal manifestation of Brahman, and fire and three other feet to the ether viewed as the cosmic manifestation of Brahman.—Or else the phrase, ‘in the manner of the four quarters,’ may be explained as follows. In the same way as to facilitate commerce, a *kārshāpāna* is assumed to be divided into four parts—for there being no fixed rule as to the value of bargains, people cannot always carry on their transactions with whole *kārshāpānas* only—, (so, in order to facilitate pious meditation on the part of less intelligent people, four feet, &c., are ascribed to Brahman).

34. (The statements concerning connexion and difference) are due to difference of place; in the manner of light and so on.

The present Sūtra refutes the allegation that something different from Brahman exists, firstly, because things are said to be connected with Brahman, and secondly, because things are said to be separate from it. The fact is, that all those statements regarding connexion and difference are made with a view to difference of place. When the cognition of difference which is produced by the Self’s connexion with different places, i.e. with the buddhi and the other limiting adjuncts, ceases on account of the cessation of those limiting adjuncts themselves, connexion with the highest Self is metaphorically said to take place; but that is done with a view to the limiting adjuncts only, not with a view to any limitation on the part of the Self.—In the same way, all statements regarding difference have reference to the difference of Brahman’s limiting adjuncts only, not to any difference affecting Brahman’s own nature.—All this

is analogous to the case of light and the like. For the light of the sun or the moon also is differentiated by its connexion with limiting adjuncts, and is, on account of these adjuncts, spoken of as divided, and, when the adjuncts are removed, it is said to enter into connexion (union). Other instances of the effect of limiting adjuncts are furnished by the ether entering into connexion with the eyes of needles and the like.

35. And because (only such a connexion) is possible.

Moreover, only such a connexion as described above is possible. For scriptural passages, such as 'He is gone to his Self' (*Kh. Up. VI, 8, 1*), declare that the connexion of the soul with the highest Self is one of essential nature. But as the essential nature of a thing is imperishable, the connexion cannot be analogous to that of the inhabitants with the town, but can only be explained with reference to an obscuration, owing to Nescience, of the soul's true nature.—Similarly the difference spoken of by scripture cannot be real, but only such as is due to Nescience; for many texts declare that there exists only one Lord. Analogously, scripture teaches that the one ether is made manifold as it were by its connexion with different places 'The ether which is outside man is the ether which is inside man, and the ether within the heart' (*Kh. Up. III, 12, 7 ff.*).

36. (The same thing follows) from the express denial of other (existences).

Having thus refuted the arguments of the *pûrvapakshin*, the *Sûtrakâra* in conclusion strengthens his view by a further reason. A great number of Vedic passages—which, considering the context in which they stand, cannot be explained otherwise—distinctly deny that there exists anything apart from Brahman; 'He indeed is below; I am below; the Self is below' (*Kh. Up. VII, 25, 1; 2*); 'Who-soever looks for anything elsewhere than in the Self was abandoned by everything' (*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); 'In it there is no diversity' (*Bri.* Up. IV, 4, 19); 'He to whom there is nothing superior, from whom there is nothing different' (Svet. Up. III, 9); 'This is the Brahman without cause and without effect, without anything inside or outside' (*Bri.* Up. II, 5, 19).—And that there is no other Self within the highest Self, follows from that scriptural passage which teaches Brahman to be within everything (*Bri.* Up. II, 5, 19).

37. Thereby the omnipresence (of Brahman is established), in accordance with the statements about (Brahman's) extent.

The preceding demonstration that the texts calling Brahman a bank, and so on, are not to be taken literally, and that, on the other hand, the texts denying all plurality must be accepted as they stand, moreover, serves to prove that the Self is omnipresent. If the former texts were taken literally, banks and the like would have to be looked upon as belonging to the Self, and thence it would follow that the Self is limited. And if the texts of the latter class were not accepted as valid, there would be substances exclusive of each other, and thus the Self would again be limited.—That the Self is omnipresent follows from the texts proclaiming its extent, &c., cp. *Kh.* Up. VIII, 1, 3, 'As large as this ether is, so large is that ether within the heart'; 'Like the ether, he is omnipresent and eternal'; 'He is greater than the sky, greater than the ether' (*Sat. Br.* X, 6, 3, 2); 'He is eternal, omnipresent, firm, immoveable' (*Bha. Gitā* II, 24); and other similar passages from *Sruti* and *Smṛiti*.

38. From him (i.e. the Lord, there comes) the fruit (of works); for (that only) is possible.

We now turn to another characteristic belonging to Brahman, in so far as it is connected with the every-day world in which we distinguish a ruler and the objects of his rule.—There arises the question whether the threefold fruits of action which are enjoyed by the creatures in their

*samsāra*-state—viz. pain, pleasure, and a mixture of the two—spring from the actions themselves or come from the Lord.—The *Sūtrakāra* embraces the latter alternative, on the ground that it is the only possible one. The ruler of all who by turns provides for the creation, the subsistence and the reabsorption of the world, and who knows all the differences of place and time, he alone is capable of effecting all those modes of requital which are in accordance with the merit of the agents; actions, on the other hand, which pass away as soon as done, have no power of bringing about results at some future time, since nothing can spring from nothing. Nor can the latter difficulty be overcome by the assumption that an action passes away only after having produced some result according to its nature, and that the agent will at some future time enjoy that fruit of his action. For the fruit of an action is such only through being enjoyed by the agent; only at the moment when some pleasure or some pain—the result of some deed—is enjoyed by the doer of the deed people understand it to be a ‘fruit.’—Nor, in the second place, have we the right to assume that the fruit will, at some future time, spring from the so-called supersensuous principle (*apūrva*), which itself is supposed to be a direct result of the deed; for that so-called supersensuous principle is something of non-intelligent nature, comparable to a piece of wood or metal, and as such cannot act unless moved by some intelligent being. And moreover there is no proof whatever for the existence of such an *apūrva*.—But is it not proved by the fact that deeds are actually requited?—By no means, we reply; for the fact of requital may be accounted for by the action of the Lord.

39. And because it is declared by scripture.

We assume the Lord to bring about the fruits of actions, not only because no other assumption appears plausible, but also because we have direct scriptural statement on our side. Cp. e.g. the passage, ‘This indeed is the great, unborn Self, the giver of food, the giver of wealth’ (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 24*).



40. Gaimini (thinks) for the same reasons that religious merit (is what brings about the fruits of actions).

Gaimini bases a contrary opinion on the reasons specified in the last two Sūtras. Scripture, he argues, proclaims injunctions such as the following one, 'He who is desirous of the heavenly world is to sacrifice.' Now as it is admitted that such scriptural injunctions must have an object, we conclude that the sacrifice itself brings about the result, i. e. the obtainment of the heavenly world ; for if this were not so, nobody would perform sacrifices and thereby scriptural injunctions would be rendered purposeless.—But has not this view of the matter already been abandoned, on the ground that an action which passes away as soon as done can have no fruit?—We must, the reply is, follow the authority of scripture and assume such a connexion of action and fruit as agrees with scriptural statement. Now it is clear that a deed cannot effect a result at some future time, unless, before passing away, it gives birth to some unseen result ; we therefore assume that there exists some result which we call *apūrva*, and which may be viewed either as an imperceptible after-state of the deed or as an imperceptible antecedent state of the result. This hypothesis removes all difficulties, while on the other hand it is impossible that the Lord should effect the results of actions. For in the first place, one uniform cause cannot be made to account for a great variety of effects ; in the second place, the Lord would have to be taxed with partiality and cruelty ; and in the third place, if the deed itself did not bring about its own fruit, it would be useless to perform it at all.—For all these reasons the result springs from the deed only, whether meritorious or non-meritorious.

41. Bādārayana, however, thinks the former (i. e. the Lord, to be the cause of the fruits of action), since he is designated as the cause (of the actions themselves).

The teacher Bâdârayana thinks that the previously-mentioned Lord is the cause of the fruits of action. The word 'however' sets aside the view of the fruit being produced either by the mere deed or the mere apûrva.—The final conclusion then is that the fruits come from the Lord acting with a view to the deeds done by the souls, or, if it be so preferred, with a view to the apûrva springing from the deeds. This view is proved by the circumstance of scripture representing the Lord not only as the giver of fruits but also as the causal agent with reference to all actions whether good or evil. Compare the passage, Kau. Up. III, 8, '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.' The same is said in the Bhagavadgitâ (VII, 21), 'Whichever divine form a devotee wishes to worship with faith, to that form I render his faith steady. Holding that faith he strives to propitiate the deity and obtains from it the benefits he desires, as ordained by me.'

All Vedânta-texts moreover declare that the Lord is the only cause of all creation. And his creating all creatures in forms and conditions corresponding to—and retributive of—their former deeds, is just what entitles us to call the Lord the cause of all fruits of actions. And as the Lord has regard to the merit and demerit of the souls, the objections raised above—as to one uniform cause being inadequate to the production of various effects, &c.—are without any foundation.

## THIRD PĀDA.

## REVERENCE TO THE HIGHEST SELF!

1. (The cognitions) intimated by all the Vedānta-texts (are identical), on account of the non-difference of injunction and so on.

In the preceding part of this work we have explained the nature of the object of cognition, i.e. Brahman. We now enter on the discussion of the question whether the cognitions of Brahman, which form the subject of the different Vedānta-texts, are separate cognitions or not.

But, an objection may here be raised, so far we have determined that Brahman is free from all distinctions whatever, one, of absolutely uniform nature like a lump of salt; hence there appears to be no reason for even raising the question whether the cognitions of Brahman are separate cognitions or constitute only one cognition. For as Brahman is one and of uniform nature, it certainly cannot be maintained that the Vedānta-texts aim at establishing a plurality in Brahman comparable to the plurality of works (inculcated by the *karmakāṇḍa* of the Veda). Nor can it be said that although Brahman is uniform, yet it may be the object of divers cognitions; for any difference in nature between the cognition and the object known points to a mistake committed. If, on the other hand, it should be assumed that the different Vedānta-texts aim at teaching different cognitions of Brahman, it would follow that only one cognition can be the right one while all others are mistaken, and that would lead to a general distrust of all Vedānta.—Hence the question whether each individual Vedānta-text teaches a separate cognition of Brahman or not cannot even be raised.—Nor, supposing that question were raised after all, can the non-difference of the cognition of Brahman be demonstrated (as the Sūtra attempts) on the ground that all Vedānta-texts are equally injunctions, since the cognition of Brahman is not of the nature of an injunction. For the teacher has proved at

length (I, 1, 4) that the knowledge of Brahman is produced by passages which treat of Brahman as an existing accomplished thing and thus do not aim at enjoining anything.—Why then begin at all this discussion about the difference or non-difference of the cognitions of Brahman?

To all this we reply that no objection can be raised against a discussion of that kind, since the latter has for its object only the qualified Brahman and *prāṇa* and the like. For devout meditations on the qualified Brahman may, like acts, be either identical or different. Scripture moreover teaches that, like acts, they have various results; some of them have visible results, others unseen results, and others again—as conducive to the springing up of perfect knowledge—have for their result release by successive steps. With a view to those meditations, therefore, we may raise the question whether the individual Vedānta-texts teach different cognitions of Brahman or not.

The arguments which may here be set forth by the *pûrvapakshin* are as follows. In the first place it is known that difference may be proved by names, as e.g. in the case of the sacrificial performance called 'light' (*gyotis*)<sup>1</sup>. And the cognitions of Brahman which are enjoined in the different Vedānta-texts are connected with different names such as the *Taittirīyaka*, the *Vāgasaneyaka*, the *Kauthumaka*, the *Kaushītaka*, the *Sātyāyanaka*, &c.—In the second place the separateness of actions is proved by the difference of form (characteristics; *rûpa*). So e.g. with reference to the passage, 'the milk is for the *Viśvedevas*, the water for the *vâgins*'<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See the *samgṛāhṇakarmabhedādhikaraṇa*, Pû. Mî. Sû. II, 2, 22, where the decision is that the word *gyotis* (in 'athaisha *gyotir*' &c.) denotes not the *gyotishoma* but a separate sacrificial performance.

<sup>2</sup> See Pû. Mî. Sû. II, 2, 23. The offering of water made to the divinities called *vâgin* is separate from the offering of milk to the *Viśvedevas*; for the material offered as well as the divinity to which the offering is made (i.e. the two *rûpa* of the sacrifice) differs in the two cases.

Now similar differences of form are met with in the Vedānta-texts; the followers of one Sākhā, e.g. mention, in the chapter called 'the knowledge of the five fires,' a sixth fire, while other Sākhās mention five only; and in the colloquy of the prāṇas some texts mention a lesser, others a greater number of organs and powers of the body.—In the third place differences in qualifying particulars (dharma) are supposed to prove difference of acts, and such differences also are met with in the Vedānta-texts; only in the *Mundaka-Upanishad*, e.g. it is said that the science of Brahman must be imparted to those only who have performed the rite of carrying fire on the head (*Mu. Up. III, 2, 10*).—In the same way the other reasons which are admitted to prove the separateness of actions, such as repetition and so on, are to be applied in a suitable manner to the different Vedānta-texts also.—We therefore maintain that each separate Vedānta-text teaches a different cognition of Brahman.

To this argumentation of the pūrvapakshin we make the following reply.—The cognitions enjoined by all the Vedānta-texts are the same, owing to the non-difference of injunction and so on. The 'and so on' refers to the other reasons proving non-difference of acts which are enumerated in the *Siddhānta-sūtra* of the *adhikaraṇa* treating of the different Sākhās (*Pū. Mī. II, 4, 9*, '(the act) is one on account of the non-difference of connexion of form, of injunction, and of name'). Thus, as the *agnihotra* though described in different Sākhās is yet one, the same kind of human activity being enjoined in all by means of the words, 'He is to offer;' so the injunction met with in the text of the *Vāgasaneyins* (*Bṛi. Up. VI, 1, 1*), 'He who knows the oldest and the best,' &c., is the same as that which occurs in the text of the *Khândogas*, 'He who knows the first and the best' (*Kh. Up. V, 1, 1*). The connexion of the meditation enjoined with its aim is likewise the same in both texts, 'He becomes the first and best among his people.' In both texts again the cognition enjoined has the same form. For in both the object of knowledge is the true nature of the prāṇa which is characterised by

certain qualities such as being the first and best, and just as the material and the divinity constitute the form of the sacrifice, so the object known constitutes the form of the cognition. And finally both cognitions have the same name, viz. the knowledge of the *prāṇa*.—For these reasons we declare that the different Vedānta-texts enjoin identical cognitions.—A similar line of reasoning applies to other cognitions which are met with in more than one Vedānta-text, so e.g. to the knowledge of the five fires, the knowledge of Vaisvānara, the knowledge of *Sāṇḍilya* and so on.—Of the apparent reasons on the ground of which the *pūrvapakshin* above tried to show that the meditations are not identical but separate a refutation is to be found in the *Pūrvā Mīmāṃsā-sūtras* II, 4, 10 ff.

The next *Sūtra* disposes of a doubt which may remain even after the preceding discussion.

2. (If it be said that the *vidyās* are separate) on account of the difference (of secondary matters), we deny that, since even in one and the same *vidyā* (different secondary matters may find place).

In spite of the preceding argumentation we cannot admit that the different cognitions of Brahman are equally intimated by all Vedānta-texts, because we meet with differences in secondary matters (*guṇa*). Thus the *Vāgasaneyins* mention in their text of the knowledge of the five fires a sixth fire ('And then the fire is indeed fire,' *Bṛi. Up.* VI, 2, 14), while the *Kṛandogas* mention no sixth fire but conclude their text of the *pañcāgnividya* with the express mention of five fires ('But he who thus knows the five fires,' *Kṛ. Up.* V, 10, 10).

Now it is impossible to admit that the cognition of those who admit that particular qualification (i.e. the sixth fire) and of those who do not should be one and the same. Nor may we attempt to evade the difficulty by saying that the sixth fire may be tacitly included in the *vidyā* of the *Kṛandogas*; for that would contradict the number 'five' expressly stated by them.—In the colloquy of the *prāṇas*

again the *Khândogas* mention, in addition to the most important *prâṇa*, four other *prâṇas*, viz. speech, the eye, the ear, and the mind ; while the *Vâgasaneyins* mention a fifth one also, 'Seed indeed is generation. He who knows that becomes rich in offspring and cattle' (*Bri. Up. VI, 1, 6*).—Now a difference of procedure in the point of addition and omission effects a difference in the object known, and the latter again effects a difference in the *vidyâ*, just as a difference in the point of material and divinity distinguishes one sacrifice from another.

To this we make the following reply.—Your objection is without force, since such differences of qualification as are met with in the above instances are possible even in one and the same *vidyâ*. In the *Khândogya*-text a sixth fire is indeed not included ; yet, as five fires, beginning with the heavenly world, are recognised as the same in both texts the mentioned difference cannot effect a split of the *vidyâ* ; not any more than the *atirâtra*-sacrifice is differentiated by the *shodasin*-rite being either used or not-used. Moreover, the *Khândogya*-text also actually mentions a sixth fire, viz. in the passage, V, 9, 2, 'When he has departed, his friends carry him, as appointed, to the fire.'—The *Vâgasaneyins*, on the other hand, mention their sixth fire ('and then the fire is indeed fire, the fuel fuel,' &c.) for the purpose of cutting short the fanciful assumption regarding fuel, smoke, and so on, which runs through the description of the five fires with which the heavenly world and so on are imaginatively identified. Their statement regarding the sixth fire (has therefore not the purpose of enjoining it as an object of meditation but) is merely a remark about something already established (known)<sup>1</sup>. And even if we assume that the statement about the sixth fire has the purpose of representing that fire as an object of devout meditation, yet the fire may be inserted in the *vidyâ* of the *Khândogas* without any fear of its being in conflict with the number five mentioned there ;

---

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the real fire in which the dead body is burned and which is known from perception.

for that number is not an essential part of the injunction<sup>1</sup>, but merely makes an additional statement regarding something known already from the text, viz. the five fires with which the heavenly world and so on are identified<sup>2</sup>. Similarly nothing stands in the way of some additional qualification being included in the vidyā concerning the colloquy of the prāṇas and so on. The addition or omission of some particular qualification is unable to introduce difference into the object of knowledge and thereby into the knowledge itself; for although the objects of knowledge may differ partly, yet their greater part and at the same time the knowing person are understood to be the same. Hence the vidyā also remains the same.

3. (The rite of carrying fire on the head is an attribute) of the study of the Veda (of the Ātharvanikas); because in the Samākhāra (it is mentioned) as being such. (This also follows) from the general subject-matter, and the limitation (of the rite to the Ātharvanikas) is analogous to that of the libations.

With reference to the pūrvapakshin's averment that the rite of carrying fire on the head is connected with the vidyā of the followers of the Atharva-veda only, not with any other vidyā, and that thereby the vidyā of the Ātharvanikas is separated from all other vidyās, the following remarks have to be made.—The rite of carrying fire on the head is an attribute not of the vidyā, but merely of the study of the Veda on the part of the Ātharvanikas. This we infer from the circumstance that the Ātharvanikas, in the book called 'Samākhāra' which treats of Vedic observances, record the above rite also as being of such a nature, i.e. as constituting an attribute of the study of the Veda. At the close of the Upanishad moreover we have the following sentence, 'A

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the *Khândogya*-text contains no injunction that five fires only are to be meditated upon.

<sup>2</sup> So that there stands nothing in the way of our amplifying our meditation by the addition of a sixth fire.



man who has not performed the rites does not read this;’ here we conclude from the word ‘this’ which refers to the subject previously treated, and from the fact of ‘reading’ being mentioned, that the rite is an attribute of the study of the Upanishad of the *Ātharvavikās* (but has nothing to do with the Upanishad itself).—But what about the immediately preceding passage, ‘Let a man tell this science of Brahman to those only by whom the rite of carrying fire on the head has been performed according to rule?’ Here the rite in question is connected with the science of Brahman, and as all science of Brahman is one only, it follows that the rite has to be connected with all science of Brahman!—Not so, we reply; for in the above passage also the word ‘this’ refers back to what forms the subject of the antecedent part of the Upanishad, and that subject is constituted by the science of Brahman only in so far as depending on a particular book (viz. the *Mundaka-Upanishad*); hence the rite also is connected with that particular book only.—The Sūtra adds another illustrative instance in the words ‘and as in the case of the libations there is limitation of that.’ As the seven libations—from the saurya libation up to the sataudana libation—since they are not connected with the triad of fires taught in the other Vedas, but only with the one fire which is taught in the *Atharvan*, are thereby enjoined exclusively on the followers of the *Atharvan*; so the rite of carrying fire on the head also is limited to the study of that particular Veda with which scriptural statements connect it.—The doctrine of the unity of the vidyās thus remains unshaken.

#### 4. (Scripture) also declares this.

The Veda also declares the identity of the vidyās; for all Vedānta-texts represent the object of knowledge as one; cp. e.g. *Kā. Up.* I, 2, 15, ‘That word which all the Vedas record;’ *Ait. Ār.* III, 2, 3, 12, ‘Him only the *Bahvrikās* consider in the great hymn, the *Adhvaryus* in the sacrificial fire, the *Khandogas* in the *Mahāvratā* ceremony.’—To quote some other instances proving the unity of the vidyās: *Kā. Up.* I, 6, 2, mentions as one of the Lord’s qualities that he

causes fear; now this very same quality is referred to in the Taitt. Up. II, 7, in order to intimate disapprobation of those who are opposed to the absolute unity of that which is, 'For if he makes but the smallest distinction in it (the Self), there is fear for him. But that fear is only for him who knows (a difference) and does not know (the oneness).'—Similarly the Vaisvânara, who in the Vâgasaneyaka is imaginatively represented as a span long, is referred to in the *Khândogya* as something well known, 'But he who worships that Vaisvânara Self which is a span long,' &c. (*Kh. Up. V, 18, 1*).

And as, on the ground of all Vedânta-texts intimating the same matters, hymns and the like which are enjoined in one place are employed in other places (where they are not expressly enjoined) for the purposes of devout meditation, it follows that all Vedânta-texts intimate also (identical) devout meditations.

5. In the case of (a devout meditation) common (to several *Sâkhâs*) (the particulars mentioned in each *Sâkhâ*) have to be combined, since there is no difference of essential matter; just as in the case of what is complementary to injunctions.

[This Sûtra states the practical outcome of the discussion carried on in the first four Sûtras.] It having been determined that the cognitions of Brahman are equally intimated by all Vedânta-texts, it follows that as long as the cognition is one and the same its specific determinations mentioned in one text are to be introduced into other texts also where they are not mentioned. For if the matter of these determinations subserves some particular cognition in one place, it subserves it in another place also, since in both places we have to do with one and the same cognition. The case is analogous to that of the things subordinate to some sacrificial performance, as, e.g. the *agnihotra*. The *agnihotra* also is one performance, and therefore its subordinate members, although they may be mentioned in different texts, have to be combined into one whole.—If the

cognitions were separate, the particulars mentioned in different texts could not be combined; for they would be confined each to its own cognition and would not stand to each other in that relation in which the typical form of a sacrifice stands to its modifications<sup>1</sup>. But as the cognitions are one, things lie differently.—The above Sūtra will be explained and applied at length further on, in Sūtra 10 ff.

6. If it be said that (the udgītha vidyā of the *Bṛi. Up.* and that of the *Khând. Up.*) are separate on account (of the difference) of the texts; we deny this on the ground of their (essential) non-difference.

We read in the *Vāgasaneyaka* I, 3, 1, 'The Devas said, well, let us overcome the Asuras at the sacrifices by means of the Udgītha. They said to speech: Do thou sing out for us.—Yes, said speech,' &c. The text thereupon relates how speech and the other prāṇas were pierced by the Asuras with evil, and therefore unable to effect what was expected from them, and how in the end recourse was had to the chief vital air, 'Then they said to the breath in the mouth: Do thou sing for us.—Yes, said the breath, and sang.'—A similar story is met with in the *Khândogya* I, 2. There we read at first that 'the devas took the udgītha, thinking they would vanquish the Asuras with it;' the text then relates how the other prāṇas were pierced with evil and thus foiled by the Asuras, and how the Devas in the end had recourse to the chief vital air, 'Then comes this chief vital air; on that they meditated as udgītha.'—As both these passages glorify the chief vital air, it follows that they both are injunctions of a meditation on the vital air. A doubt, however, arises whether the two vidyās are separate vidyās or one vidyā only.

Here the pūrvapakshin maintains that for the reasons specified in the first *adhikarāṇa* of the present pāda the two

---

<sup>1</sup> The *Pūrvā Mīmāṃsā* teaches that all subordinate things which the Veda prescribes for some typical sacrifice are eo ipso prescribed for the modified forms of the sacrifice also.

vidyās have to be considered as one.—But, an objection is raised, there is a difference of procedure which contradicts the assumption of unity. The Vāgasaneyins represent the chief vital air as the producer of the udgītha ('Do thou sing out for us'), while the *Khândogas* speak of it as itself being the udgītha ('on that they meditated as udgītha'). How can this divergence be reconciled with the assumption of the unity of the vidyās?—The difference pointed out, the pūrvapakshin replies, is not important enough to bring about a separation of the two vidyās, since we observe that the two both agree in a plurality of points. Both texts relate that the Devas and the Asuras were fighting; both at first glorify speech and the other prāṇas in their relation to the udgītha, and thereupon, finding fault with them, pass on to the chief vital air; both tell how through the strength of the latter the Asuras were scattered as a ball of earth is scattered when hitting a solid stone. And, moreover, the text of the Vāgasaneyaka also co-ordinates the chief vital air and the udgītha in the clause, 'He is udgītha' (*Bṛi. Up. I, 3, 23*). We therefore have to assume that in the *Khândogya* also the chief prāṇa has secondarily to be looked upon as the producer of the udgītha.—The two texts thus constitute one vidyā only.

7. Or rather there is no (unity of the vidyās), owing to the difference of subject-matter.

Setting aside the view maintained by the pūrvapakshin, we have rather to say that, owing to the difference of subject-matter, the two vidyās are separate.—In the *Khândogya* the introductory sentence (I, 1, 1), 'Let a man meditate on the syllable Om (as) the udgītha,' represents as the object of meditation the syllable Om which is a part of the udgītha; thereupon proceeds to give an account of its qualities such as being the inmost essence of all ('The full account, however, of Om is this,' &c.); and later on tells, with reference to the same syllable Om which is a part of the udgītha, a story about the Gods and Asuras in which there occurs the statement, 'They meditated on the udgītha

as that breath<sup>1</sup>. If now we should assume<sup>2</sup> that the term 'udgītha' denotes here the whole act of worship (not only the syllable Om which is a part of the udgītha), and that (in the passage, 'they meditated on the udgītha as that breath') the performer of that worship, i.e. the Udgātri-priest, is said to be meditated upon as breath; our interpretation would be open to two objections: in the first place it would be opposed to the introductory sentence (which directly declares the syllable Om to be the object of devotion); and in the second place it would oblige us to take the word udgītha (in 'they meditated on the udgītha'), not in its direct sense, but as denoting by implication the udgātri. But the rule is that in one and the same connected passage the interpretation of later passages has to adapt itself to the earlier passages. We therefore conclude the passage last quoted to teach that the syllable Om which is a part of the udgītha is to be meditated upon as prāṇa.—In the Vāgasaneyaka on the other hand there is no reason for taking the word udgītha to denote a part of the udgītha only, and we therefore must interpret it to denote the whole; and in the passage, 'Do thou sing out for us,' the performer of the worship, i.e. the Udgātri-priest, is described as prāṇa. In reply to the pūrvapakshin's remark that in the Vāgasaneyaka also the udgītha and the prāṇa occur in co-ordination (in the passage, 'He is udgītha'), we point out that that statement merely aims at showing that the Self of all is that prāṇa which the text wishes to represent as udgātri. The statement, therefore, does not imply the unity of the two vidyās. Moreover, there also the term udgītha denotes the whole act of worship (while in the *Khândogya* it denotes the omkāra only). Nor must it be said that the prāṇa can

<sup>1</sup> From which it appears that the *Khândogya* enjoins throughout a meditation on the syllable Om which is only a part of the udgītha; while the object of meditation enjoined in the *Bṛihad-āraṇyaka* is the whole udgītha.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. for the purpose of making out that the object of meditation is the same in the *Khândogya* and the *Bṛihad-āraṇyaka*.

impossibly be an udgâtri, and that on that account our interpretation of the *Bṛihad-Āraṇyaka* passage is erroneous; for with a view to pious meditation scripture may represent the *prāṇa* as udgâtri as well as udgîtha. And, moreover, the Udgâtri actually performs his work by the strength of his breath; hence the *prāṇa* may be called udgâtri. In accordance with this the text says (I, 3, 24), 'He sang it indeed as speech and breath.'—And if we understand that the text clearly intends to convey a difference of matter we have no right to conclude from merely apparent similarities of expression that only one matter is intended to be expressed. To quote an analogous instance from the *karmakāṇḍa*: In the section relative to the unexpected rising of the moon during the *darsa*-sacrifice, as well as in the section about the offering to be made by him who is desirous of cattle, we meet with identical injunctions such as the following one, 'He is to divide the grains into three portions, and to make those of medium size into a cake offered on eight potsherds to Agni the Giver,' &c.; nevertheless it follows from the difference of the introductory passages of the two sections that the offerings to be made on account of the moon's rising are indeed not connected with the divinities of the *darsa*-sacrifice (but do not constitute a new sacrifice separate from the *darsa*), while the section about him who is desirous of cattle enjoins a separate sacrificial performance<sup>1</sup>.—Analogously a difference in the nature of the introductory clauses effects a difference of the *vidyās*, 'As in the case of that which is greater than great.' That means: Just as the meditation on the udgîtha enjoined in the passage, 'Ether is greater than these, ether is their rest; he is indeed the udgîtha, greater than great, he is without end' (*Kh. Up.* I, 9, 1), and the other meditation on the udgîtha as possessing the qualities of abiding within the eye and the sun, &c. (*Kh. Up.* I, 6), are separate meditations, although in both the udgîtha is identified with the highest Self; so it is with *vidyās* in general. The special features of different *vidyās* are not to be combined even when the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Taitt. Samh.* II, 5, 5, 2; *Pû. Mî. Sû.* VI, 5, 1.

vidyās belong to one and the same Sākhā ; much less then when they belong to different Sākhās.

8. If it be said (that the vidyās are one) on account of (the identity of) name ; (we reply that) that is explained (already) ; moreover that (identity of name) is (found in the case of admittedly separate vidyās).

Here it might be said that after all the unity of the two vidyās discussed must be admitted, since they are called by one and the same name, viz. 'the science of the udgītha.'—But this argument is of no avail against what has been said under the preceding Sūtra. The decision there advocated has the advantage of following the letter of the revealed text ; the name 'udgītha-vidyā' on the other hand is not a part of the revealed text, but given to the vidyās for convenience sake by ordinary men for the reason that the word 'udgītha' is met with in the text.—Moreover, we observe that admittedly separate meditations such as the two mentioned under the last Sūtra have one and the same name. Similarly altogether separate sacrificial performances, such as the agnihotra, the darsapūṛṇamāsa, and so on, are all comprised under the one name Kāṭhaka, merely because they are recorded in the one book called Kāṭhaka.—Where, on the other hand, there is no special reason for assuming the difference of vidyās, their unity may be declared on the ground of identity of name ; as, e.g. in the case of the Saṃvargavidyās.

9. And on account of the (omkāra) extending over the whole (Veda), (the view that the term udgītha expresses a specialisation) is appropriate.

In the passage, 'Let a man meditate on the syllable Om (as) the udgītha,' the two words 'omkāra' and 'udgītha' are placed in co-ordination<sup>1</sup>. The question then arises

---

<sup>1</sup> Sāmānādhikaranyā, i.e. literally, 'the relation of abiding in a common substratum.'—The two words are shown to stand in that relation by their being exhibited in the same case.

whether the relation in which the ideas conveyed by these two words stand to each other is the relation of superimposition (*adhyāsa*) or sublation (*apavāda*) or unity (*ekatva*) or specification (*viśeṣaṇa*); for *primā facie* each of these relations may present itself to the mind.—*Adhyāsa* takes place when the idea of one of two things not being dismissed from the mind, the idea of the second thing is superimposed on that of the first thing; so that together with the superimposed idea the former idea remains attached to the thing on which the second idea is superimposed. When e.g. the idea of (the entity) Brahman superimposes itself upon the idea of the name, the latter idea continues in the mind and is not driven out by the former. A similar instance is furnished by the superimposition of the idea of the god Viṣṇu on a statue of Viṣṇu. So, in the case under discussion also, the idea of the *udgītha* may be superimposed on the *omkāra* or the idea of the *omkāra* on the *udgītha*.—We, in the second place, have *apavāda* when an idea previously attached to some object is recognised as false and driven out by the true idea springing up after the false one. So e.g. when the false idea of the body, the senses, and so on being the Self is driven out by the true idea springing up later—and expressed by judgments such as ‘Thou art that’—that the idea of the Self is to be attached to the Self only. Or, to quote another example, when a previous mistaken notion as to the direction of the points of the compass is replaced by the true notion. So here also the idea of the *udgītha* may drive out the idea of the *omkāra* or vice versa.—The relation would, in the third place, be that of ‘unity’ if the terms ‘*omkāra*’ and ‘*udgītha*’ were co-extensive in meaning; just as the terms, ‘the Best of the Twice-born,’ ‘the *Brāhmaṇa*,’ ‘the god among men,’ all denote an individual of the noblest caste.—The relation will, finally, be that of specification if, there being a possibility of our understanding the *omkāra* in so far as co-extensive with all the Vedas, the term ‘*udgītha*’ calls up the idea of the sphere of action of the *udgātṛi*. The passage would then mean, ‘Let a man meditate on that *omkāra* which is the *udgītha*,’ and would



be analogous to an injunction such as 'Let him bring that lotus-flower which is blue.'

All these alterations present themselves to the mind, and as there is no reason for deciding in favour of any one, the question must remain an unsettled one.

To this pûrvapaksha-view the Sûtra replies, 'And on account of extending over the whole, it is appropriate.'

The word 'and' stands here in place of 'but,' and is meant to discard the three other alternatives. Three out of the four alternatives are to be set aside as objectionable; the fourth, against which nothing can be urged, is to be adopted.—The objections lying against the first three alternatives are as follows. In the case of adhyâsa we should have to admit that the word which expresses the idea superimposed is not to be taken in its direct sense, but in an implied sense<sup>1</sup>; and we should moreover have to imagine some fruit for a meditation of that kind<sup>2</sup>. Nor can it be said that we need not imagine such a fruit, as scripture itself mentions it in the passage, 'He becomes indeed a fulfiller of desires' (I, 1, 7); for this passage indicates the fruit, not of the ideal superimposition of the udgîtha on the omkâra, but of the meditation in which the omkâra is viewed as the fulfilment of desires.—Against the hypothesis of an apavâda there likewise lies the objection that no fruit is to be seen. The cessation of wrong knowledge can certainly not be alleged as such; for we see no reason why the cessation of the idea that the omkâra is udgîtha and not omkâra or vice versâ should be beneficial to man. Sublation of the one idea by the other is moreover not even possible in our case; for to the omkâra the idea of the omkâra remains always attached, and so to the udgîtha the idea of the udgîtha. The passage, moreover, does not aim at teaching the true

<sup>1</sup> I.e. in the present case we should have to assume that the word udgîtha means, by implication, the omkâra.—Recourse may be had to implied meanings only when the direct meaning is clearly impossible.

<sup>2</sup> For a special adhyâsa-meditation must be attended with a special result.

nature of something, but at enjoining a meditation of a certain kind.—The hypothesis of unity again is precluded by the consideration that as in that case one term would suffice to convey the intended meaning, the employment of two terms would be purposeless. And moreover the term ‘udgītha’ is never used to denote the omkāra in its connexion with the *R̥ig-veda* and *Yagur-veda*; nor is the word ‘omkāra’ used to denote that entire second subdivision of a *sāman* which is denoted by the word ‘udgītha.’ Hence it cannot be said that we have to do with different words only denoting one and the same thing.—There thus remains the fourth alternative, ‘On account of its comprising all the Vedas.’ That means: In order that the omkāra may not be understood here as that one which comprises all the Vedas, it is specified by means of the word ‘udgītha,’ in order that that omkāra which constitutes a part of the udgītha may be apprehended.—But does not this interpretation also involve the admission of implication, as according to it the word ‘udgītha’ denotes not the whole udgītha but only a part of it, viz. the omkāra?—True, but we have to distinguish those cases in which the implied meaning is not far remote from the direct meaning and those in which it is remote. If, in the present case, we embrace the alternative of *adhyāsa*, we have to assume an altogether remote implication, the idea of one matter being superimposed on the idea of an altogether different matter. If, on the other hand, we adopt the alternative of specification, the implication connected therewith is an easy one, the word which in its direct sense denotes the whole being understood to denote the part. And that words denoting the whole do duty for words denoting the part is a matter of common occurrence; the words ‘cloth,’ ‘village,’ and many others are used in this fashion<sup>1</sup>.—For all these reasons we declare that the appropriate view of the *Khândogya*-passage is to take the word ‘udgītha’ as specialising the term ‘omkāra’<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> We say, e.g. ‘the cloth is burned,’ even if only a part of the cloth is burned.

<sup>2</sup> We therefore, according to *Saṅkara*, have to render the passage

10. Those (qualities which are attributed to the subject of a vidyā in one Sākhā only) (are to be inserted) in other places (also), since (the vidyās) are non-different on the whole.

In the colloquy of the prāṇas recorded by the Vāgasaneyins and the Kāṇḍogas the prāṇa, endowed with various qualities such as being the best and so on, is represented as the object of meditation, and various qualities such as being the richest and the like are ascribed to speech and the other organs. And these latter qualities are in the end attributed to the prāṇa also, 'If I am the richest thou art the richest,' &c. Now in other Sākhās also, as e.g. that of the Kaushītakins, the former set of qualities such as being the best and so on is ascribed to the prāṇa (cp. Kau. Up. II, 14, 'Now follows the Nīksreyasādāna,' &c.), but at the same time the latter set of attributes, viz. being the richest and so on, is not mentioned.—The question then is whether those qualities which are mentioned in some places only are, for the purposes of meditation, to be inserted there also where nothing is said about them.

They are not so to be inserted, the pūrvapakshin maintains, on account of the employment of the word 'thus.' In the Kaushītakin-text we meet with the clause, 'He who knows thus, having recognised the pre-eminence in prāṇa.' Now the word 'thus' which here indicates the object of knowledge always refers to something mentioned not far off, and cannot therefore denote a set of qualities mentioned in other Sākhās only. We therefore maintain that each of the colloquies of the prāṇas must be considered complete with the qualities stated in itself.

To this we make the following reply. The qualities mentioned in one text are to be inserted in the other corresponding texts also, 'Since on the whole they are non-different,' i.e. because the prāṇa-vidyās are recognised to be the same in all essential points. And if they are the same,

---

under discussion as follows, 'Let a man meditate on the syllable Om which is (i.e. which is a part of) the udgītha.'

why should the qualities stated in one not be inserted in the others also?—But how about the objection founded by the pûrvapakshin on the employment of the word ‘thus?’—Although it is true, we reply, that the word ‘thus’ in the Kaushitakin-brāhmaṇa does not denote the set of qualities mentioned in the Vāgasaneyin-brāhmaṇa, yet that set of qualities is denoted by the ‘thus’ met with in the Vāgasaneyin-brāhmaṇa, while the vidyā is, as proved by us, one and the same; hence no difference has to be made between qualities mentioned in one’s own Sākhā and qualities mentioned in another Sākhā, as long as the vidyā is one and the same. Nor does this by any means imply a disregard of the text of scripture, and the assumption of things not warranted by the text. The qualities declared in one Sākhā are valid for all scripture as long as the thing to which the qualities belong is the same. Devadatta, who in his own country is known to possess valour and certain other qualities, does not lose those qualities by going to a foreign land, although the inhabitants of that land may know nothing about them. And through better acquaintance his qualities will become manifest to the people of the foreign country also. Similarly the qualities stated in one Sākhā may, through special application, be inserted in another Sākhā.—Hence the attributes belonging to one and the same subject have to be combined wherever that subject is referred to, although they may be expressly stated in one place only.

11. Bliss and other (qualities) as belonging to the subject of the qualities (have to be attributed to Brahman everywhere).

Those scriptural texts which aim at intimating the characteristics of Brahman separately ascribe to it various qualities, such as having bliss for its nature, being one mass of knowledge, being omnipresent, being the Self of all and so on. Now the doubt here presents itself whether in each place where Brahman is spoken of we have to understand only those qualities which actually are mentioned there, or whether we have to combine all qualities of Brahman mentioned anywhere.

The pûrvapakshin maintains that only the attributes actually stated are to be understood as referred to in each particular scriptural text.—But this view the Sûtrakâra discards by declaring that delight and all the other qualities which belong to the subject, i.e. Brahman, are all of them to be understood in each place. The reason for this conclusion is the one given in Sûtra 10. In all the passages treating of Brahman the subject to which the qualities belong is one, non-different; hence, as explained at length under the preceding Sûtra, the qualities attributed to Brahman in any one place have to be combined wherever Brahman is spoken of.

But in that case also such qualities as having joy for its head, &c., would have to be ascribed to Brahman everywhere; for we read in the Taittiriyaka with reference to the Self consisting of Bliss, 'Joy is its head, satisfaction is its right arm, great satisfaction its left arm, bliss is its trunk, Brahman is its tail, its support' (II, 5).

To this objection the next Sûtra replies.

12. (Such qualities as) joy being its head and so on have no force (for other passages); for increase and decrease belong to plurality (only).

Attributes such as having joy for its head and so on, which are recorded in the Taittiriyaka, are not to be viewed as having force with regard to other passages treating of Brahman, because the successive terms, 'Joy,' 'Satisfaction,' 'Great Satisfaction,' 'Bliss,' indicate qualities possessing lower and higher degrees with regard to each other and to other enjoyers. Now for higher and lower degrees there is room only where there is plurality; and Brahman is without all plurality, as we know from many scriptural passages ('One only, without a Second').—Moreover, we have already demonstrated under I, 1, 12, that having joy for one's head and so on are qualities not of Brahman, but of the so-called involucrum of delight. And further, those qualities are attributed to the highest Brahman merely as means of fixing one's mind on it, not as themselves being objects of

contemplation, and from this also it follows that they are not valid everywhere<sup>1</sup>.—That the Âkârya refers to them, in the Sûtra, as attributes of Brahman (while in reality they are attributes of the ânandamaya kosa) is merely done for the purpose of establishing a general principle to be extended to all attributes of Brahman—also the undoubted ones—which are stated with a view to a special form of meditation only; such as the quality of being that towards which all blessings go (*Kh. Up. IV, 15, 2*), or he whose desires are true (*Kh. Up. VIII, 7, 1*). For those passages may all indeed have to do with the one Brahman as the object of meditation, but as owing to the different nature of the opening sentences the meditations are different ones, the attributes mentioned in any one are not valid for the others. The case is analogous to that of two wives ministering to one king, one with a fly-flap, the other with an umbrella; there also the object of their ministrations is one, but the acts of ministration themselves are distinct and have each their own particular attributes. So in the case under discussion also. Qualities in which lower and higher degrees can be distinguished belong to the qualified Brahman only in which plurality is admitted, not to the highest Brahman raised above all qualification. Such attributes therefore as having true desires and the like which are mentioned in some particular place only have no validity for other meditations on Brahman.

13. But other (attributes are valid for all passages relative to Brahman), the purport being the same.

Other attributes, however, such as bliss and so on which scripture sets forth for the purpose of teaching the true nature of Brahman are to be viewed as valid for all passages referring to Brahman; for their purport, i.e. the Brahman

---

<sup>1</sup> For if they are not real attributes of Brahman there is all the less reason to maintain them to be universally valid. The mere means of fixing the mind, moreover, are special to each separate upâsana.

whose nature is to be taught, is one. Those attributes are mentioned with a view to knowledge only, not to meditation.

14. (The passage, Kāṇḍaka I, 3, 10, gives information about the person) for the purpose of pious meditation, as there is no use (of the knowledge of the objects being higher than the senses and so on).

We read in the Kāṇḍaka (I, 3, 10), 'Higher than the senses are the objects, higher than the objects there is the mind, &c. &c.; higher than the person there is nothing—this is the goal, the highest road.'—Here the doubt arises whether the purport of the passage is to intimate that each of the things successively enumerated is higher than the preceding one, or only that the person is higher than all of them.

The pūrvapakshin maintains the former alternative, for the reason that the text expressly declares the objects to be higher than the senses, the mind higher than the objects and so on.

The objection that the assumption of the passage intending to represent many things as successively superior to their antecedents would involve a so-called split of the sentence, he meets by the remark that the passage may be viewed as containing a plurality of sentences. Many sentences may represent many things as superior to their antecedents, and hence each clause of the passage must be viewed as containing a separate statement of the superiority of something to other things.

To this we reply as follows.

We must assume that the whole passage aims at intimating only that the person is higher than everything. Any information as to the relative superiority of the preceding members of the series would be devoid of all purpose; for of the knowledge derived from such observation a use is neither to be seen nor declared by scripture. Of the knowledge, on the other hand, of the person being higher than the senses and everything else, raised above all evil, we do see a purpose, viz. the accomplishment of final release. And so scripture also says, 'He who has perceived that is freed

from the jaws of death' (I, 3, 15). Moreover, the text by declaring that nothing is higher than the person and that he is the highest goal intimates reverence for the person, and thereby shows that the whole series of objects is enumerated only to the end of giving information about the person.—'For the purpose of pious meditation,' i.e. for the purpose of perfect knowledge which has pious meditation for its antecedent. For the passage under consideration does not teach pious meditation by itself.

### 15. And on account of the word 'Self.'

The above conclusion is confirmed by the circumstance that the person under discussion is called the Self in I, 3, 12, 'That Self is hidden in all beings and does not shine forth, but it is seen by subtle seers through their sharp and subtle intellect.' From this we conclude that the text wishes to represent the other beings enumerated as the Non-Self. The passage quoted, moreover, indicates that the person is hard to know, and to be reached by sharp minds only.—Again, the passage (I, 3, 13), 'A wise man should keep down speech and mind,' enjoins pious meditation as a means of the knowledge of the highest person, as we have explained under I, 4, 1.—It thus follows that scripture indicates various excellences in the case of the purusha only, and not in that of the other beings enumerated.—The passage, moreover, 'He reaches the end of his journey and that is the highest place of Vishṇu,' suggests the question as to who is the end of the journey and so on, and we therefore conclude that the enumeration of the senses, objects, &c., has merely the purpose of teaching the highest place of Vishṇu (not of teaching anything about the relation of the senses, objects, and so on).

16. The (highest) Self has to be understood (in Ait. Âr. II, 4, 1), as in other places; on account of the subsequent (qualification).

We read in the Aitareyaka (II, 4, 1), '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, the (heavenly) waters, the rays, the mortal (earth), and water.'—Here the doubt presents itself whether the term 'Self' denotes the highest Self or some other being.

The pûrvapakshin maintains the latter view, which is borne out, he says, by an examination of the connected sense of the whole passage.—But, an objection is raised, an examination of that kind rather leads to the conclusion that the highest Self is meant; for the passage says that before the creation the Self only existed and that the creation was preceded by thought.—No such conclusion is possible, the pûrvapakshin replies, since the passage relates the creation of the worlds. If it aimed at representing the highest Self as the creator, it would speak of the creation of the elements, of which the worlds are only certain combinations. That the worlds are meant by the terms 'water,' &c., appears from the subsequent clause (4), 'That water is above the heaven,' &c.—Now *Sruti* and *Smṛiti* teach that the creation of the worlds is accomplished by some inferior Lord different from—and superintended by—the highest Self; cp. e.g. *Bṛi. Up. I, 4, 1*, 'In the beginning this was Self alone, in the shape of a person,' and the *Smṛiti*-passage, 'He is the first embodied soul, he is called the person; he the prime creator of the beings was in the beginning evolved from Brahman.' And the *Aitareyins* themselves record in a previous *prakaraṇa* (II, 1, 3, 1, 'Next follows the origin of seed. The seed of *Pragâpati* are the *Devas*') that this manifold creation was accomplished by *Pragâpati*. That to the latter being the word 'Self' is sometimes applied appears from the passage quoted above from the *Bṛi. Up.* And *Pragâpati* also may be spoken of as being before the creation one only, if we consider that then his products did not yet exist; and thought also may be ascribed to him as he, of course, is of an intelligent nature. Moreover, the passages, 'He led a cow towards them; he led a horse towards them; he led man towards them; then they said,' &c. (II, 4, 2, 2), which are in agreement with what is known about the various activities of particular qualified Selfs be-

longing to the apparent world, show that in the Aitareyaka also some such qualified Self is meant.

To this we reply that the highest Self is meant in the Aitareyaka 'as in other places.' As in other accounts of the creation ('From that Self ether was produced,' Taitt. Up. II, 1, &c.) the highest Self has to be understood, and, as in other cases where the term 'Self' is applied to particular Selves, the 'Self within' (i.e. the highest Self) has to be understood in the first place; so it is here also.—In those passages, on the other hand, where the Self is qualified by some other attribute, such as 'having the shape of a person,' we must understand that some particular Self is meant.—In the Aitareyaka, however, we meet with a qualification, subsequent to the first reference to the Self, which agrees only with the highest Self; we mean the one implied in the passage, 'He thought, shall I send forth worlds? He sent forth these worlds.'—Hence we maintain that the highest Self is meant.

17. Should it be said that on account of the connected meaning (of the whole passage) (the highest Self cannot be meant); (we reply that) it is so, on account of the assertion.

We now have to refute the objection, made above by the pûrvapakshin, that the highest Self cannot be meant 'on account of the connected meaning of the passage.'—The Sûtrakâra remarks, 'It is so, on account of the assertion.' That means: It is appropriate to understand the passage as referring to the highest Self, because thus the assertion that the Self, previously to the creation, was one only, gives a fully satisfactory sense, while on the other interpretation it would be far from doing so. The creation of the worlds recorded in the Aitareyaka we connect with the creation of the elements recorded in other Vedic texts, in that way that we understand the worlds to have been created subsequently to the elements; just as we showed above (II, 4, 1) that the passage, 'It sent forth fire,' must be understood to say that the creation of fire followed on the creation of ether

and air as known from other texts. For, as proved by us before, particulars mentioned in one scriptural text have to be combined with particulars mentioned in other texts, if only the chief subject of the passages is the same.—The details about the activity of the Self referred to by the *pûr-vapakshin* have likewise to be understood in such a way as to agree with the general matter about which the text desires to make assertions. For we must by no means assume that the text is interested in setting forth all the details of the story on their own account; the knowledge of them would be in no way beneficial to man. The only thing the text really means to teach is the truth that Brahman is the Self of everything. Hence it first relates how the different worlds and the guardians of the worlds, viz. Agni and so on, were created; explains thereupon the origination of the organs and the body, their abode; and shows how the creator having thought, 'How can all this be without me?' (II, 4, 3, 4), entered into this body, 'Opening the suture of the skull he got in by that door' (7). Then again the text relates how the Self after having considered the activities of all the organs ('if speech names,' &c.; 6) asked himself the question, 'What am I?' and thereupon 'saw this person as the widely spread Brahman' (10). The aim of all which is to declare that Brahman is the universal Self. The same truth is inculcated in a subsequent passage also, viz. II, 6, 1, 5; 6, where the text at first enumerates the whole aggregate of individual existences together with the elements, and then continues, 'All this is led by knowledge (i.e. the highest Self); it rests on knowledge. The world is led by knowledge, knowledge is its rest, knowledge is Brahman.'—For all these reasons the view that the highest Brahman is meant in the *Aitareyaka* is not open to any objections.

The two preceding *Sûtras* may also be explained with reference to some other Vedic passages. We read in the *Vâgasaneyaka* (*Bri. Up.* IV, 3, 7), 'Who is that Self?—He who is within the heart, surrounded by the *prāṇas*, consisting of knowledge, the person of light.' Of the Self here first mentioned the text goes on to show that it is free from all contact and thus proves it to have Brahman

for its Self, the concluding statement being, 'This great unborn Self undecaying, undying, immortal, fearless is indeed Brahman' (IV, 4, 25).—In the *Khândogya* again we have a chapter in which the introductory statement does not use the term 'Self' ('Being only this was in the beginning, one, without a second'), while at the conclusion the term 'Self' is used in the declaration of identity ('That is the Self. Thou art that').—A doubt here arises whether these two scriptural texts treat of the same matter or not.

They do not, the *pûrvapakshin* maintains, since they are not equal. Since the determination of the sense depends on the letter of the text, we have no right to maintain equality of sense where the texts differ. In the *Vâgasaneyaka* the initial statement about the Self shows that the whole passage conveys instruction about the true nature of the Self. In the *Khândogya*, on the other hand, the initial clause is of a different kind, and we therefore must assume that the whole passage imparts instruction differing in nature from that of the *Vâgasaneyaka*.—But has it not been said that the *Khândogya*-passage also teaches in the end the doctrine of universal identity with the Self?—That has been said indeed (but wrongly); for as the concluding passage must be made to agree with the initial passage (which latter does not say anything about the identity of the Self and Brahman), we assume that the concluding passage merely enjoins an imaginative combination (*sampatti*) of the Self and Brahman.

To this we reply that also the passage, 'Being only this was in the beginning,' has to be understood as referring to the Self; 'as other places,' i.e. in the same way as the passage quoted from the *Vâgasaneyaka*. For what reason?—'On account of the subsequent (statement),' viz. the statement as to identity. And if it be said that 'on account of the connected meaning' of the initial passage in which no mention is made of the Self, the chapter cannot be understood to refer to the Self; we reply 'that it may be so understood on account of the assertion' made in the passage about that 'by which we hear what is not heard, perceive what is not perceived, know what is not

known.' For this passage asserts that through the knowledge of one thing all things become known, and to make good this assertion the text later on declares that 'Being only this was,' &c. Now this knowledge of all things through one thing is possible only if we understand the passage last quoted to refer to the Self; for if the principal Self were not known, how could all things be known? Moreover the assertion that, before creation, there existed one thing only, and the reference to the individual soul by means of the word 'Self,' and the statement that in deep sleep the soul becomes united with the True, and the repeated inquiries on the part of Svetaketu, and the repeated assertions, 'Thou art that,'—all this is appropriate only if the aim of the whole section is not to enjoin an imaginative meditation on all things as identical with the Self, but to teach that the Self really is everything.—Nor must it be said that, in the section under discussion, the concluding passage must be interpreted so as to agree with the introductory clause (and cannot on that account teach anything about the Self); for the introductory passage declares neither that the Self is everything, nor that the Non-self is everything (but merely makes a statement regarding what is in general), and such an altogether general statement cannot be in conflict with any particular statement made in a supplementary passage, but rather is in want of some such particular statement whereby to define itself<sup>1</sup>.—And moreover (to view the matter from a different point of view), the word 'Being' if looked into closely can denote nothing else but the principal Self, since we have proved, under II, 1, 14, the unreality of the whole aggregate of being different from the Self.—Nor, finally, does a difference of expression necessarily imply a difference of sense; not any more than in ordinary language the two phrases, 'Bring that vessel

---

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the definite statement about the Self in the concluding passage may be used for defining the sense of the indefinite initial statement about that which is. 'That which is' comprises the Self as well as the Not-Self.

over there,' and, 'That vessel over there, bring it,' have different meanings.—It therefore remains a settled conclusion that in texts such as discussed above, the matter of instruction is the same, however much the mode may vary in which the instruction is conveyed.

18. As (scripture where speaking of the rinsing of the mouth with water) makes a reference to an act (established by *Smṛiti*), (that act is not enjoined by *Sruti*, but rather) the new (act of meditation on the water viewed as the dress of *prāṇa*).

The *Kṛandogas* as well as the *Vāgasaneyins* record, in the colloquy of the *prāṇas*, that the food of Breath comprises everything even unto dogs and birds, and that water is its dress. To this the *Kṛandogas* add, 'Therefore when going to eat food they surround it before and after with water' (*Kṛ. Up. V, 2, 2*). And the *Vāgasaneyins* add (*Bṛi. Up. VI, 1, 14*), 'Srotṛiyas who know this rinse the mouth with water when they are going to eat and rinse the mouth with water after they have eaten, thinking that thereby they make the breath dressed. Therefore a man knowing this is to rinse the mouth with water when going to eat and after having eaten; he thereby makes that breath dressed.'—These texts intimate two things, rinsing of the mouth and meditation on the breath as dressed. The doubt then arises whether the texts enjoin both these matters, or only the rinsing of the mouth, or only the meditation on breath as dressed.

The *pūrvapakshin* maintains that the text enjoins both, since the one as well as the other is intimated by the text, and since both matters not being settled by any other means of knowledge are worthy of being enjoined by the *Veda*.—Or else, he says, the rinsing of the mouth only is enjoined, since with reference to the latter only the text exhibits the particular injunctive verbal form ('he is to rinse'). In this latter case the mention made in the text of the meditation on breath as dressed has merely the purpose of glorifying the act of rinsing.

To this we make the following reply.—The rinsing of the mouth cannot possibly be enjoined by the quoted passages ‘since they merely contain references to an act,’ i.e. since they merely contain remarks concerning the purificatory act of rinsing the mouth which is known from and settled by *Smṛiti*.—But are not the very *Sruti*-passages under discussion to be looked upon as the fundamental texts on which the *Smṛiti*-injunctions regarding the rinsing of the mouth are based?—This is not possible, we reply, since the *Sruti* and *Smṛiti*-passages refer to different matters. All the *Smṛiti*-passages enjoin the act of rinsing the mouth only in so far as it purifies man; while the quoted *Sruti* texts which occur in *prāṇa*-vidyās, if enjoining the rinsing of the mouth at all, enjoin it with reference to the knowledge of *prāṇa*. And a *Sruti*-passage cannot constitute the basis of a *Smṛiti*-passage referring to an altogether different matter. Nor can it be maintained that the *Sruti*-passage enjoins some altogether new rinsing of the mouth connected with the *prāṇa*-vidyā, as we recognise the rinsing mentioned in *Sruti* as the ordinary rinsing performed by men for the sake of purification.—The preceding argumentation already precludes the alternative of two matters being enjoined, which would moreover lead to a so-called split of the sentence.—We therefore conclude that the text—with reference to the rinsing of the mouth before and after eating which is enjoined by *Smṛiti*—enjoins (by means of the passage, ‘thinking that thereby they make the breath dressed’) a new mental resolve with regard to the water used for rinsing purposes, viz. that that water should act as a means for clothing the *prāṇa*. The statement about the clothing of the *prāṇa* cannot (as suggested by the *pūrvapakshin*) be taken as a glorification of the act of rinsing the mouth; for in the first place the act of rinsing is not enjoined in the Vedic passage<sup>1</sup>, and in the second place we apprehend that the passage itself conveys an injunction, viz. of the mental

<sup>1</sup> A glorifying *arthavāda*-passage would be in its place only if it were preceded by some injunction; for the glorification of certain acts is meant to induce men to comply with the injunctions concerning those acts.

resolve to provide clothing for the *prāṇa*. Nor must the objection be raised that in that case two purposes are admitted for the one act of rinsing the mouth, viz. the purpose of purification and the purpose of providing the *prāṇa* with clothing. For we have actually to do not with one action, but with two separate actions. For one action is the rinsing of the mouth which serves the purpose of purifying man, and another action is the mental resolve that that water should serve the purpose of clothing the *prāṇa*. Similarly the preceding passage, 'Whatever there is, even unto dogs, &c., that is thy food,' does not enjoin the promiscuous use of food of all kinds—for that would be contrary to scripture and impossible in itself—but merely enjoins the meditation on all food as food of the *prāṇa*. We therefore conclude that also the passage, 'Water is thy dress,' which forms the immediate continuation of the passage last quoted does not enjoin the act of rinsing the mouth but merely the act of meditating on the rinsing-water as constituting the dress of the *prāṇa*.

Moreover the mere present-form, 'they rinse the mouth with water,' has no enjoining force.—But also in the passage, 'They think that thereby they make the breath dressed,' we have a mere present-form without injunctive power (and yet you maintain that that passage conveys an injunction)!—True; but as necessarily one of the two must be enjoined<sup>1</sup>, we assume, on the ground of what the text says about the making of a dress, that what is enjoined is the meditation on water being the dress of *prāṇa*; for this is something 'new,' i.e. not established by other means of knowledge<sup>2</sup>. The rinsing of the mouth with water, on the other hand, is already established by other means (i.e. *Smṛiti*), and therefore need not be enjoined again.—The argument founded

<sup>1</sup> Because otherwise we should have only *arthavādas*. But *arthavādas* have a meaning only in so far as connected with an injunction.

<sup>2</sup> The above argumentation avails itself of the *Sūtra*, putting a new construction on it.—*Tarhi dvayor avidheyatvam ity āraṅkyānuvādamātrasyā kiñchitkaratvād anyataravidher āvāsyakatve samkalpanam eva vidheyam iti vidhāntarena sūtram yogayati.* Ān. Gi.



by the pūrvapakshin on the circumstance that, in the *Bṛi. Up.*, the verb 'to rinse' is found in the injunctive form ('therefore a man, &c., is to rinse'), is already refuted by our showing that the act of rinsing the mouth is not a new one (and therefore requires no Vedic injunction).

For the very reason that the text does not aim at enjoining the rinsing of the mouth, the Kāṇvas (in their recension of the *Bṛi. Up.*) conclude the chapter with the clause, 'They think,' &c., and do not add the concluding clause of the Mādhyandinas, 'Therefore a man,' &c. From this we have to conclude that what is enjoined in the text of the Mādhyandinas also is 'the knowledge of that,' i.e. the knowledge of the water being the dress of the previously mentioned *prāṇa*.—Nor finally can it be maintained that in one place (i.e. the Mādhyandina-sākhā) the rinsing of the mouth is enjoined, and in other places the knowledge of water as the dress of *prāṇa*; for the introductory passage, 'Water is the dress,' is the same everywhere.—We are therefore entitled to conclude that what is enjoined in all Sākhās is the cognition of water being the dress of the *prāṇa*.

19. In the same (Sākhā also) it is thus (i.e. there is unity of *vidyā*), on account of the non-difference (of the object of meditation).

In the Agnirahasya forming part of the Vāgasaneyi-sākhā there is a *vidyā* called the *Sāṇḍilya-vidyā*, in which we meet with the following statement of particulars, 'Let him meditate on the Self which consists of mind, which has the *prāṇa* for its body and light for its form,' &c.—In the *Bṛihad-āraṇyaka* again, which belongs to the same Sākhā, we read (V, 10, 6), 'That person consisting of mind, whose being is light, is within the heart, small like a grain of rice or barley. He is the ruler of all, the Lord of all—he rules all this whatsoever exists.'—A doubt here presents itself whether these two passages are to be taken as one *vidyā* in which the particulars mentioned in either text are to be combined or not.

The pūrvapakshin maintains that we have to do with two separate *vidyās* whose particulars cannot be combined. For

otherwise, he argues, the text could not be cleared from the reproach of useless repetition. As long as we have to do with texts belonging to different Sākhās we can rebut the charge of useless repetition by pointing to the fact that the texts are read and known by separate classes of men ; we can then ascertain the unity of the vidyās and combine the particulars mentioned in one text only with those mentioned in the others ; so e.g. in the colloquy of the prāṇas. On the other hand, texts belonging to one and the same Sākhā cannot be freed from the reproach of tautology as the same persons study and know them, and passages occurring in different places cannot therefore be combined into one vidyā. Nor can we make out a separate position for each of the texts of the latter kind by saying that it is the task of one text to enjoin the vidyā and that of the other to enjoin the particulars of the vidyā. For in that case each of the two passages would mention only such particulars as are not mentioned in the other one ; while as a matter of fact particulars common to both as well as not common to both are mentioned in each. Hence the particulars of the one passage are not to be combined with those of the other.

To this we make the following reply. Just as passages met with in different Sākhās form one vidyā in which the different particulars are to be combined, so the two passages under discussion also, although belonging to one and the same Sākhā, constitute one vidyā only, since the object of meditation is the same in both. For as such we recognise Brahman possessing certain qualities such as consisting of mind and so on. Now we know that the object constitutes the character of a meditation ; as long as there is no difference of character we cannot determine difference of vidyā ; and if there is no difference of vidyā the particulars mentioned in different places cannot be held apart.—But has it not been demonstrated above that the vidyās have to be held apart, as otherwise tautology would arise ?—Tautology does not result, we reply, because the two passages may be understood to have each its particular meaning, one of them enjoining the vidyā, and the other the particulars of the vidyā.—But in that case the *Bṛihad-Āraṇyaka* ought to

mention only those points which are not mentioned in the Agnirahasya, as e.g. 'he is the Lord of all;' while it ought not to mention what is already mentioned in the Agnirahasya, as e.g. the Self's consisting of mind!—Not so, we reply. Only the repetition, in one passage, of what is already mentioned in the other passage enables us to recognise the vidyâ. The *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka*-passage, by mentioning some common qualities, first enables us to recognise the *Sândilya*-vidyâ, and then teaches certain particulars with reference to the latter; how otherwise should we know that the *Bṛi*-passage is meant to enjoin particulars for the *Sândilya*-vidyâ? Moreover, as in a passage which has a purpose of its own in so far as it teaches something not yet established, a reference to something already established is justified on the ground of its being a (so-called) *nityānuvâda*, we cannot overlook the recognition (of the identity of the passage with another one) which is rendered possible through that *anuvâda*. Hence, although the two passages belong to one and the same *Sâkhâ*, they yet constitute one vidyâ only, and their particulars have to be combined into one whole.

20. Thus in other cases also, on account of the connexion (of particulars with one and the same vidyâ).

We read in the *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka* (V, 5), 'The true is Brahman,' and, further on, 'Now what is the true, that is the Âditya, the person that dwells in yonder orb, and the person in the right eye.' Having thus declared the different abodes of that true Brahman with reference to the gods and with reference to the body, and having, in what follows, identified its body with the sacred syllables (*bhûh*, &c.), the text teaches its two secret names (*upanishad*), 'Its secret name is *ahar*' with reference to the gods; and 'its secret name is *aham*' with reference to the body.—A doubt here arises whether these two secret names are both to be applied to the deva-abode of Brahman as well as to its bodily abode, or only one name to each.

The above Sûtra maintains the *pûrvapaksha* view. Just as certain particulars though recorded elsewhere are yet

to be combined with the *Sāṇḍilya-vidyā*, so we have to proceed in other cases also, as e.g. the one under discussion, because the particulars mentioned are all connected with one *vidyā*. The *vidyā* of the True with its double reference to the Devas and to the body is one only, as we infer from the fact of its having one exordium only ('The true is Brahman'), and from the way in which the text interconnects *Āditya* and the person in the eye. Why then should an attribute belonging to one of the latter not belong to the other also? For, to quote an analogous case, certain rules of life which are prescribed for a teacher—as e.g. having a following of pupils—remain equally valid whether the teacher be in a village or in a wood. For these reasons both secret names equally belong to the *Āditya* as well as to the person within the eye. This view the next *Sūtra* refutes.

21. Or this is not so, on account of the difference (of place).

The two secret names do not apply quite equally to the two persons mentioned, because they are connected with different places in the *vidyā*. For the clause, 'Its secret name is *ahar*,' the text exhibits in connexion with the person in the solar orb, while the clause, 'Its secret name is *aham*,' occurs in connexion with the person in the eye. Now the pronoun 'its' always refers to something mentioned close by; we therefore conclude that the text teaches each secret name as belonging to one special abode of Brahman only. How then can both names be valid for both?—But, an objection is raised, the person within the orb of the sun and the person within the eye are one only; for the text teaches them both to be abodes of the one true Brahman!—True, we reply; but as each secret name is taught only with reference to the one Brahman as conditioned by a particular state, the name applies to Brahman only in so far as it is in that state. We on our part also illustrate the case by a comparison. The teacher always remains the teacher; yet those kinds of services which the pupil has to do to the teacher when sitting have not to be

done when he stands ; and vice versâ.—The comparison, on the other hand, instituted by the pūrvapakshin is ill chosen, since the duties of the disciple towards his teacher depend on the latter's character as teacher, and that is not changed by his being either in the village or the forest.—Hence the two secret names have to be held apart.

22. (Scripture) also declares that.

Scripture moreover contains a distinct intimation that the attributes under discussion are to be held apart. We read, *Kh. Up. I, 8, 5*, 'The form of that person is the same as the form of the other person, the joints of the one are the joints of the other, the name of the one is the name of the other.'—But how does this passage convey the desired intimation?—By expressly transferring the attributes of the person within the sun to the person within the eye ; for this express transfer shows that the text looks upon the attributes of the two as separated by the difference of abode and therefore not to be combined (unless specially enjoined to be so combined).—The conclusion therefore is that the two secret names are to be held apart.

23. And for the same reason the holding together and the pervading the sky (attributed to Brahman in the *Rânâyaniya-khila*) (are not to be inserted in other *vidyâs*).

In the *khilas* (supplementary writings) of the *Rânâyaniyas* we meet with a passage, 'Held together are the powers among which Brahman is the best ; the best Brahman in the beginning stretched out the sky<sup>1</sup>, which mentions certain energies of Brahman, such as holding together its powers, entering into the sky, &c. And in the

<sup>1</sup> *Vîryâ vîryâni parâkramabhedâh, anye hi purushâh sahayân apekshya vikramân bibhrati tena tatparâkramânâm na ta eva niyat-  
apūrvatvarūpakāraṇatvena gyesh/hā bhavanti kim tu tatsahakāriṇo  
-pi, brahmavîryânâm tu brahmaiva gyesh/ham brahma gyesh/ham  
yeshâm tâni tathâ brahma khalv ananyâpeksham gagagganmâdi  
karoti. Kim kânyeshâm parâkramânâm balavadbhir madhye  
bhaṅga sambhavati tena te svavîryâni na bibhrati, brahmavîryâni  
tu brahmanâ sambhritâni avighnena sambhritâny ity arthaḥ. Âṇ. Gi.*

Upanishad of the same (i. e. the Rânâyanaîyas) we meet with vidyās of Brahman among which the *Sândilya*-vidyā is the first.—The question then arises whether the energies of Brahman just mentioned are to be inserted in those *Brahma*-vidyās or not. To the *pûrvapaksha* view that they are to be so inserted because they are connected with Brahman, the *Sûtrakâra* replies that the holding together and pervading the sky are not to be inserted in the *Sândilya*-vidyā and other vidyās, for the same reason, i. e. on account of their being connected with different abodes. In the *Sândilya*-vidyā, Brahman is said to have its abode in the heart, ‘He is the Self within the heart’ (*Kh. Up.* III, 14, 3); the same statement is made in the *dahara*-vidyā, ‘There is the palace, the small lotus (of the heart), and in it that small ether’ (VIII, 1, 1). In the *Upakosala*-vidyā again, Brahman is said to reside within the eye, ‘That person that is seen in the eye’ (IV, 15, 1). In all these vidyās Brahman is described as residing within the body; it is therefore impossible to insert into them the energies of Brahman which the *khila* of the *Rânâyanaîyas* mentions, and which are connected with the *Devas* (i. e. external nature).—But the vidyās of the *Khândogya* likewise mention such powers of Brahman as are connected with the *Devas*; cp. e. g. III, 14, 3, ‘He is greater than the heaven, greater than these worlds;’ IV, 15, 4, ‘He is also *Bhâmanî*, for he shines in all worlds;’ VIII, 1, 3, ‘As large as this ether is, so large is that ether within the heart. Both heaven and earth are contained within it.’ And again there are other vidyās of Brahman, such as the one which represents Brahman as comprising sixteen parts, in which not any special abode is mentioned.—True; but there is a special reason why the attributes stated in the *Rânâyanaîya-khila* cannot be introduced into the other vidyās. Particulars mentioned in one place can indeed be inserted in vidyās met with in another place if the latter are suggested to the mind by containing some reference to agreeing particulars; the qualities of holding together, however, on one side and those mentioned in the *Sândilya*-vidyā, &c., on the other side are of such a nature as to exclude each

other, and therefore do not mutually suggest each other. The mere circumstance of all the particulars being connected with Brahman does not suffice to suggest vidyās occurring in other places; for even in vidyās which are avowedly separate, all the particulars may be connected with Brahman. And it is an established fact that Brahman, although one only, is, owing to the plurality of its powers, meditated upon in more than one way, as shown under Sūtra 7.—The conclusion therefore is that the attributes of holding together its powers and so on are not to be inserted in the *Sāṇḍilya* and similar vidyās.

24. And as the record of others (viz. the *Taittirīyaka*) is not such as in the *purusha-vidyā* (of the *Khândogya*), (the two *purusha-vidyās* are not to be combined).

In the *Rahasya-brāhmaṇa* of the *Tāṇḍins* and the *Paīṅgins* (the *Khândogya*) there is a *vidyā* treating of man, in which man is fancifully identified with the sacrifice, the three periods of his life with the three libations, his hunger and so on, with the *dīkshā*, &c. And other particulars also are mentioned there, such as formulas of prayer, use of mantras and so on.—A similar fanciful assimilation of the sacrifice and man the *Taittirīyakas* exhibit, 'For him who knows thus the Self of the sacrifice is the sacrificer, Faith is the wife of the sacrificer,' and so on (*Taitt. Ār. X, 64*).—The doubt here arises whether the particulars of the man-sacrifice given in the *Khândogya* are to be inserted in the *Taittirīyaka* or not.

Against the view of the *pūrvapakshin* that they are so to be inserted because in both places we have a *purusha-yagñā*, we maintain that they are not to be inserted because the characteristics of the *purusha-yagñā* of the *Khândogya* are not recognised in the *Taittirīya*-text. This the *Sūtra-kāra* expresses by saying, 'As (the record of the followers of some *Sākhās*, viz. the *Tāṇḍins* and *Paīṅgins*, is) in the *purusha-vidyā*, not such is the record of others,' viz. the *Taittirīyakas*. For the latter exhibit an identification of man with the sacrifice, in which the wife, the sacrificer, the

Veda, the vedi, the sacrificial grass, the post, the butter, the sacrificial animal, the priest, &c., are mentioned in succession; none of which particulars are mentioned in the *Khândogya*. The use also to which the *Taittirīyaka* turns the three libations is different from the *Khândogya*. And the few points in which the two texts agree, such as the identification of the *Avabr̥tha*-ceremony with death, lose their significance side by side with the greater number of dissimilarities, and are therefore not able to effect the recognition of the *vidyā*.—Moreover the *Taittirīyaka* does not represent man as the sacrifice (as the *Khândogya* does); for the two genitives ('of him who thus knows' and 'of the sacrifice') are not co-ordinate, and the passage therefore cannot be construed to mean, 'The knowing one who is the sacrifice, of him the Self is,' &c. For it cannot be said that man is the sacrifice, in the literal sense of the word<sup>1</sup>. The two genitives are rather to be taken in that way, that one qualifies the other, 'The sacrifice of him who thus knows, of that sacrifice,' &c. For the connexion of the sacrifice with man (which is expressed by the genitive, 'the sacrifice of him') is really and literally true; and to take a passage in its literal meaning, if possible at all, is always preferable to having recourse to a secondary metaphorical meaning<sup>2</sup>. Moreover the words next following in the *Taittirīyaka*-passage, 'the Self is the sacrificer,' declare that man (man's Self) is the sacrificer, and this again shows that man's relation to the sacrifice is not that of co-ordination<sup>3</sup>. Moreover as the section beginning with 'Of him who thus knows' forms an *anuvāda* of something previously established (and as such forms one *vākya* to which one sense only must be ascribed), we must not bring about 'a split of the sentence' by interpreting it as

<sup>1</sup> And therefore we are not warranted in taking the two genitives as co-ordinate, as otherwise they might be taken.

<sup>2</sup> Which latter would be the case if we should take the two genitives as co-ordinate and therefore expressing an imaginative identification of the man and the sacrifice.

<sup>3</sup> If man is the sacrificer he cannot be identified with the sacrifice; he is rather the Lord of the sacrifice.



teaching in the first place that man is the sacrifice, and in the second place that the Self and the other beings enumerated are the sacrificer and so on. And as we see that the passage, 'Of him who thus knows,' &c., follows upon some instruction about the knowledge of the Self coupled with *saṁnyāsa*, we apprehend that the Taittirīyaka-chapter is not an independent vidyā but merely supplementary to the instruction previously given. In agreement with this conclusion we observe that the Taittirīyaka promises only one result for both chapters, viz. the one stated in the passage, 'He obtains the greatness of Brahman.'—On the other hand the text embodying the puruṣa-vidyā in the *Khândogya* is an independent text; for we see that an independent result is attached to it, viz. an increase of length of life, 'He who knows this lives on to a hundred and sixteen years.'—Hence the particulars mentioned in the puruṣa-vidyā of another Sākhā, such as formulas of prayer, mantras and so on, are not to be combined with the Taittirīya-text of the vidyā.

25. Because the matter (of certain mantras) such as piercing and so on is different (from the matter of the approximate vidyās) (the former have not to be combined with the latter).

At the beginning of an Upanishad of the Ātharvanikas the following mantra is recorded, 'Pierce him (the enemy) whole, pierce his heart: crush his veins, crush his head; thrice crushed,' &c. At the beginning of the Upanishad of the Tāndins we have the mantra, 'O God Savitar, produce the sacrifice.' At the beginning of that of the Sātyāyanins, 'Thou hast a white horse and art green as grass,' &c.; at the beginning of that of the Kāthas and the Taittirīyakas, 'May Mitra be propitious to us and Varuṇa,' &c. At the beginning of the Upanishad of the Vāgasaneyins we have a Brāhmaṇa-passage about the pravargya-ceremony, 'The gods indeed sat down to a sattra;' and at the beginning of that of the Kaushītakins there is a Brāhmaṇa-passage about the agnishṭoma, 'Brahman indeed is the Agnishṭoma, Brahman is that day; through Brahman they pass into

Brahman, immortality those reach who observe that day.'—The point to be inquired into with reference to all these mantras and the sacrifices referred to in the *Brâhmaṇa*-passages is whether they are to be combined with the *vidyâs* (contained in the *Upanishads*) or not.

The *pûrvapakshin* maintains that they are so to be combined, because the text exhibits them in proximity to the *Upanishad*-portions of the *Brâhmaṇas* whose chief contents are formed by the *vidyâs*.—But we do not observe those mantras and sacrifices to be actually enjoined as subordinate members of the *vidyâs*!—True, but in spite of this we, on the ground of proximity, infer them to be connected with the *vidyâs*. For we have no right to set aside the fact of proximity as irrelevant as long as an inference can be established on it.—But we are unable to see that the mantras have anything to do with the *vidyâs*, and how can it be assumed that ceremonies, such as the *pravargya* which scripture enjoins with reference to other occasions, sacrifices, and so on, stand in any relation to the *vidyâs*!—Never mind, the *pûrvapakshin* replies. In the case of mantras we can always imagine some meaning which connects them with the *vidyâs*; the first mantra quoted, e.g. may be viewed as glorifying the heart. For the heart and other parts of the body are often represented, in the *vidyâs*, as abodes of meditation, and hence mantras glorifying the heart, &c., may appropriately form subordinate members of those *vidyâs*. Some mantras, moreover, we clearly see to be enjoined with reference to *vidyâs*, so, e.g. the mantra, 'I turn to *Bhûh* with such and such' (*Kh. Up. III, 15, 3*). Sacrificial acts again may indeed be enjoined in connexion with other occasions; yet there is no reason why they should not also be applied to the *vidyâs*, just as the offering called *Brîhaspatisava* is a subordinate part of the *Vâgapeya*-sacrifice<sup>1</sup>.

To this we make the following reply. The mantras and

<sup>1</sup> The *Brîhaspatisava*, although enjoined with special reference to him who is desirous of *Brahmavarṇas*, is yet at the same time a subordinate part of the *Vâgapeya*-sacrifice. Cp. *Pû. Mî. Sû. IV, 3, 29*.

ceremonies mentioned cannot be drawn into connexion with the vidyās, 'because their matter, such as piercing the heart, &c., is different (from the matter of the vidyās),' and therefore cannot be connected with the latter.—But has it not been said above that the mantras may be connected with the meditations enjoined in the vidyās, on the ground of their coming of use in meditations on the heart, &c. ?—The mantras, we reply, might be so employed, if their entire contents were glorification of the heart, and the like ; but this is by no means the case. The mantra first quoted, e.g. clearly expresses hostility to somebody, and is therefore to be connected, not with the vidyās of the Upanishads, but with some ceremony meant to hurt an enemy. The mantra of the Tāṇḍins again, 'O God Savitar, produce the sacrifice,' indicates by its very words that it is connected with some sacrifice ; with what particular sacrifice it is connected has to be established by other means of proof. Similarly other mantras also—which, either by 'indication' (līṅga), or 'syntactical connexion' (vākya), or some other means of proof, are shown to be subordinate to certain sacrificial actions—cannot, because they occur in the Upanishads also, be connected with the vidyās on the ground of mere proximity. For that 'proximity,' as a means of proof regarding the connexion of subordinate matters with principal matters, is weaker than direct enunciation (Śruti), and so on, is demonstrated in the former science (i.e. in the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā) under III, 3, 14. Of sacrificial works also, such as the pravargya, which are primarily enjoined with reference to other occasions, it cannot be demonstrated that they are supplementary to vidyās with which they have nothing in common. The case of the Bṛhaspatisava, quoted by the pūrvapakshin, is of an altogether different kind, as there we have an injunction clearly showing that that oblation is a subordinate member of the Vāgapeya, viz. 'Having offered the Vāgapeya he offers the Bṛhaspatisava.' And, moreover, if the one pravargya-ceremony has once been enjoined for a definite purpose by a means of proof of superior strength, we must not, on the strength of an inferior means of proof, assume

it to be enjoined for some different purpose. A proceeding of that kind would be possible only if the difference of the means of proof were not apprehended; but in our case this latter possibility is excluded since the relative strength and weakness of the various means of proof is fully apprehended (on the ground of the conclusions arrived at in the *Pûrva Mīmāṃsā*).—For these reasons the mentioned mantras and acts are not, on the ground of mere textual collocation, to be viewed as supplementary to the vidyās of the Upanishads. To account for the fact of their textual collocation with the latter we must keep in view that the mantras, &c. as well as the vidyās have to be studied, &c. in the woods.

26. Where the getting rid (of good and evil) is mentioned (the obtaining of this good and evil by others has to be added) because the statement about the obtaining is supplementary (to the statement about the getting rid of), as in the case of the *kuśās*, the metres, the praise and the singing. This (i.e. the reason for this) has been stated (in the *Pûrva Mīmāṃsā*).

In the text of the *Tāṇḍins* we meet with the following passage: 'Shaking off all evil as a horse shakes his hair, and shaking off the body as the moon frees herself from the mouth of *Rāhu*, I obtain self made and satisfied the uncreated world of Brahman' (*Kh. Up.* VIII, 13). Again, in the text of the *Ātharvāṇikas*, we read, 'Then knowing, shaking off good and evil he reaches the highest oneness, free from passion' (*Mu. Up.* III. 1, 3). The *Sātyāyanins* read, 'His sons obtain his inheritance, his friends the good, his enemies the evil he has done.' And the *Kaushītākins*, 'He shakes off his good and his evil deeds. His beloved relatives obtain the good, his unbeloved relatives the evil he has done' (*Kau. Up.* I, 4).—Of these texts two state that the man who has reached true knowledge rids himself of his good and evil deeds; one, that his friends and enemies obtain his good and evil deeds respectively; and one finally declares that both things take place.

This latter text calls for no remark ; nor again that one which refers only to his friends and enemies obtaining his good and evil deeds ; for in order that they may obtain those he must necessarily first have got rid of them, and the act of getting rid of them has therefore to be supplied in the text. Those passages, however, which merely mention a man's shaking off his deeds, give rise to a discussion whether those deeds, when shaken off, are obtained by his friends and enemies, or not. Here the *pūrvapakshin* maintains that the latter circumstance is not to be supplied in the two passages mentioned—firstly because the text does not state it ; secondly because what other *Sākhās* say about it falls within the sphere of a different *vidyā* ; and thirdly because the getting rid of the evil and good deeds is something done by the man himself, while the obtaining of them is the work of others. As thus there is no necessary connexion between the two, we have no right to supply the latter on the basis of the former.

To this we make the following reply. Although the text mentions only the getting rid of the deeds, yet the obtaining of them by others must necessarily be added, because the statement concerning the latter is merely supplementary to the statement about the former, as appears from the text of the *Kaushītakins*.—In reply to the arguments brought forward by the *pūrvapakshin* we offer the following remarks.

The separation of the different passages would indeed have to be insisted upon, if anybody intended to introduce an injunction about something to be done, which is contained in one text only, into some other text also. But in the passages under discussion the act of getting rid of—and the act of obtaining—the good and evil deeds are not mentioned as something to be performed, but merely as implying a glorification of knowledge ; the intended sense being, 'Glorious indeed is that knowledge through whose power the good and evil deeds, the causes of the *samsāra*, are shaken off by him who knows, and are transferred to his friends and enemies.' The passage thus being glorificatory only, the teacher is of opinion that,

to the end of strengthening the glorification, the obtaining of the good and evil deeds by the friends and enemies—which in some passages is represented as the consequence of their being shaken off by the man who knows—must be supplied in those passages also which mention only the shaking off. That one arthavâda-passage often depends on another arthavâda-passage is a well-known fact; the following passage, e.g. ‘The twenty-first indeed from this world is that sun,’ would be unintelligible if no regard were paid to the other passage, ‘Twelve are the months, five the seasons, three these worlds; that sun is the twenty-first.’ Similarly the passage, ‘The two Trishubh verses are for strengthening,’ necessarily requires to be taken in connexion with the other passage, ‘Strength of the senses indeed is Trishubh.’ And as the statement about the obtaining of the good and evil deeds has only the purpose of glorifying knowledge (and is not made on its own account), we need not insist too much on the question how the results of actions done by one man can be obtained by others. That the obtaining of the deeds by others is connected with their being got rid of by the man who knows, merely for the purpose of glorifying knowledge, the Sûtrakâra moreover indicates by making use of the expression, ‘because the statement about obtaining is supplementary to,’ &c.; for if he wished to intimate that the actual circumstance of other persons obtaining a man’s good and evil deeds is to be inserted in those vidyâs where it is not mentioned he would say, ‘because the fact of obtaining,’ &c. The Sûtra therefore, availing itself of the opportunity offered by the discussion of the combination of particular qualities, shows how mere glorificatory passages have to be inserted in texts where they are wanting.

The remaining part of the Sûtra, ‘Like the kusâs, the metres, the praise and the singing,’ introduces some analogous instances.—The case under discussion is analogous to the case of the kusâs<sup>1</sup>. Those, a mantra of the Bhâl-

<sup>1</sup> I.e. according to the commentators, small wooden rods used by the Udgâtrîs in counting the stotras.

lavins ('You *kuśās* are the children of the tree, do you protect me!') represents as coming from trees in general, without any specification. The corresponding mantra of the *Sātyāyanins* on the other hand is, 'You *kuśās* are the children of the *Udumbara*-tree;' a particularizing statement which must be considered as valid for the *kuśās* in general.—Another analogous case is that of the metres. In some places no special statement is made about their order of succession; but the text of the *Pañḍins*, 'The metres of the *Devas* come first,' determines the general priority of the metres of the *Devas* to those of the *Asuras*<sup>1</sup>.—Similarly the time of the *stotra* accompanying the performance of the *Shoḍaśin*-rite which in some texts is left undefined is settled by the text of the *Rig-vedins* (*ārkhāh*), 'when the Sun has half risen.'—And similarly a particularizing text of the *Bhāllavins* defines what priests have to join in the singing; a point left unsettled in other *Srutis*<sup>2</sup>.—As in these parallel cases, so we have to proceed in the case under discussion also. For if we refused to define a general text by another more particular one, we should be driven to assume optional procedure (*vikalpa*), and that the latter is if possible to be avoided is a well-known principle. This is stated in the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā-sūtras* X, 8, 15.

The passages about the shaking (off) can be viewed as giving rise to a different discussion also, and the *Sūtra* can accordingly be explained in a different manner. The question can be raised whether the 'shaking' means the getting rid of one's good and evil deeds or something else.—The *pūrvapaksha* will in that case have to be established in the following manner. Shaking (*dhû*) here does not mean 'getting rid of,' since the root '*dhû*' according to grammar means shaking in an intransitive sense or trembling; of flags streaming in the wind we say, for

<sup>1</sup> Metres of less than ten syllables belong to the *Asuras*, those of ten and more to the *Devas*.

<sup>2</sup> The general text is, according to the commentators, 'The priests join in the singing;' the defining text of the *Bhāllavins*, 'The *adhvaryu* does not join in the singing.'

instance, 'the flags are shaking' (dodhûyante). We therefore take the word in the same sense in the passages under discussion and understand by the 'trembling' of the good and evil deeds the fact of their not meeting, for a certain time, with their results.

To this pûrvapaksha we make the following reply. The word 'shaking' has to be taken in the sense of 'getting rid of,' because it is supplemented by the statement of others obtaining the good and evil deeds. For those deeds cannot be obtained by others unless they are got rid of by their former owner. Hence although it is not easily imaginable that the deeds got rid of by one man should be obtained by others, we yet, on the ground of its being mentioned, may determine accordingly that 'shaking' means 'getting rid of.' And although only in some passages the statement about the obtaining is actually found in proximity to the statement about the shaking, it yet has, on the ground of the latter, to be supplied everywhere and thus becomes a general reason of decision (viz. that 'shaking' means 'getting rid of'). Against the pûrvapakshin's view we further remark that good and evil deeds cannot be said to 'tremble' in the literal sense of the word, like flags in the wind, since they are not of substantial nature.—(Nor must it be said that of the horse which exemplifies the shaking, the text only says that it shakes its hair, not that it casts anything off, for) the horse when shaking itself shakes off dust and also old hairs. And with that shaking (which at the same time is a shaking off) the text expressly compares the shaking (off) of evil.—Nor do we when assigning different meanings to one and the same root enter thereby into conflict with *Smṛiti* (grammar). The clause 'this has been stated' we have already explained.

27. At the (moment of) departing (he frees himself from his works), there being nothing to be reached (by him, on the way to Brahman, through those works); for thus others (declare, in their sacred texts).



The Kaushîtakins record in the paryaṅka-vidyâ how the man (who possesses true knowledge) when approaching Brahman seated on the couch frees himself on the way from his good and evil deeds, 'He having reached the path of the gods comes to the world of Agni,' &c. (Kau. Up. I, 3), and later on (I, 4), 'He comes to the river Vigarâ and crosses it by the mind alone and there shakes off his good and evil deeds.'—The question here arises whether in strict agreement with the text we have to understand that the deceased man frees himself from his good and evil deeds on the way to Brahman, or rather that he does so at the outset when he departs from his body.

The letter of the text favouring the former alternative, the Sûtrakâra rebuts it by declaring 'at the going,' i.e. at the time of departing from the body the man frees himself, through the strength of his knowledge, from his good and evil deeds. The reason for this averment is assigned in the words, 'On account of the absence of anything to be reached.' For when the man possessing true knowledge has departed from the body and is, through his knowledge, about to reach Brahman, there exists nothing to be reached by him on the way through his good and evil works, and we therefore have no reason to assume the latter to remain uneffaced during a certain number of moments. We rather have to conclude that as the results of his good and evil works are contrary to the result of knowledge, they are destroyed by the power of the latter; and that hence the moment of their destruction is that moment in which he sets out toward the fruit of his knowledge (i.e. the world of Brahman).—The conclusion thus is that the deliverance of the man from his works takes place early, and is only mentioned later on in the text of the Kaushîtakins.—Thus other Sâkhâs also, as that of the Tâṇḍins and Sâtyâyanins, declare that he frees himself from his deeds at an earlier stage; cp. the passages, 'Shaking off all evil as a horse shakes his hair,' and 'His sons obtain his inheritance, his friends the good, his enemies the evil he has done.'

28. And because (on the above interpretation)

there is no contradiction to both (i.e. man's making an effort to free himself from his deeds and actually freeing himself) according to his liking.

Moreover if we assumed that the man frees himself from his good and evil deeds on the way—after having departed from the body and having entered on the path of the gods—we should implicate ourselves in impossibilities ; for after the body has been left behind, man can no longer accomplish, according to his liking, that effort which consists in self-restraint and pursuit of knowledge, and which is the cause of the obliteration of all his good and evil deeds, and consequently that obliteration also cannot take place. We therefore must assume that the requisite effort is made—and its result takes place—at an earlier moment, viz. in the state in which man is able to effect it, and that in consequence thereof man rids himself of his good and evil deeds.

Nothing then stands in the way of the conditioning and the conditioned events taking place, and the assumption moreover agrees with the statements of the Tândins and Sâtyâyanins.

29. A purpose has to be attributed to the going (on the path of the gods) in a twofold manner ; otherwise there would be contradiction of scripture.

In some scriptural texts the (dead man's) going on the path of the gods is mentioned in connexion with his freeing himself from good and evil ; in other texts it is not mentioned. The doubt then arises whether the two things go together in all cases or only in certain cases.—The pûrva-pakshin maintains that the two are to be connected in all cases, just as the man's freeing himself from his good and evil deeds is always followed by their passing over to his friends and enemies.

To this we make the following reply. That a man's going on the path of the gods has a purpose is to be admitted in a twofold manner, i.e. with a distinction only. His going on that path has a sense in certain cases, in others not. For otherwise, i.e. if we admitted that men,

in all cases, proceed on that path, we should have to assume that even the passage, Mu. Up. III, 1, 3, 'Shaking off good and evil, free from passions, he reaches the highest unity,' refers to actual going through which another place is reached, and that would clearly be contrary to reason. For a person free from all desire and therefore non-moving does not go to another place, and the highest unity is not to be reached by a man transporting himself to another locality.

30. (The twofold view taken above) is justified because we observe a purpose characterised thereby (i.e. a purpose of the going); as in ordinary life.

Our view of the matter, viz. that a man's proceeding on the path of the gods has a meaning in certain cases but not in others, is justified by the following consideration. In meditations on the qualified Brahman such as the paryaṅka-vidyā we see a reason for the man's proceeding on the path of the gods; for the text mentions certain results which can be reached only by the man going to different places, such as his mounting a couch, his holding a colloquy with Brahman seated on the couch, his perceiving various odours and so on. On the other hand we do not see that going on the path of the gods has anything to do with perfect knowledge. For those who have risen to the intuition of the Self's unity, whose every wish is fulfilled, in whom the potentiality of all suffering is already destroyed here below, have nothing further to look for but the dissolution of the abode of activity and enjoyment of former deeds, i.e. the body; in their case therefore to proceed on the road of the gods would be purposeless.—The distinction is analogous to what is observed in ordinary life. If we want to reach some village we have to proceed on a path leading there; but no moving on a path is required when we wish to attain freedom from sickness.—The distinction made here will be established more carefully in the fourth adhyāya.

31. There is no restriction (as to the going on the path of the gods) for any vidyā; nor any contra-

diction (of the general subject-matter), according to scripture and inference (i.e. *Smṛiti*).

We have shown that the going on the path of the gods is valid only for the vidyās of the qualified Brahman, not for the knowledge of the highest Brahman which is destitute of all qualities.—Now we observe that the going on the path of the gods is mentioned only in some of the qualified vidyās, such as the paryāṅka-vidyā, the pañkāgni-vidyā, the upakośala-vidyā, the dahara-vidyā; while it is not mentioned in others, such as the madhu-vidyā, the śāṇḍilya-vidyā, the shoḍaśakala-vidyā, the vaisvānara-vidyā.—The doubt then arises whether the going on the path of the gods is to be connected with those vidyās only in which it is actually mentioned or generally with all vidyās of that kind.

The pūrvapakshin maintains the former view; for, he says, the limitative force of the general subject-matter of each particular section compels us to connect the going on the path of the gods with those vidyās only which actually mention it. If we transferred it to other vidyās also, the authoritativeness of scripture would suffer; for then anything might be the sense of anything. Moreover, the details about the path of the gods beginning with light and so on are given equally in the upakośala-vidyā and the pañkāgni-vidyā, which would be a useless repetition if as a matter of course the going on the path of the gods were connected with all vidyās.

To this we make the following reply. The going on the path of the gods is not to be restricted but to be connected equally with all those qualified vidyās which have exaltation (*abhyudaya*) for their result. The objection above raised by the pūrvapakshin that thereby we contradict the general subject-matter, we refute by appealing to scripture and *Smṛiti*. Scripture in the first place declares that not only those 'who know this,' i.e. the pañkāgni-vidyā (*Kh. Up. V, 10, 1*), proceed on the path of the gods, but also those who understand other vidyās, 'and also those who in the forest follow faith and austerities.'—But how do we know that the latter passage refers to those who are conversant with other

vidyās? The text certainly speaks of those only who are intent on faith and austerities!—Not by faith and austerities alone, we reply, unaided by knowledge, can that path be attained; for another scriptural passage says, ‘Through knowledge they mount to that place from which all wishes have passed away; those who are skilled in works only do not go there, nor penitents devoid of knowledge’ (Sat. Brā. X, 5, 4, 16). We therefore conclude that faith and austerities denote at the same time other vidyās.—The Vāgasaneyins again read in the *Pañkâgni-vidyâ*, ‘Those who thus know this and those who in the forest worship faith and the True.’ The latter part of this passage we must explain to mean, ‘Those who in the forest with faith worship the True, i.e. Brahman;’ the term ‘the True’ being often employed to denote Brahman. And as those who know the *pañkâgni-vidyâ* are in the above passage referred to as ‘those who thus know this,’ we must understand the clause, ‘and those who in the forest,’ &c., as referring to men in the possession of other vidyās. And, moreover, also the passage, ‘Those, however, who know neither of these two paths become worms, birds, and creeping things’ (VI, 2, 16), which teaches that those who miss the two paths have to go downwards, intimates that those who possess other vidyās have to proceed either on the path of the gods or that of the fathers, and as their vidyās are as such not different from the *pañkâgni-vidyâ*, we conclude that they proceed on the path of the gods (not on that of the fathers)<sup>1</sup>.

In the second place *Smṛiti* also confirms the same doctrine, ‘These two, the white and the black path, are known as the eternal paths of the world; on the one man goes not to return, on the other he again returns’ (Bha. Gī. VIII, 26).

With regard, finally, to the circumstance that the details about the path of the gods are given in the *Upakosala-*

<sup>1</sup> Itas *ka* vidyântarasīlinām gatir iti līngadarsanam samukhīnoti atheti, etān iti vidyāntaraparā *grīhyante*, tathāpi katham devayānayogas teshām ity āraṅkya yogyatayety āha tatrāpīti. Ān. Gī.

vidyâ as well as the *Pañikâgni-vidyâ*, we remark that the repetition is meant to assist reflection.

For all these reasons the going on the path of the gods is not limited to those vidyâs in which it is actually mentioned.

32. Of those who have a certain office there is subsistence (of the body) as long as the office lasts.

The question here is whether for him who has reached true knowledge a new body originates after he has parted with the old one or not.—But, an objection is here raised at the outset, there is really no occasion for inquiring whether knowledge when reaching its perfection brings about its due effect, viz. complete isolation of the Self from all bodies or not ; not any more than there is room for an inquiry whether there is cooked rice or not, after the process of cooking has reached its due termination ; or, for an inquiry whether a man is satisfied by eating or not.—Not so, we reply. There is indeed room for the inquiry proposed, as we know from *itihâsa* and *purâna* that some persons although knowing Brahman yet obtained new bodies. Tradition informs us, e.g. that *Apântaratamas*, an ancient *rishi* and teacher of the Vedas, was, by the order of Vishnu, born on this earth as *Krishna Dvaipâyana* at the time when the *Dvâparayuga* was succeeded by the *Kaliyuga*. Similarly *Vasishtha*, the son of Brahman's mind, having parted from his former body in consequence of the curse of Nimi, was, on the order of Brahman, again procreated by *Mitra* and *Varuna*. *Smṛiti* further relates that *Bhrigu* and other sons of Brahman's mind were again born at the sacrifice of *Varuna*. *Sanatkumâra* also, who likewise was a son of Brahman's mind, was, in consequence of a boon being granted to *Rudra*, born again as *Skanda*. And there are similar tales about *Daksha*, *Nârada*, and others having, for various reasons, assumed new bodies. Stories of the same kind are met with in the mantras and *arthavâdas* of *Sruti*. Of some of the persons mentioned it is said that they assumed a new body after the old body had perished ; of others that they assumed, through their

supernatural powers, various new bodies, while the old body remained intact all the while. And all of them are known to have completely mastered the contents of the Vedas.

On the ground of all this the pûrvapakshin maintains that the knowledge of Brahman may, indifferently, either be or not be the cause of final release.

This we deny, for the reason that the continuance of the bodily existence of Aparântamas and others—who are entrusted with offices conducive to the subsistence of the worlds, such as the promulgation of the Vedas and the like—depends on those their offices. As Savitar (the sun), who after having for thousands of yugas performed the office of watching over these worlds, at the end of that period enjoys the condition of release in which he neither rises nor sets, according to *Kh. Up. III, 11, 1*, ‘When from thence he has risen upwards, he neither rises nor sets. He is alone, standing in the centre;’ and as the present knowers of Brahman reach the state of isolation after the enjoyment of those results of action, which have begun to operate, has come to an end, according to *Kh. Up. VI, 14, 2*, ‘For him there is only delay so long as he is not delivered from the body;’ so Aparântamas and other Lords to whom the highest Lord has entrusted certain offices, last—although they possess complete knowledge, the cause of release—as long as their office lasts, their works not yet being exhausted, and obtain release only when their office comes to an end. For gradually exhausting the aggregate of works the consequences of which have once begun, so as to enable them to discharge their offices; passing according to their free will from one body into another, as if from one house into another, in order to accomplish the duties of their offices; preserving all the time the memory of their identity; they create for themselves through their power over the material of the body and the sense organs new bodies, and occupy them either all at once or in succession. Nor can it be said that when passing into new bodies they remember only the fact of their former existence (not their individuality); for it is known that they preserve the sense

of their individuality<sup>1</sup>. *Smṛiti* tells us, e.g. that Sulabhā, a woman conversant with Brahman, wishing to dispute with Ganaka, left her own body, entered into that of Ganaka, carried on a discussion with him, and again returned into her own body. If in addition to the works the consequences of which are already in operation, other works manifested themselves, constituting the cause of further embodiments, the result would be that in the same way further works also, whose potentiality would in that case not be destroyed, would take place, and then it might be suspected that the knowledge of Brahman may, indifferently, either be or not be the cause of final release. But such a suspicion is inadmissible since it is known from *Sruti* and *Smṛiti* that knowledge completely destroys the potentiality of action. For *Sruti* says, 'The fetter of the heart is broken, all doubts are solved, all his works perish when He has been beheld who is high and low' (*Mu. Up. II, 2, 8*); and, 'When the memory remains firm, then all the ties are loosened' (*Kh. Up. VII, 26, 2*). And *Smṛiti* similarly says, 'As a fire well kindled, O Arguna, reduces fuel to ashes, so the fire of knowledge reduces all actions to ashes;' and, 'As seeds burned by fire do not sprout again, so the Self is not again touched by the afflictions which knowledge has burned.' Nor is it possible that when the afflictions such as ignorance and the like are burned, the aggregate of works which is the seed of affliction should be partly burned, but partly keep the power of again springing up; not any more than the seed of the *Sāli*, when burned, preserves the power of sprouting again with some part. The aggregate of works, however, whose fruits have once begun to develop themselves comes to rest through effecting a delay which terminates with the death of the body, just as an arrow discharged stops in the end owing to the gradual cessation of its impetus; this in agreement with *Kh. Up. VI, 14, 2*, 'For him there is only delay,' &c. We have thus shown that persons to whom an office is

<sup>1</sup> *Utpadyamānānām aparimushitasmaratve-pi gâtismaratvam eva na vasish/hâdinânatvam ity âraṅkyâha na kēti. Ān. Gi.*



entrusted last as long as their office lasts, and that nevertheless there is absolutely only one result of true knowledge.—In accordance with this, scripture declares that the result of knowledge on the part of all beings is equally final release, cp. ‘So whatever Deva was awakened he indeed became that, and the same with *Rīshis* and men’ (*Bṛi. Up. I, 4, 10*). Moreover<sup>1</sup> it may be the case that (some) great *rīshis* had attached their minds to other cognitions whose result is lordly power and the like, and that later on only when they became aware of the transitory nature of those results they turned from them and fixed their minds on the highest Self, whereby they obtained final release. As *Smṛiti* says, ‘When the mahāpralaya has arrived and the highest (i.e. *Hiranyagarbha*) himself comes to an end, then they all, with well-prepared minds, reach together with Brahman the highest place.’—Another reason precluding the suspicion that true knowledge may be destitute of its result is that that result is the object of immediate intuition. In the case of such results of action as the heavenly world and the like which are not present to intuitional knowledge, there may be a doubt; but not so in the case of the fruit of true knowledge, with regard to which scripture says, ‘The Brahman which is present to intuition, not hidden’ (*Bṛi. Up. III, 4, 1*), and which in the passage, ‘That art thou,’ is referred to as something already accomplished. This latter passage cannot be interpreted to mean, ‘Thou wilt be that after thou hast died;’ for another Vedic passage declares that the fruit of complete knowledge, viz. union with the universal Self, springs up at the moment when complete knowledge is attained, ‘The *Rīshi Vāmadeva* saw and understood it, singing, “I was Manu, I was the sun.”’

For all these reasons we maintain that those who possess true knowledge reach in all cases final release.

### 33. But the (denials of) conceptions concerning the

<sup>1</sup> *Api ka nādhikāravatām sarveshām rīshīnām āmatattvagñānam tenāvyāpakoऽpy ayam pūrvapaksha ity āha gñānāntareshu kēti. Bhā.*

akshara are to be comprehended (in all meditations on the akshara), on account of the equality and of the object being the same, as in the case of the upasad; this has been explained (in the Pûrva Mîmâmsâ).

We read in the Vâgasaneyaka, 'O Gârî, the Brâhmanas call this the Akshara. It is neither coarse, nor fine, nor short, nor long,' &c. (*Bri. Up.* III, 8, 8). Similarly the Âtharvâna says, 'The higher knowledge is that by which the Indestructible is apprehended. That which cannot be seen nor seized, which has no family and no caste,' &c. (*Mu. Up.* I, 1, 5; 6). In other places also the highest Brahman, under the name of Akshara, is described as that of which all qualities are to be denied. Now in some places qualities are denied of Brahman which are not denied in other places, and hence a doubt arises whether the mental conception of these particular denials is to form part of all those passages or not.

To the assertion of the pûrvapakshin that each denial is valid only for that passage in which the text actually exhibits it, we make the following reply.—The conceptions of the akshara, i.e. the conceptions of the particular denials concerning the akshara, are to be included in all those passages, 'on account of the equality and on account of the same object being referred to.' The equality consists therein that all the texts alluded to convey an idea of Brahman in the same way, viz. by denying of it all attributes; and we recognise in all of them the same object of instruction, viz. the one undivided Brahman. Why then should the conceptions stated in one passage not be valid for all others also? To the present case the same argumentation applies which had been made use of under III, 3, 11. There positive attributes were discussed; here we are concerned with negative ones. The division of the discussion into two (instead of disposing of positive and negative attributes in one *adhikarâna*) is due to the wish of explaining the differences in detail.—The clause, 'as in the case of the upasads,' introduces a parallel case. For

the *Gāmadagnya-ahina-sacrifice*<sup>1</sup> the text enjoins that the upasad offerings are to consist of *puroḍāśas*. Now although the mantras accompanying the offering of the *puroḍāśas* are originally enjoined in the Veda of the *Udgātrīs* (*Tāndya Brā.* XXI, 10, 11, 'Agni, promote the hotra,' &c.), yet they are to be enounced by the *adhvaryu*; for the offering of the *puroḍāśas* is the work of the *adhvaryu*, and subordinate matters (i.e. here, the mantras) are governed by the principal matter (i.e. the offering of the *puroḍāśa*). Similarly, in the case under discussion, the attributes of the *akshara* have, because they are subordinate to the *akshara* itself, to be connected with the latter everywhere, in whatever places the text may originally state them.—The principle of decision employed is explained in the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā-sūtras* III, 3, 9.

34. On account of (the same) number being recorded.

The *Ātharvanikas* exhibit, with reference to the Self, the following mantra, 'Two birds, inseparable friends, cling to the same tree. One of them eats the sweet fruit, the other looks on without eating' (*Mu. Up.* III, 1, 1). The same mantra is found in the text of the *Svetāsvatara* (IV, 6). The *Kaṭhas* again read, 'There are the two drinking their reward in the world of their own works, entered into the cave, dwelling on the highest summit. Those who know Brahman call them shade and light, likewise those householders who perform the *Trināṭiketa-sacrifice*.'—The doubt here arises whether the two sections introduced by these mantras constitute one *vidyā* or two *vidyās*. Here the *pūrvapakshin* maintains that we have to do with two separate *vidyās*, because the texts exhibit certain differences. For the mantra of the *Mundaka* and *Svetāsvatara Upanishads* represents one bird as enjoying and the other as not enjoying; while in the mantra of the *Kaṭhas*

<sup>1</sup> I.e. a sacrifice lasting four days, called *Gāmadagnya*, because first offered by *Gamadagni*. Cp. *Taitt. Samh.* VII, 1, 9.

both are said to enjoy.—As thus the objects of knowledge differ in character, the vidyâs themselves must be looked upon as separate.

To this we make the following reply. The vidyâ is one only because both mantras exhibit the character of the objects of knowledge as one and the same, viz. as defined by the number two.—But has not the pûrvapakshin shown that there exists a certain difference of character?—By no means, we reply. Both texts intimate one and the same matter, viz. the Lord together with the individual soul. In the *Mundaka*-text the clause, 'The other looks on without eating,' intimates the highest Self which is raised above all desire; the same highest Self forms also the subject of the complementary passage, 'But when he sees the other Lord contented.' And the *Kaṭha*-text intimates the same highest Self which is raised above all desire; only, as it is mentioned together with the enjoying individual soul, it is itself metaphorically spoken of as enjoying; just as we speak of the 'men with the umbrella,' although only one out of several carries an umbrella. For that in the *Kaṭha*-text also the highest Self forms the general subject-matter we have to conclude from the preceding passage, 'That which thou seest as neither this nor that' (I, 2, 14), and from the complementary passage referring to the same Self, 'Which is a bridge for sacrificers, which is the highest imperishable Brahman' (I, 3, 2). All this has been explained at length under I, 2, 11. As therefore there is one object of knowledge only, the vidyâ also is one.—Moreover, if we carefully examine the context of the three mantras quoted, we observe that they are concerned merely with the knowledge of the highest Self, and that they mention the individual soul not as a new object of instruction but merely to show its identity with the highest Self. And that, as far as the knowledge of the highest Self is concerned, the question as to the oneness or separateness of vidyâs cannot be even raised, we have already shown above. The present Sûtra therefore merely aims at a fuller discussion of the matter, the practical outcome of which is that any particulars stated in one of the texts only have to be supplied in the others also.

35. As the Self is within all, as in the case of the aggregate of the elements, (there is oneness of vidyâ).

The Vāgasaneyins record, in the questions asked by Ushasta and by Kahola, the same passage twice in succession, 'Tell me the Brahman which is present to intuition, not hidden ; the Self who is within all' (*Bṛi. Up. III, 4, 1 ; 5, 1*).—The question here presents itself whether the two sections introduced by the questions constitute one vidyâ only or two separate vidyâs.

Two separate vidyâs, the pūrvapakshin maintains ; owing to the force of repetition. For if the second passage added nothing to—or took nothing away from—the contents of the first, the repetition would be altogether meaningless. We therefore conclude that the repetition intimates the separateness of the two vidyâs, just as in the Pūrvā Mīmāṃsā repetition shows two sacrificial actions to be separate.

To this we make the following reply. As both texts equally declare the Self to be within all, they must be taken as constituting one vidyâ only. In both passages question and answer equally refer to a Self which is within everything. For in one body there cannot be two Selves, each of which is inside everything else. One Self indeed may without difficulty be within everything, but of a second one this could not be predicated, not any more than of the aggregate of the elements ; i.e. the case of that second Self is analogous to that of the aggregate of the five elements, i.e. the body. In the body the element of water is indeed within the element of earth, and the element of fire within the element of water ; but each of these elements is 'within all' in a relative sense only, not in the literal sense of the phrase.—Or else the 'like the aggregate of the elements (or beings)' of the Sūtra has to be taken as pointing to another scriptural passage, viz. *Sve. Up. VI, 11*, 'He is the one god, hidden in all beings, all-pervading, the Self within all beings.' As this mantra records that one Self lives within the aggregate of all beings,

the same holds good with regard to the two Brāhmaṇa-passages. And the object of knowledge being one, the vidyā also is one only.

36. If it be said that otherwise the separation (of the statements) cannot be accounted for; we reply that it is (here) as in the case of other instructions.

We yet have to refute the remark made by the pūrva-pakshin that, unless the separateness of the two vidyās be admitted, the separation of the two statements cannot be accounted for. We do this by pointing to analogous cases. In the sixth prapāṭhaka of the upanishad of the Tāndins the instruction conveyed in the words, 'That is the Self, thou art that, O Svetaketu,' is repeated nine times, and yet the one vidyā is not thereby split into many. Similarly in our case.—But how do you know that the vidyā remains one and the same in spite of the ninefold repetition?—Because, we reply, the introductory and concluding clauses show that all those passages have the same sense. For the repeated request on the part of Svetaketu, 'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' shows that one and the same matter is again and again proposed for further discussion, and further instruction regarding it is repeatedly given by means of new doubts being removed. Similarly, in the case under discussion, the sameness of form of the two introductory questions and the equality of the concluding clauses, 'Everything else is of evil,' show that both sections refer to one and the same matter.—Moreover, in the second question the text adds the word 'just' (eva), 'Tell me just that Brahman,' &c., which shows that the second question refers to the same matter as the first one. That the matter of the two sections is really the same, we establish by pointing out that the former section declares the existence of the highest Self which is neither cause nor effect, while the latter qualifies it as that which transcends all the attributes of the Samsāra state, such as hunger, thirst, and so on.—The two sections, therefore, form one vidyā only.

37. There is exchange (of meditation), for the texts distinguish (two meditations); as in other cases.

The Aitareyins declare with reference to the person in the sun, 'What I am, that is he; what he is, that am I' (Ait. Âr. II, 2, 4, 6). And the Gābālas say, 'I am thou indeed, O reverend divinity, and thou art I indeed.'—The doubt here arises whether the reflection founded upon this text is to be a double one 'by means of exchange' (i.e. whether the soul is to be meditated upon as āditya and āditya as the soul), or a simple one (the soul only being meditated upon as āditya).

The pūrvapakshin maintains the latter view; for, he says, the text cannot possibly propose as matter of meditation anything but the oneness of the individual soul with the Lord. For if we assumed that two different forms of meditation are intended, viz. firstly the soul's being the Self of the Lord, and, secondly, the Lord's being the Self of the soul, the soul indeed would be exalted by the former meditation, but the Lord, at the same time, be lowered by the latter one. We therefore conclude that the meditation is to be of one kind only, and that the double form, in which the text exhibits it, merely aims at confirming the oneness of the Self.

To this we make the following reply. 'Exchange' is expressly recorded in the text for the purposes of meditation, just as other qualities (of the Self), such as its being the Self of all, &c., are recorded for the same purpose. For both texts make the distinctive double enunciation, 'I am thou,' and 'Thou art I.' Now this double enunciation has a sense only if a twofold meditation is to be based upon it; otherwise it would be devoid of meaning, since one statement would be all that is required.—But has not the pūrvapakshin urged above that this your explanation involves a lowering of the Lord, who is thereby represented as having the transmigrating soul for his Self?—Never mind, we reply; even in that way only the unity of the Self is meditated upon.—But does your explanation

then not come to that of the *pûrvapakshin*, viz. that the double statement is merely meant to confirm the oneness of the Self?—We do not, our reply is, deny that the text confirms the oneness of the Self; we only want to prove that, on the ground of the text as it stands, a twofold meditation has to be admitted, not a simple one. That this virtually confirms the unity of the Self we admit; just as the instruction about (the Lord's) possessing such qualities as having only true wishes, and so on—which instruction is given for the purpose of meditation—at the same time proves the existence of a Lord endowed with such qualities.—Hence the double relation enounced in the text has to be meditated upon, and is to be transferred to other *vidyâs* also which treat of the same subject.

38. For the True and so on are one and the same (*vidyâ*).

The text of the *Vâgasaneyaka*, after having enjoined the knowledge of the True, together with a meditation on the syllables of its name ('Whosoever knows this great glorious first-born as the true Brahman,' &c., *Bri. Up.* V, 4, 1), continues, 'Now what is the True, that is the *Âditya*, the person that dwells in yonder orb, and the person in the right eye' (V, 5, 2).—The doubt here arises whether the text enjoins two *vidyâs* of the True or one only.

Two, the *pûrvapakshin* maintains. For the text declares two different results, one in the earlier passage, 'He conquers these worlds' (V, 4, 1); the other one later on, 'He destroys evil and leaves it' (V, 5, 3). And what our opponent may call a reference to the subject-matter under discussion<sup>1</sup>, is merely due to the circumstance of the object of meditation being the same (in the two *vidyâs*).

To this we make the following reply.—There is only one *vidyâ* of the True, because the clause, 'That which is the True,' &c., refers back to that True which is treated

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the clause in V, 5, 2, 'That which is the true,' which apparently—or really—connects the *vidyâ* of V, 5 with that of V, 4.



of in V, 4.—But has not the pûrvapakshin shown that the clause alluded to can be accounted for even on the supposition of there being two vidyâs?—The reasoning of the pûrvapakshin, we reply, would be admissible only if the separateness of the two vidyâs were established by some other clear and undoubted reason; in our case, however, there is a general possibility of both (viz. of the vidyâs being separate or not), and the very circumstance that the mentioned clause contains a back reference to the True spoken of in V, 4, determines us to conclude that there is only one vidyâ of the True.—To the remark that there must be two vidyâs because the text states two different results, we reply that the statement of a second result merely has the purpose of glorifying the new instruction given about the True, viz. that its secret names are ahar and aham. Moreover, as in the case under discussion, the fruit of the vidyâ has really to be supplied from its arthavâda part<sup>1</sup>, and as there is unity of vidyâ, all those fruits which the text states in connexion with the single parts of the vidyâ are to be combined and put in connexion with the vidyâ taken as a whole.—The conclusion therefore is that the text records only one vidyâ of the True, distinguished by such and such details, and that hence all the qualities mentioned, such as Truth and so on, are to be comprehended in one act of meditation.

Some commentators are of opinion that the above Sûtra refers (not to the question whether *Brî.* Up. V, 4 and V, 5 constitute one vidyâ but) to the question whether the Vâgasaneyaka-passage about the persons in the sun and in the eye, and the similar *Khândogya*-passage (I, 6, 6, 'Now that golden person who is seen within the sun,' &c.) form one vidyâ or not. They conclude that they do so, and that hence truth and the other qualities mentioned in

---

<sup>1</sup> For the vidyâ contains no explicit statement that a man desirous of such and such a fruit is to meditate on the True in such and such a way.—That in cases where the fruit is not stated in a vidhi-passage it must be supplied from the arthavâda-passages, is taught in the Pû. Mî. Sû. IV, 3, eighth adhikaraṇa.

the Vāgasaneyaka are to be combined with the *Khândogya*-text also.—But this interpretation of the Sūtra appears objectionable. For the *Khândogya*-vidyā refers to the udgītha and is thus connected with sacrificial acts, marks of which connexion are exhibited in the beginning, the middle, and the end of the vidyā. Thus we read at the beginning, 'The *Rik* is the earth, the *Sāman* is fire ;' in the middle, '*Rik* and *Sāman* are his joints and therefore he is udgītha ;' and in the end, 'He who knowing this sings a *Sāman*' (*Kh. Up.* I, 6, 1 ; 8 ; I, 7, 7). In the Vāgasaneyaka, on the other hand, there is nothing to connect the vidyā with sacrificial acts. As therefore the subject-matter is different, the vidyās are separate and the details of the two are to be held apart.

39. (Having true) wishes and other (qualities) (have to be combined) there and here, on account of the abode and so on.

In the chapter of the *Khândogya* which begins with the passage, 'There is this city of Brahman and in it the palace, the small lotus, and in it that small ether' (VIII, 1, 1), we read, 'That is the Self free from sin, free from old age, from death and grief, from hunger and thirst, whose desires are true, whose imaginations are true.' A similar passage is found in the text of the Vāgasaneyins, 'He is that great unborn Self who consists of knowledge, is surrounded by the *Prāṇas*, the ether within the heart. In it there reposes the ruler of all' (*Bṛi. Up.* IV, 4, 22).

A doubt here arises whether these two passages constitute one vidyā, and whether the particulars stated in one text are to be comprehended within the other text also.

There is oneness of vidyā<sup>1</sup>.—Here (the Sūtrakāra) says, 'Wishes and so on,' i. e. 'The quality of having true wishes and so on' (the word *kāma* standing for *satyakāma*, just

<sup>1</sup> This clause must apparently be taken as stating the *siddhānta*-view, although later on it is said that the two vidyās are distinct (that, however, in spite of their distinctness, their details have to be combined).

as people occasionally say Datta for Devadatta and Bhāmā for Satyabhāmā). This quality and the other qualities, which the *Khândogya* attributes to the ether within the heart, have to be combined with the *Vâgasaneyaka*-passage, and vice versâ the qualities stated in the *Vâgasaneyaka*, such as being the ruler of all, have also to be ascribed to the Self free from sin, proclaimed in the *Khândogya*. The reason for this is that the two passages display a number of common features. Common to both is the heart viewed as abode, common again is the Lord as object of knowledge, common also is the Lord being viewed as a bank preventing these worlds from being confounded; and several other points.—But, an objection is raised, there are also differences. In the *Khândogya* the qualities are attributed to the ether within the heart, while in the *Vâgasaneyaka* they are ascribed to Brahman abiding in that ether.—This objection, we reply, is unfounded, for we have shown under I, 3, 14 that the term ‘ether’ in the *Khândogya* designates Brahman.

There is, however, the following difference between the two passages. The *Khândogya*-vidyâ has for its object the qualified Brahman, as we see from the passage VIII, 1, 6, ‘But those who depart from hence after having discovered the Self and those true desires,’ in which certain desires are represented as objects of knowledge equally as the Self. In the *Vâgasaneyaka*, on the other hand, the highest Brahman devoid of all qualities forms the object of instruction, as we conclude from the consideration of the request made by Ganaka, ‘Speak on for the sake of emancipation,’ and the reply given by Yâgñavalkya, ‘For that person is not attached to anything’ (*Bri. Up.* IV, 3, 14; 15). That the text ascribes to the Self such qualities as being the Lord of all and the like is (not for the purpose of teaching that the Self really possesses those qualities, but is) merely meant to glorify the Self. Later on also (IV, 5, 15) the chapter winds up with a passage clearly referring to the Self devoid of all qualities, ‘That Self is to be described by No, no!’ But as the qualified Brahman is (fundamentally) one (with the unqualified Brahman), we

must conclude that the Sūtra teaches the combination of the qualities to the end of setting forth the glory of Brahman, not for the purpose of devout meditation.

40. On account of (the passage showing) respect, there is non-omission (of the *prāṇāgnihotra*) (even when the eating of food is omitted).

We read in the *Khândogya* under the heading of the *Vaisvânara-vidyâ*, 'Therefore the first food which comes is in the place of Homa. And he who offers that first oblation should offer it to *Prâṇa*, saying *Svâhâ*' (*Kh. Up. V, 19, 1*). The text thereupon enjoins five oblations, and later on applies to them the term '*Agnihotra*;' 'He who thus knowing this offers the *agnihotra*,' and 'As hungry children here on earth sit round their mother, so do all beings sit round the *agnihotra*' (*V, 24, 2; 4*).

Here the doubt arises whether the *agnihotra* offered to the *prâṇas* is to be omitted when the eating itself is omitted or not.—As, according to the clause, 'The first food which comes,' &c., the oblation is connected with the coming of food, and as the coming of food subserves the eating, the *agnihotra* offered to the *prâṇas* is omitted when the eating is omitted.—Against this conclusion the Sūtra (embodying the *pûrvapaksha*) declares, 'It is not omitted.'—Why?—'On account of the respect.' This means: In their version of the *Vaisvânara-vidyâ* the *Gâbâlas* read as follows: 'He (i.e. the host) is to eat before his guests; for (if he would make them eat first) it would be as if he without having himself offered the *agnihotra* offered that of another person.' This passage, which objects to the priority of the eating on the part of the guests and establishes priority on the part of the host, thereby intimates respect for the *agnihotra* offered to the *prâṇas*. For as it does not allow the omission of priority it will allow all the less the omission of that which is characterised by priority, viz. the *agnihotra* offered to the *prâṇas*.—But (as mentioned above) the connexion—established by the *Khândogya*-passage—of the oblation with the coming of food—which subserves the eating—establishes the omission of the ob-

lation in the case of the eating being omitted!—Not so, the *pûrvapakshin* replies. The purpose of that passage is to enjoin some particular material (to be offered). For the fundamental *agnihotra* certain materials, such as milk and so on, are exclusively prescribed. Now, as through the term '*agnihotra*' (which the text applies to the offering to the *prâṇas*) all the particulars belonging to the fundamental *agnihotra* are already established for the secondary *agnihotra* also (viz. the oblation made to the *prâṇas*), just as in the case of the *ayana* of the *Kundapâyins*<sup>1</sup>; the clause, 'the first food which comes,' &c., is meant to enjoin, for the *prâṇâgnihotra*, some particular secondary matter, viz. the circumstance of food constituting the material of the oblation<sup>2</sup>. Hence, considering the *Mīmāṃsâ* principle that the omission of a secondary matter does not involve the omission of the principal matter, we conclude that even in the case of the omission of eating, the *agnihotra* offered to the *prâṇas* has to be performed by means of water or some other not altogether unsuitable material, according to the *Mīmāṃsâ* principle that in the absence of the prescribed material some other suitable material may be substituted.

To this *pûrvapaksha* the next *Sûtra* replies.

41. When (eating) is taking place, (the *prâṇâgnihotra* has to be performed) from that (i.e. the food first eaten); on the ground of the passage declaring this.

When eating is actually taking place, 'from that,' i.e. with that material of food which first presents itself, the *agnihotra* offered to the *prâṇas* is to be effected.—On what

<sup>1</sup> For one of the great sacrifices lasting a whole year—called the *ayana* of the *Kundapâyins*—the texts enjoin the offering of the '*agnihotra*' during a full month (cp. e.g. *Tândya Mahâbrâhmana* XXV, 4). Now from the term '*agnihotra*' we conclude that all the details of the ordinary *agnihotra* are valid for the *agnihotra* of the *ayana* also.

<sup>2</sup> Whereby the materials offered in the ordinary *agnihotra* are superseded.

ground?—‘On the ground of the passage declaring this.’ For the clause, ‘The first food which a man may take is in the place of a homa,’ enjoins the circumstance of the oblations to the *prâṇas* being effected by means of a material (primarily) subserving another purpose (viz. eating), as appears from its referring to the presentation of food as something accomplished (i. e. accomplished independently of the oblations; not tending to accomplish the oblations). How then should these oblations—which are characterised as not having any motive power with regard to the employment of the food—be capable of causing us to substitute, in the absence of eating, some other material (than food)?—Nor is it true that there are already established, for the *prâṇâgnihotra*, all the details belonging to the fundamental *agnihotra*. In the case of the *ayana* of the *Kundapâyins*, the term ‘*agnihotra*’ forms part of the injunctive passage, ‘They offer the *agnihotra* during a month,’ and therefore may have the force of enjoining a general character of the sacrifice identical with that of the fundamental *agnihotra*; and it is therefore appropriate to consider the details of the latter as valid for the *agnihotra* of the *Kundapâyins* also. In the case of the so-called *prâṇâgnihotra*, on the other hand, the term ‘*agnihotra*’ occurs in an *arthavâda*-passage only, and does not therefore possess an analogous injunctive force. If, again, we admitted that the details of the fundamental *agnihotra* are valid for the *prâṇâgnihotra* also, such details as the transference of the fire (from the *gârhapatya* fire to the two other fires) would be likewise valid. But this is impossible, as the transference of the fire is made for the purpose of establishing a fire-place in which the oblations are made; in our case, on the other hand, the oblations are not made in the fire at all—because that would interfere with their being used as food, and because they are connected with a material procured for the purpose of eating,—but are made in the mouth (of the eater). Thus the text of the *Gâbâlas* also, ‘He is to eat before the guests,’ shows that the accomplishment of the oblation has the mouth for its abode. For the same reason (i. e. because the details of the fundamental *agnihotra* are

not valid for the *prâṇāgni*hotra) the text declares the subordinate members of the *agni*hotra to be present here (i.e. in the *prâṇāgni*hotra) in the way of fanciful combination only, 'the chest is the *vedi*, the hairs the sacrificial grass, the heart the *Gârhapatya* fire, the mind the *Anvâhârya-pakana* fire, the mouth the *Âhavaniya* fire.' By the *vedi* mentioned in this passage we have to understand a levelled spot, as in the fundamental *agni*hotra there is no *vedi*, and as the intention of the passage is to effect a fanciful combination of the members of the fundamental *agni*hotra (with members of the *prâṇāgni*hotra).—And as the *prâṇāgni*hotra is connected with eating which has its definite times, it is also not possible that it should be restricted to the time enjoined for the fundamental *agni*hotra. In the same way other particulars also of the fundamental *agni*hotra, such as the so-called *upasthâna*, cannot be reconciled with the requirements of the *prâṇāgni*hotra. From all this it follows that the five oblations, as connected with their respective mantras, materials, and divinities, have to be performed only in the case of food being eaten.—With reference to the passage showing 'respect,' we remark that it is meant to intimate priority (of the host), in the case of food being actually eaten. But the passage has no power to declare that the offering of the *prâṇāgni*hotra is of permanent obligation.—It therefore is a settled conclusion that the *prâṇāgni*hotra is omitted when the eating of food is omitted.

42. There is non-restriction of the assertions concerning them (i.e. the assertions made concerning certain sacrificial acts are not permanently connected with those acts), because this is seen (in scripture); for a separate fruit, viz. non-obstruction (of the success of the sacrifice), (belongs to them).

We meet in the Vedânta-texts with certain *vidyâs* which are founded on matters subordinate to sacrificial acts. To this class belongs, e.g. the first *vidyâ* of the *Khândogya Upanishad*, 'Let a man meditate on the syllable *Om* as *udgîtha*.'—We now enter on an inquiry whether those

vidyās are permanently connected with the acts in the same way as the circumstance of being made of *parṇa*-wood is permanently connected with all sacrifices in which the *guhû* (the sacrificial ladle) is used; or if they are non-permanent like the vessel called *godohana*<sup>1</sup>. The *pûrva-pakshin* maintains that the meditations are permanently connected with the sacrificial acts, because they also are comprised within the scriptural enouncements concerning performances. For they also do not stand under some special heading<sup>2</sup>, and as they are connected with the sacrifice through the *udgîtha* and so on, they combine themselves, like other subordinate members, with the scriptural statements as to the performance of the sacrifice.

If against the doctrine of the meditations forming permanent parts of the sacrificial performances it should be urged, that in the chapters containing them special results are mentioned (which seem to constitute the meditations into independent acts), as e.g. in the passage, 'he indeed becomes a fulfiller of desires' (*Kh. Up. I, 1, 7*); we reply that those statements of results being given in the text in the present form only (not in an injunctive form), are mere

<sup>1</sup> The question is raised whether the meditations, enjoined in the Upanishads, on certain parts or elements of sacrificial acts, are permanently connected with the latter, i.e. are to be undertaken whenever the sacrificial act is performed, or not.—In the former case they would stand to the sacrifice in the same relation as the *parṇamayîta*, i.e. the quality of being made of *parṇa*-wood, does. Just as the latter is connected with the sacrifice by means of the *guhû*—the sacrificial ladle,—so the meditation on the syllable *Om*, e.g. would be connected with the sacrifice by means of that syllable.—In the latter case, i.e. in the case of being connected with the sacrifice on certain occasions only, the *upâsana* is analogous to the *godohana*-vessel which is used in the *darsapûrṇamâsa*-sacrifice instead of the usual *ḥamasa*, only if the sacrificer specially wishes for cattle.—See *Pû. Mf. Sû. III, 6, 1*; *IV, 1, 2*.

<sup>2</sup> Like the statement about the *parṇamayîta* of the *guhû* which the sacred text does not exhibit under some particular *prakaraṇa*, but *ex abrupto* as it were; on which account it is to be connected with the sacrifice in general.



arthavāda-passages—like the statement about him whose guhû is made of parna-wood hearing no evil sound—and thus do not aim at enjoining certain results.—Hence, just as the statement about being made of parna-wood—which does not occur under a definite prakaraṇa—connects itself, by means of the sacrificial ladle, with the sacrifice, and thus forms a permanent element of the latter no less than if it were actually made under the heading of the sacrifice ; so the meditations on the udgîtha, &c., also form permanent parts of the sacrifices.

To this we make the following reply. 'There is non-restriction of the assertions concerning them.' That means : the assertions which the text makes concerning the nature of certain subordinate members of sacrificial acts such as the udgîtha and so on—as e. g. that the udgîtha is the best of all essences (*Kh. Up. I, 1, 3*), the fulfiller of desires (*I, 1, 7*), a gratifier of desires (*I, 1, 8*), the chief prâṇa (*I, 2, 7*), Âditya (*I, 3, 1*)—cannot be permanently connected with the sacrificial acts in the same way as other permanent members are, 'because that is seen,' i. e. because scripture shows that they are not so permanently connected. For scripture allows also such as are not acquainted with the details mentioned above to perform the sacrificial actions (cp. the passage *I, 1, 10*, 'Therefore both he who knows this, and he who does not, perform the sacrifice'), and declares that even those priests, Prastotri and so on, who are devoid of the knowledge of the divinities of the prastâva and the like, do perform the sacrifices 'Prastotri, if you without knowing the deity which belongs to the prastâva are going to sing it,' &c. (*I, 10, 9* and ff.).—The sacred text moreover declares that the vidyâs founded on certain elements of sacrificial acts have results of their own, apart from those acts, viz. 'non-obstruction' in the accomplishment of the fruit of the sacrifice, i. e. a certain additional success of the sacrifice, cp. the passage *I, 1, 10*, 'Therefore he who knows this and he who does not perform the sacrifice. But knowledge and ignorance are separate. The sacrifice which a man performs with knowledge, faith, and the Upanishad is more powerful.' The declaration made in this passage

that the performances of him who knows and of him who does not know are separate, and the employment of the comparative form ('more powerful') show that even the sacrifice destitute of the vidyā is powerful. But how would that be possible if the vidyā formed a permanent necessary part of the sacrifice? In the latter case a sacrifice devoid of that vidyā could never be admitted to be powerful; for it is an established principle that only those sacrifices are effective which comprise all subordinate members. Thus the text also teaches definite results for each meditation, in the section treating of the meditation on the Sāman as the worlds and others: 'The worlds in an ascending and in a descending line belong to him,' &c. (*Kh. Up. II, 2, 3*).—Nor must we understand those declarations of results to be mere arthavādas; for in that case they would have to be taken as stating a secondary matter only, while if understood to teach certain results they may be taken in their principal (i. e. direct, literal) sense<sup>1</sup>. The case of the results which scripture declares to be connected with the prayāgas e.g. is of a different nature. For the prayāgas are enjoined with reference to a sacrifice (viz. the darsapūrṇamāsa) which requires certain definite modes of procedure (such as the offering of the prayāgas and the like), and hence subserve that sacrifice; so that the passage stating a fruit for the prayāgas has to be considered as a mere arthavāda-passage<sup>2</sup>. In the case again of the quality of consisting of parṇa-wood—which quality is stated ex abrupto, not under a definite heading—no special result can be assumed; for as a quality is not an act it cannot be connected with any result unless it be joined to something to abide in. The use of the godohana indeed may have its own injunction of

<sup>1</sup> The statement as to the result of an action is a 'statement of a principal matter' if it is really meant to inform us that a certain result will attend a certain action. It is a statement of a 'secondary matter' if it is only meant to glorify the action.

<sup>2</sup> Not as a passage enjoining a special result for the prayāgas; for the latter merely help to bring about the general result of the darsapūrṇamāsa and have no special result of their own.

result, for it does possess such an abode—viz. the act of water being carried (in it)—with reference to which it is enjoined. So again a special fruit may be enjoined for the case of the sacrificial post being made of bilva-wood; for this latter quality likewise has an abode, viz. the sacrificial post with reference to which it is enjoined. But in the case of the quality of consisting of parṇa-wood there is no such established abode under the heading of which that quality is enjoined; and if we assumed that the sentence ('He whose guhû is made of parṇa-wood hears no evil sound') after intimating that the quality of consisting of parṇa-wood resides in the guhû is also meant to enjoin the fruit thereof, we should impute to the text the imperfection called 'split of the sentence.'—The meditations on the other hand are themselves acts, and as such capable of a special injunction; hence there is no reason why a special result should not be enjoined for those meditations which are based on sacrificial acts. The conclusion therefore is that the meditations on the udgîtha, &c., although based on sacrifices, are yet not necessary members of the latter, because they have results of their own like the use of the godohana-vessel. For this reason the authors of the Kalpa-sûtras have not represented such meditations as belonging to the sacrificial performances.

43. As in the case of the offerings, (Vâyu and Prâṇa must be held apart). This has been explained (in the Pûrva Mîmâṃsâ-sûtra).

The section of the Vâgasaneyaka which begins, 'Voice held, I shall speak' (Bṛi. Up. I, 5, 21), determines Prâṇa to be the best among the organs of the body, viz. speech and so on, and Vâyu to be the best among the Devas, viz. Agni and so on.—Similarly in the Khândogya, Vâyu is affirmed to be the general absorber of the Devas, 'Vâyu indeed is the absorber' (IV, 3, 1), while Prâṇa is said to be the general absorber of the organs of the body, 'Breath indeed is the absorber' (IV, 3, 3).—The doubt here arises whether Vâyu and Prâṇa are to be conceived as separate or not.

As non-separate, the pûrvapakshin maintains; because in

their true nature they do not differ. And as their true nature does not differ they must not be meditated upon separately. Another scriptural passage also declares that the organs of the body and the divinities are non-different in their true nature, 'Agni having become speech entered the mouth,' &c. (Ait. Âr. II, 4, 2, 4). Moreover, the passage *Bri. Up. I, 5, 13*, 'These are all alike, all endless,' declares that the powers of the Devas constitute the Self of the organs of the body. And various other passages also testify to the fundamental non-difference of the two. In some places we have even a direct identification of the two, 'What *Prâna* is, that is *Vâyu*.' And in the sloka concluding the *Vâgasaneyaka*-chapter to which the passage under discussion belongs, the text refers to *prâna* only ('He verily rises from the breath and sets in the breath'), and thus shows the breath to be one with the previously mentioned *Vâyu*. This conclusion is moreover confirmed by the fact that the observance enjoined in the end refers to *prâna* only, 'Therefore let a man perform one observance only, let him breathe up and let him breathe down' (*Bri. Up. I, 5, 23*). Similarly, the *Khândogya*-passage, IV, 3, 6, 'One god swallowed the four great ones,' intimates that there is one absorber only, and does not say that one god is the absorber of the one set of four, and another the absorber of the other set of four.—From all this it follows that *Vâyu* and *Prâna* are to be conceived as one.

To this we make the following reply. *Vâyu* and *Prâna* are to be conceived separately, because the text teaches them in separation. The separate instruction given by the text with reference to the organs and the Devas for the purposes of meditation would be meaningless if the meditations were not held apart.—But the *pûrvapakshin* maintains that owing to the essential non-difference of *Vâyu* and *Prâna* the meditations are not to be separated!—Although, we reply, there may be non-difference of true nature, yet there may be difference of condition giving rise to difference of instruction, and, through the latter, to difference of meditation. And although the introduction of the concluding sloka may be accounted for on the ground of its

showing the fundamental non-difference of the two, it yet has no power to sublimate the previously declared difference of the objects of meditation. Moreover, the text institutes a comparison between Vāyu and Prāṇa, which again shows that the two are different, 'And as it was with the central breath among the breaths, so it was with Vāyu, the wind among those deities' (*Bṛi. Up. I, 5, 22*).—This explains also the mention made of the observance (*I, 5, 23*). The word 'only' (in 'Let a man perform one observance only') has the purpose of establishing the observance with regard to Prāṇa, by sublimating the observances with regard to speech and so on, regarding which the text had remarked previously that they were disturbed by Death ('Death having become weariness took them'), and does not by any means aim at sublimating the observance with regard to Vāyu; for the section beginning 'Next follows the consideration of the observances' distinctly asserts that the observances of Vāyu and Prāṇa were equally unbroken.—Moreover, the text, after having said, 'Let a man perform one observance only,' declares in the end that the fruit of that observance is the obtaining of (union with) Vāyu ('Then he obtains through it union and oneness with that deity'), and thus shows that the observance with regard to Vāyu is not to be considered as sublimated. That by that 'deity' we have to understand Vāyu, we conclude from the circumstance that what the worshipper wishes to obtain is non-limitation of his Self<sup>1</sup>, and that previously the term 'deity' had been applied to Vāyu, 'Vāyu is the deity that never sets.'—Analogously in the *Khândogya*-passage the text represents Vāyu and Prāṇa as different, 'These are the two absorbers, Vāyu among the Devas, Prāṇa among the prāṇas,' and in the concluding paragraph also (*IV, 3, 8*) refers to them as distinct, 'These five and the other five make ten, and that is the *Kṛita*.'—For these reasons Vāyu and Prāṇa are to be conceived as different.

The Sūtra compares the case under discussion to a

<sup>1</sup> Agnyādīn apekshyānavakṣhino devo vāyus te tu tenaivāvakṣhinnā iti samvargaguno vāyur anavakṣhinnā devatā. Ān. Gi.

parallel one from the karmakāṇḍa, by means of the clause, 'as in the case of the offerings.' With regard to the ishṛī comprising three sacrificial cakes, which is enjoined in the passage, Taitt. Samh. II, 3, 6, 'A puroḍāsa on eleven potsherds to Indra the ruler, to Indra the over-ruler, to Indra the self-ruler,' it might be supposed that the three cakes are to be offered together because they are offered to one and the same Indra, and because the concluding sentence says, 'conveying to all (gods) he cuts off to preclude purposelessness.' But as the attributes (viz. 'ruler' and so on) differ, and as scripture enjoins that the yāgyā and anuvākyāmantras are to exchange places with regard to the different cakes<sup>1</sup>, the divinity is each time a different one according to the address, and from this it follows that the three offerings also are separate.—Thus, in the case under discussion, Vāyu and Prāṇa, although fundamentally non-different, are to be held apart as objects of meditation, and we have therefore to do with two separate meditations.—This is explained in the Saṅkarsha-kāṇḍa, 'The divinities are separate on account of their being cognized thus.'

But while in the case of the three puroḍāsas the difference of material and divinity involves a difference on the part of the oblations, we have in the case under discussion to do with one vidyā only; for that the text enjoins one vidyā only we conclude from the introductory and concluding statements. There is contained, however, in this one vidyā a double meditative activity with regard to the bodily organs and the divinities, just as the agnihotra which is offered in the morning as well as in the evening requires a double activity. In this sense the Sūtra says, 'as in the case of the offerings.'

44. On account of the majority of indicatory marks (the fire-altars built of mind, &c. do not form elements of any act); for this (i. e. the indicatory

<sup>1</sup> The yāgyā-mantra of the first offering being used as anuvākyā in the second one and so on.

mark) is stronger (than the general subject-matter) ; this also (has been explained in the Pū. Mī. Sūtras).

In the Agnirahasya of the Vāgasaneyins, in the Brāhmaṇa beginning 'for in the beginning indeed this was not existent,' we read with reference to mind (manas), 'It saw thirty-six thousand shining fire-altars, belonging to itself, made of mind, built of mind.' And, further on, the text makes similar statements about other fanciful fire-altars built of speech, built of breath, built of sight, built of hearing, built of work, built of fire.—A doubt here arises whether these fire-altars built of mind and so on are connected with the act (i.e. the construction of the fire-altar made of bricks), and supplementary to it, or whether they are independent, constituting a mere vidyā.

Against the primâ facie view that those agnis are connected with the sacrificial act under whose heading the text records them, the Sūtra maintains their independence, 'on account of the majority of indicatory marks.' For we meet in that Brāhmaṇa with a number of indicatory marks confirming that those agnis constitute a mere vidyā ; cp. e.g. the following passages : 'Whatever these beings conceive in their minds, that is a means for those fire-altars,' and 'All beings always pile up those fire-altars for him who thus knows, even when he sleeps,' and so on<sup>1</sup>.—And that indicatory marks (līṅga) are of greater force than the leading subject-matter (prakaraṇa) has been explained in the Pūrva Mimāṃsā (III, 3, 14).

45. (The agni built of mind, &c.) is a particular form of the preceding one (i.e. the agni built of bricks), on account of the leading subject-matter ; it is (part of) the act ; as in the case of the mānasa cup.

Your supposition, the pūrvapakshin objects, as to those fire-altars being not supplementary to the sacrificial act,

<sup>1</sup> For something which forms part of an act cannot be brought about by something so indefinite as 'whatever these beings conceive in their minds,' nor can it be accomplished indifferently at any time by any beings.

but altogether independent of it, is untenable. The influence of the leading subject-matter rather compels us to conclude that the instruction given by the text about the agni made of mind and so on, enjoins some particular mode of the same agni which the preceding sections describe as the outcome of a real act<sup>1</sup>.—But are not indicatory marks stronger than the leading subject-matter?—True in general; but indicatory marks such as those contained in the passages quoted above are by no means stronger than the general subject-matter. For as those passages are of the nature of glorifications of the fanciful fire-altars, the *līngas* (have no proving power in themselves but) merely illustrate some other matter (*viz.* the injunction to which those passages are *arthavādas*); and as they are of that nature they may, there being no other proof, be taken as mere *gunavādas*, and as such are not able to sublate the influence of the *prakaraṇa*. On the ground of the latter, therefore, all those fanciful agnis must be viewed as forming parts of the sacrificial action.

The case is analogous to that of the 'mental' (cup). On the tenth day of the Soma sacrifices occupying twelve days—which day is termed *avivākya*—a soma cup is offered mentally, the earth being viewed as the cup, the sea as the Soma and *Pragāpati* as the divinity to which the offering is made. All rites connected with that cup, *viz.* taking it up, putting it down in its place, offering the liquid in it, taking up the remaining liquid, the priests inviting one another to drink the remainder, and the drinking, all these rites the text declares to be mental only, *i.e.* to be done in thought only<sup>2</sup>. Yet this mental quasi-cup, as standing under the heading of a sacrificial act, forms part of that act.—The same then holds good with regard to the quasi-agnis made of mind and so on.

#### 46. And on account of the transfer (of particulars).

That those agnis enter into the sacrificial action follows

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* of the agni made of bricks which is the outcome of the *agnikāyana*.—*Ān. Gi.* explains *vikalpavishesha* by *prakārabhedha*.

<sup>2</sup> *Cp. Tāndya Brāh. IV, 9; Taitt. Samh. VII, 3, 1.*



moreover from the fact that the text extends to them (the injunctions given about the agni made of bricks). Compare the passage, 'Thirty-six thousand shining Agnis; each one of them is as large as the previously mentioned Agni.' Such extension of injunctions is possible only where there is general equality. The text therefore by extending the determinations relative to the previous agni, i.e. the agni built of bricks, which forms a constituent element of the sacrificial action, to the fanciful agnis, intimates thereby that they also form part of the sacrificial performance.

47. But (the agnis rather constitute) a vidyâ, on account of the assertion (made by the text).

The word 'but' sets aside the pûrvapaksha.—The agnis built of mind and so on are to be viewed not as complementary to a sacrificial action, but as independent and constituting a vidyâ of their own. For the text expressly asserts that 'they are built of knowledge (vidyâ) only,' and that 'by knowledge they are built for him who thus knows.'

48. And because (indicatory marks of that) are seen (in the text).

And that there are to be observed indicatory marks leading to the same conclusion, has already been declared in Sûtra 44.—But, under Sûtra 45, it was shown that indicatory marks unaided by other reasons cannot be admitted as proving anything, and it was consequently determined that, owing to the influence of the leading subject-matter, the Agnis form part of the sacrificial action!—To this objection the next Sûtra replies.

49. (The view that the agnis constitute an independent vidyâ) cannot be refuted, owing to the greater force of direct enunciation and so on.

Our opponent has no right to determine, on the ground of prakaraṇa, that the agnis are subordinate to the sacrificial action, and so to set aside our view according to which they are independent. For we know from the Pûrvâ Mīmāṃsâ that direct enunciation (Sruti), indicatory mark

(liṅga), and syntactical connexion (vākya) are of greater force than leading subject-matter (prakaraṇa), and all those three means of proof are seen to confirm our view of the agnis being independent. In the first place we have the direct enunciation, 'These agnis are indeed knowledge-piled only.' In the second place we have the indicatory mark supplied by the passage, 'All beings ever pile for him sleeping,' &c. And in the third place we have the sentence, 'By knowledge indeed those (agnis) are piled for him who thus knows.'

In the first of these passages the emphatical expression, 'built by knowledge only,' would be contradicted if we admitted that the agnis form part of the sacrificial action.—But may this emphatical phrase not merely have the purpose of indicating that those agnis are not to be accomplished by external means?—No, we reply, for if that were intended, it would be sufficient to glorify the fact of knowledge constituting the character of the agnis by means of the word 'knowledge-piled,' and the emphatical assertion (implied in the addition of the word 'only') would be useless. For it is the nature of such agnis to be accomplished without any external means. But, although the agnis are clearly to be accomplished without external means, yet it might be supposed that, like the mental cup, they form part of the sacrificial action, and the object of the emphatical assertion implied in 'only' is to discard that suspicion.—So likewise (to pass over to liṅga) the continuity of action implied in the passage, 'For him who thus knows whether sleeping or waking all beings always pile these agnis,' is possible only on the supposition of those agnis being independent. The case is analogous to that of the imaginary agnihotra consisting of speech and breath, with reference to which the text says at first, 'He offers his breath in his speech, he offers his speech in his breath,' and then adds, 'These two endless and immortal oblations he offers always whether waking or sleeping' (Kau. Up. II, 6).—If, on the other hand, the imaginary agnis were parts of the sacrificial action it would be impossible for them to be accomplished continually, since

the accomplishment of the sacrificial action itself occupies only a short time.—Nor may we suppose the passage (which contains the *līṅga*) to be a mere *arthavāda*-passage (in which case, as the *pūrvapakshin* avers, the *līṅga* would be unable to refute *prakaraṇa*). For in those cases where we meet with an unmistakeable injunctory passage—marked out as such by the use of the optative or imperative form—there indeed we may assume a glorificatory passage (met with in connexion with that injunctory passage) to be an *arthavāda*. In the present case, however, we observe no clear injunctory passage, and should therefore be obliged to construct one enjoining the knowledge of the various fanciful agnis, merely on the basis of the *arthavāda*-passage. But in that case the injunction can be framed only in accordance with the *arthavāda*, and as the *arthavāda* speaks of the continual building of the agnis, the latter item would have to appear in the injunction also. But, if so, it follows (as shown above) that the mental construction of those agnis constitutes an independent *vidyā* (and does not form part of the actual *agnikāyana*).—The same argumentation applies to the second *līṅga*-passage quoted above, ‘Whatever those beings conceive in their minds,’ &c.—And the sentence finally shows, by means of the clause, ‘For him who thus knows,’ that those agnis are connected with a special class of men (*viz.* those who thus know), and are therefore not to be connected with the sacrificial action.—For all these reasons the view of those agnis constituting an independent *vidyā* is preferable.

50. On account of the connexion and so on (the agnis built of mind, &c. are independent); in the same way as other cognitions are separate. And there is seen (another case of something having to be withdrawn from the leading subject-matter); this has been explained (in the *Pūva Mīmāṃsā-sūtras*).

Independence has, against the general subject-matter, to be assumed for the fire-altars built of mind and so on, for that reason also that the text connects the constituent

members of the sacrificial action with activities of the mind, &c.; viz. in the passage, 'With mind only they are established, with mind only they are piled, with mind only the cups were taken, with mind the udgâtrîs praised, with mind the hotrîs recited; whatever work is done at the sacrifice, whatever sacrificial work, was done as consisting of mind, by mind only, at those fire-altars made of mind, piled by mind,' &c. For that connexion has for its result an imaginative combination (of certain mental energies with the parts of the sacrifice), and the obtainment of the parts of the sacrifice which are objects of actual perception cannot be made dependent on such imaginative combination<sup>1</sup>. Nor must it be supposed that, because here also, as in the case of the meditation on the udgîtha, the vidyâ is connected with members of the sacrificial action, it enters into that action as a constituent part; for the statements of the text differ in the two cases. For in our case scripture does not say that we are to take some member of a sacrificial action and then to superimpose upon it such and such a name; but rather takes six and thirty thousand different energies of the mind and identifies them with the fire-altars, the cups, and so on, just as in some other place it teaches a meditation on man viewed as the sacrifice. The number given by the text is originally observed as belonging to the days of a man's life, and is then transferred to the mental energies connected therewith.—From the connexion (referred to in the Sûtra) it therefore follows that the agnis piled of mind, &c. are independent.—The clause 'and so on' (met with in the Sûtra) must be explained as comprehending 'transference' and the like as far as possible. For if the text says, 'Each of those Agnis is as great as that prior one,' it transfers the glory of the fire-altar consisting of the work (i.e. the real altar piled of bricks) to the altars consisting of knowledge and so on, and thereby

<sup>1</sup> Kimartham idam anubandhakaraṇam tad āha, sampad iti, upāstyartha hy anubandhas tathāpi manasā dādānām akriyāṅgatve kim āyātam tad āha, na kēti, teshām kriyāṅgatve sākshād evādhānā diprasiddher anarthikā sampad ity arthaḥ. Ân. Gi.

expresses want of regard for the work. Nor can it be said that if there is connexion (of all the agnis) with the sacrificial action, the later ones (i.e. those made of mind) may optionally be used instead of the original agnis made of bricks (as was asserted by the *pūrvapakshin* in Sūtra 45). For the later agnis are incapable of assisting the sacrificial action by means of those energies with which the original agni assists it, viz. by bearing the *āhavanīya* fire and so on.—The assertion, again, made by the *pūrvapakshin* (Sūtra 46) that ‘transference’ strengthens his view in so far as transference is possible only where there is equality, is already refuted by the remark that also on our view transference is possible, since the fanciful fire-altars are equal to the real fire-altar in so far as both are fire-altars.—And that direct enunciation and so on favour our conclusion has been shown.—From connexion and so on it therefore follows that the agnis piled of mind, &c. are independent.—‘As in the case of the separateness of other cognitions.’ As other cognitions, such as e. g. the *Sāṇḍilya-vidyā*, which have each their own particular connexion, separate themselves from works and other cognitions and are independent ; so it is in our case also.—Moreover ‘there is seen’ an analogous case of independence from the leading subject-matter. The offering called *aveshṭi* which is mentioned in the sacred texts under the heading of the *rāgasūya*-sacrifice, is to be taken out from that heading because it is connected with the three higher castes, while the *rāgasūya* can be offered by a member of the warrior caste only. This has been explained in the first section (i.e. in the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā-sūtras*).

51. Not also on account of its resembling (the *mānasa* cup) (can the fires constitute parts of an action); for it is observed (on the ground of *Śruti*, &c., that they are independent); as in the case of death; for the world does not become (a fire) (because it resembles a fire in some points).

Against the allegation made by the *pūrvapakshin* that the present case is analogous to that of the *mānasa* cup, we

remark that the fire-altars made of mind and so on cannot be assumed to supplement a sacrificial action although they may resemble the *mānasa* cup, since on the ground of direct enunciation &c. they are seen to subserve the purpose of man only (not the purpose of some sacrificial action). Anything indeed may resemble anything in some point or other; but in spite of that there remains the individual dissimilarity of each thing from all other things. The case is analogous to that of death. In the passages, 'The man in that orb is death indeed' (Sat. Brā. X, 5, 2, 3), and 'Agni indeed is death' (Taitt. Samh. V, 1, 10, 3), the term 'death' is applied equally to Agni and the man in the sun; all the same the two are by no means absolutely equal. And if the text says in another place, 'This world is a fire indeed, O Gotama; the sun is its fuel,' &c. (*Kh. Up.* V, 4, 1), it does not follow from the similarity of fuel and so on that the world really is a fire. Thus also in our case.

52. And from the subsequent (*Brāhmaṇa*) it follows that being of that kind (i.e. injunction of a mere *vidyā*) (is the aim) of the text. The connexion (of the fanciful agnis with the real one) is due to the plurality (of details of the real agni which are imaginatively connected with the *vidyā*).

With regard to a subsequent *Brāhmaṇa* also, viz. the one beginning, 'That piled agni is this world indeed,' we apprehend that what is the purpose of the text is 'being of that kind,' i.e. injunction of a mere *vidyā*, not injunction of the member of a mere action. For we meet there with the following sloka, 'By knowledge they ascend there where all wishes are attained. Those skilled in works do not go there, nor those who destitute of knowledge do penance.' This verse blames mere works and praises knowledge. A former *Brāhmaṇa* also, viz. the one beginning, 'What that orb leads' (Sat. Brā. X, 5, 2, 23), concludes with a statement of the fruit of knowledge ('Immortal becomes he whose Self is death'), and thereby indicates that works are not the chief thing.—The text connects the *vidyā* (of the agnis built of

mind) with the real agni built of bricks, not because those agnis are members of the act of building the real agni, but because many of the elements of the real agni are imaginatively combined with the vidyā.

All this establishes the conclusion that the fire-altars built of mind and so on constitute a mere vidyā.

53. Some (maintain the non-existence) of a (separate) Self, on account of the existence (of the Self) where a body is (only).

At present we will prove the existence of a Self different from the body in order to establish thereby the qualification (of the Self) for bondage and release. For if there were no Self different from the body, there would be no room for injunctions that have the other world for their result ; nor could it be taught of anybody that Brahman is his Self.—But, an objection is raised, already in the first pāda which stands at the head of this Sāstra (i. e. the first pāda of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā-sūtras) there has been declared the existence of a Self which is different from the body and hence capable of enjoying the fruits taught by the Sāstra.—True, this has been declared there by the author of the bhāṣya, but there is in that place no Sūtra about the existence of the Self. Here, on the other hand, the Sūtrakāra himself establishes the existence of the Self after having disposed of a preliminary objection. And from hence the teacher Sabara Svāmin has taken the matter for his discussion of the point in the chapter treating of the means of right knowledge. For the same reason the reverend Upavarsha remarks in the first tantra—where an opportunity offers itself for the discussion of the existence of the Self—‘ We will discuss this in the Sārīraka,’ and allows the matter to rest there. Here, where we are engaged in an inquiry into the pious meditations which are matter of injunction, a discussion of the existence of the Self is introduced in order to show that the whole Sāstra depends thereon.

Moreover, in the preceding adhikāraṇa we have shown that passages may be exempted from the influence of the leading subject-matter, and that for that reason the fire-

altars built of mind and so on subserve the purpose of man (not of the sacrifice). In consequence thereof there naturally arises the question who that man is whose purposes the different fire-altars subserve, and in reply to it the existence of a Self which is separate from the body is affirmed.—The first Sûtra embodies an objection against that doctrine; according to the principle that a final refutation of objections stated in the beginning effects a stronger conviction of the truth of the doctrine whose establishment is aimed at.

Here now some materialists (*lokâyatika*), who see the Self in the body only, are of opinion that a Self separate from the body does not exist; assume that consciousness (*kāitanya*), although not observed in earth and the other external elements—either single or combined—may yet appear in them when transformed into the shape of a body, so that consciousness springs from them; and thus maintain that knowledge is analogous to intoxicating quality (which arises when certain materials are mixed in certain proportions), and that man is only a body qualified by consciousness. There is thus, according to them, no Self separate from the body and capable of going to the heavenly world or obtaining release, through which consciousness is in the body; but the body alone is what is conscious, is the Self. For this assertion they allege the reason stated in the Sûtra, 'On account of its existence where a body is.' For wherever something exists if some other thing exists, and does not exist if that other thing does not exist, we determine the former thing to be a mere quality of the latter; light and heat, e. g. we determine to be qualities of fire. And as life, movement, consciousness, remembrance and so on—which by the upholders of an independent Self are considered qualities of that Self—are observed only within bodies and not outside bodies, and as an abode of those qualities, different from the body, cannot be proved, it follows that they must be qualities of the body only. The Self therefore is not different from the body.—To this conclusion the next Sûtra replies.

54. There is separation (of the Self from the



body) because its existence does not depend on the existence of that (viz. the body), but there is not (non-separation); as in the case of perceptive consciousness.

The assertion that the Self is not separate from the body cannot be maintained. The Self rather must be something separate from the body, 'because the existence (of the Self) does not depend on the existence of that (i.e. the body).' For if from the circumstance that they are where the body is you conclude that the qualities of the Self are qualities of the body, you also must conclude from the fact that they are not where the body is that they are not qualities of the body, because thereby they show themselves to be different in character from the qualities of the body. Now the (real) qualities of the body, such as form and so on, may be viewed as existing as long as the body exists; life, movement, &c., on the other hand, do not exist even when the body exists, viz. in the state of death. The qualities of the body, again, such as form and so on, are perceived by others; not so the qualities of the Self, such as consciousness, remembrance, and so on. Moreover, we can indeed ascertain the presence of those latter qualities as long as the body exists in the state of life, but we cannot ascertain their non-existence when the body does not exist; for it is possible that even after this body has died the qualities of the Self should continue to exist by passing over into another body. The opposite opinion is thus precluded also for the reason of its being a mere hypothesis.—We further must question our opponent as to the nature of that consciousness which he assumes to spring from the elements; for the materialists do not admit the existence of anything but the four elements. Should he say that consciousness is the perception of the elements and what springs from the elements, we remark that in that case the elements and their products are objects of consciousness and that hence the latter cannot be a quality of them, as it is contradictory that anything should act on itself. Fire is hot indeed but does not burn itself, and the acrobat, well

trained as he may be, cannot mount on his own shoulders. As little could consciousness, if it were a mere quality of the elements and their products, render them objects of itself. For form and other (undoubted) qualities do not make their own colour or the colour of something else their objects; the elements and their products, on the other hand, whether external or belonging to the Self (the organism) are rendered objects by consciousness. Hence in the same way as we admit the existence of that perceptive consciousness which has the material elements and their products for its objects, we also must admit the separateness of that consciousness from the elements. And as consciousness constitutes the character of our Self, the Self must be distinct from the body. That consciousness is permanent, follows from the uniformity of its character (and we therefore may conclude that the conscious Self is permanent also; as also follows) from the fact that the Self, although connected with a different state, recognises itself as the conscious agent—a recognition expressed in judgments such as ‘I saw this,’—and from the fact of remembrance and so on being possible<sup>1</sup>.

The argumentation that consciousness is an attribute of the body because it is where a body is, is already refuted by the reasons stated above. Moreover, perceptive consciousness takes place where there are certain auxiliaries such as lamps and the like, and does not take place where those are absent, without its following therefrom that perception is an attribute of the lamp or the like. Analogously

<sup>1</sup> The ‘nityatvam ka’ of the text might perhaps be connected directly with ‘âtmano.’ Ânanda Giri on the entire passage: Bhavatu tarhi bhûtebhyo • tiriktâ svâtantryopalabdhis tathâpi katham âtmasiddhis tatrâha upalabdhitî, ksharikatvât tasyâ nityâtmarûpatvam ayuktam ity âraṅkyâgânatas tadbhedâbhâvâd vishayoparâgât tadbhânâd asâv eva nityopalabdhir ity âha nityatvam keti, kim ka sthûladehâbhimânâhînasya svapne pratyabhigñânâd atiriktâtma-siddhir ity âha aham iti, svapne sthûladehântarasyaivopalabdhritvam ity âraṅkyâha smṛityâditi, upalabdhri-smartor bhedo saty anyopalabdhe • nyasya smṛtir ikkâdayas ka neti na tayoṛ anyatety arthaḥ.

the fact that perception takes place where there is a body, and does not take place where there is none, does not imply that it is an attribute of the body ; for like lamps and so on the body may be used (by the Self) as a mere auxiliary. Nor is it even true that the body is absolutely required as an auxiliary of perception ; for in the state of dream we have manifold perceptions while the body lies motionless.—The view of the Self being something separate from the body is therefore free from all objections.

55. But the (meditations) connected with members (of sacrificial acts are) not (restricted) to (particular) Sākhās, according to the Veda (to which they belong).

The above occasional discussion being terminated, we return to the discussion of the matter in hand.—We meet in the different Sākhās of each Veda with injunctions of vidyās connected with certain members of sacrificial acts, such as the udgītha and the like. Cp. e.g. ‘Let a man meditate on the syllable Om (as) the udgītha’ (*Kṛ. Up. I, 1, 1*) ; ‘Let a man meditate on the fivefold Sāman as the five worlds’ (*Kṛ. Up. II, 2, 1*) ; ‘People say : “Hymns, hymns !” the hymn is truly this earth’ (*Ait. Ār. II, 1, 2, 1*) ; ‘The piled up fire-altar truly is this world’ (*Sat. Brā. X, 5, 4. 1*). A doubt here arises whether the vidyās are enjoined with reference to the udgītha and so on as belonging to a certain Sākhā only or as belonging to all Sākhās. The doubt is raised on the supposition that the udgītha and so on differ in the different Sākhās because the accents, &c. differ.

Here the pûrvapakshin maintains that the vidyās are enjoined only with reference to the udgītha and so on which belong to the particular Sākhā (to which the vidyā belongs).—Why?—On account of proximity. For as such general injunctions as ‘Let a man meditate on the udgītha’ are in need of a specification, and as this need is satisfied by the specifications given in the same Sākhā which stand in immediate proximity, there is no reason for passing over that Sākhā and having recourse to specifications enjoined

in other Sâkhâs. Hence the vidyâs are to be held apart, according to the Sâkhâs to which they belong.

To this the Sûtra replies 'but those connected with members,' &c.—The word 'but' discards the *primâ facie* view. The meditations are not restricted to their own Sâkhâs according to the Veda to which they belong, but are valid for all Sâkhâs.—Why?—Because the direct statements of the texts about the udgîtha and so on enounce no specification. For to such general injunctions as 'Let a man meditate on the udgîtha'—which say nothing about specifications—violence would be done, if on the ground of proximity we restricted them to something special belonging to its own Sâkhâ, and that would be objectionable because direct statement has greater weight than proximity. There is, on the other hand, no reason why the vidyâ should not be of general reference. We therefore conclude that, although the Sâkhâs differ as to accents and the like, the vidyâs mentioned refer to the udgîtha and so on belonging to all Sâkhâs, because the text speaks only of the udgîtha and so on in general.

56. Or else there is no contradiction (implied in our opinion) ; as in the case of mantras and the like.

Or else we may put the matter as follows. There is no reason whatever to suspect a contradiction if we declare certain vidyâs enjoined in one Sâkhâ to be valid for the udgîtha and so on belonging to other Sâkhâs also ; for there is no more room for contradiction than in the case of mantras. We observe that mantras, acts, and qualities of acts which are enjoined in one Sâkhâ are taken over by other Sâkhâs also. So e.g. the members of certain Yagur-veda Sâkhâs do not exhibit in their text the mantra, 'Thou art the kuṣaru<sup>1</sup>,' which accompanies the taking of the stone (with which the rice-grains are ground) ; all the same we meet in their text with the following injunction of application, 'Thou art the cock, with this mantra he takes the stone ; or else with the mantra, Thou art the kuṣaru.'

<sup>1</sup> Maitrâyaṇīya Saṃhitâ I, 1, 6.

Again, the text of some Sākhā does not contain a direct injunction of the five offerings called prayāgas which are made to the fuel and so on, but it contains the injunction of secondary matters connected with the prayāgas, viz. in the passage, 'the seasons indeed are the prayāgas; they are to be offered in one and the same spot<sup>1</sup>.'—Again, the text of some Sākhā does not contain an injunction as to the species of the animal to be sacrificed to Agnīshomau—such as would be 'a he-goat is sacrificed to Agnīshomau<sup>2</sup>;'—but in the same Sākhā we meet with a mantra which contains the required specification, 'Hotri, recite the anuvākyā, for the fat of the omentum of the he-goat<sup>3</sup>.' Similarly mantras enjoined in one Veda only, such as 'O Agni, promote the hautra, promote the sacrifice,' are seen to be taken over into other Vedas also. Another example (of the transference of mantras) is supplied by the hymn, 'He who as soon as born showed himself intelligent,' &c. (*Rik. Samh.* II, 12), which although read in the text of the Bahvrikas is employed in the Taittirīya Veda also, according to Taitt. Samh. VII, 5, 5, 2, 'The Sāganiya hymn is to be recited.'—Just as, therefore, the members of sacrificial actions on which certain vidyās rest are valid everywhere, so the vidyās themselves also which rest on those members are valid for all Sākhās and Vedas.

57. There is pre-eminence of the (meditation on) plenitude (i.e. Agni Vaisvānara in his aggregate form), as in the case of sacrifices; for thus scripture shows.

In the legend beginning 'Prākīnasāla Aupamanyava,' the text speaks of meditations on Vaisvānara in his dis-

<sup>1</sup> As this passage states the number of the prayāgas (viz. five, which is the number of the seasons) and other secondary points, we conclude that the injunction of the offering of the prayāgas, which is given in other Sākhās, is valid also for the Sākhā referred to in the text (the Maitrāyaṇīyas, according to the commentators).

<sup>2</sup> But only says 'they offer an animal to Agnīshomau.'

<sup>3</sup> Wherefrom we infer that not any animal may be offered to Agnīshomau, but only a he-goat.

tributed as well as his aggregate condition. References to him in his distributed state are made in the passage, 'Aupamanyava, whom do you meditate on as the Self? He replied : Heaven only, venerable king. He said : The Self which you meditate on is the Vaisvânara Self called Sutegas ;' and in the following passages (*Kh. Up. V, 12-17*). A meditation on him in his aggregate state, on the other hand, is referred to in the passage (*V, 18*), 'Of that Vaisvânara Self the head is Sutegas, the eye Visvarûpa, the breath *Prithagvartman*, the trunk *Bahula*, the bladder *Rayi*, the feet the earth,' &c.—A doubt here arises whether the text intimates a meditation on Vaisvânara in both his forms or only in his aggregate form.

The *pûrvapakshin* maintains that we have to do with meditations on Vaisvânara in his distributed form, firstly, because the text exhibits a special verb, viz. 'you meditate on,' with reference to each of the limbs, Sutegas and so on ; and secondly because the text states special fruits (connected with each special meditation) in the passage, 'Therefore every kind of Soma libation is seen in your house,' and the later similar passages.

To this we make the following reply. We must suppose that the entire section aims at intimating 'the pre-eminence,' i. e. at intimating as its pre-eminent subject, a meditation on 'plenitude,' i. e. on Vaisvânara in his aggregate state, who comprises within himself a plurality of things ; not a number of special meditations on the limbs of Vaisvânara. 'As in the case of sacrifices.' In the same way as the Vedic texts referring to sacrifices such as the *darsapûrnamâsa* aim at enjoining the performance of the entire sacrifice only, i. e. of the chief sacrificial action together with its members—and not in addition the performance of single subordinate members such as the *prayâgas*, nor again the performance of the chief action together with some of its subordinate members ; so it is here also.—But whence do you know that 'plenitude' is the pre-eminent topic of the passage?—It is shown by scripture, we reply, since we apprehend that the entire section forms a connected whole. For on examining the connexion of

the parts we find that the entire section has for its subject the knowledge of Vaisvānara. The text at first informs us that six *Rīshis*—*Prāñinasāla*, &c., up to *Uddālaka*—being unable to reach a firm foundation in the knowledge of Vaisvānara, went to the king *Asvapati Kaikeya*; goes on to mention the object of each *Rīshi*'s meditation, viz. the sky and so on; determines that the sky and so on are only the head and so on of Vaisvānara—in the passage 'he said: that is but the head of the Self,' and the later similar passages;—and thereupon rejects all meditations on Vaisvānara in his distributed form, in the passage, 'Your head would have fallen if you had not come to me,' and so on. Finally having discarded all distributed meditation it turns to the meditation on the aggregate Vaisvānara and declares that all results rest on him only, 'he eats food in all worlds, in all beings, in all Selves.'—That the text mentions special fruits for the special meditations on *Sutegas* and so on we have, in accordance with our view, to explain as meaning that the results of the subordinate meditations are to be connected in their aggregate with the principal meditation. And that the text exhibits a special verb—'you do meditate'—in connexion with each member is not meant to enjoin special meditations on those members, but merely to make additional remarks about something which has another purpose (i. e. about the meditation on the aggregate Vaisvānara).—For all these reasons the view according to which the text enjoins a meditation on the aggregate Vaisvānara only is preferable.

Some commentators here establish the conclusion that the meditation on the aggregate Vaisvānara is the preferable alternative, but assume, on the ground of the *Sūtra* employing the term 'pre-eminence' only, that the *Sūtra-kāra* allows also the alternative of distributed meditation. But this is inadmissible, since it is improper to assume a 'split of the sentence' (i. e. to ascribe to a passage a double meaning), as long as the passage may be understood as having one meaning only. Their interpretation, moreover, contradicts those passages which expressly blame distributed meditations; such as 'Thy head would have

fallen.' And as the conclusion of the section clearly intimates a meditation on the aggregate Vaisvānara, the negation of such meditation could not be maintained as pūrvapaksha<sup>1</sup>. The term 'pre-eminence' which the Sūtra employs may moreover be explained as meaning (not mere preferability, but exclusive) authoritativeness.

58. (The vidyās are) separate, on account of the difference of words and the like.

In the preceding adhikaraṇa we have arrived at the conclusion that a meditation on Vaisvānara as a whole is the pre-eminent meaning of the text, although special results are stated for meditations on Sutejas and so on. On the ground of this it may be presumed that other meditations also which are enjoined by separate scriptural texts have to be combined into more general meditations. Moreover, we cannot acknowledge a separation of vidyās (acts of cognition; meditations) as long as the object of cognition is the same; for the object constitutes the character of a cognition in the same way as the material offered and the divinity to which the offering is made constitute the character of a sacrifice. Now we understand that the Lord forms the only object of cognition in a number of scriptural passages, although the latter are separate in enunciation; cp. e.g. 'He consisting of mind, whose body is prāṇa' (*Kh. Up. III, 14, 2*); 'Brahman is Ka, Brahman is Kha' (*Kh. Up. IV, 10, 5*); 'He whose wishes are true, whose purposes are true' (*Kh. Up. VIII, 7, 3*). Analogously one and the same Prāṇa is referred to in different texts; cp. 'Prāṇa indeed is the end of all' (*Kh. Up. IV, 3, 3*); 'Prāṇa indeed is the oldest and the best' (*Kh. Up. V, 1, 1*); 'Prāṇa is father, Prāṇa is mother' (*Kh. Up. VII, 15, 1*). And from the unity of the object of cognition there follows unity of cognition. Nor

<sup>1</sup> Yadobhayatropāstisiddhāntas tadā vyastopāstir evātra samastopāstir eva vā pūrvapakshaḥ syān nādyā ity āha, spashṇe kēti, dvitīyas ka tatrāyukto vākyopakramasthavyastopāstidhivirodhāt. Ān. Gi.



can it be said that, on this view, the separateness of the different scriptural statements would be purposeless, since each text serves to set forth other qualities (of the one *pradhāna* which is their common subject). Hence the different qualities which are enjoined in one's own and in other *Sākhās*, and which all belong to one object of knowledge, must be combined so that a totality of cognition may be effected.

To this conclusion we reply, 'Separate,' &c. Although the object of cognition is one, such cognitions must be considered as separate 'on account of the difference of words and the like.'—For the text exhibits a difference of words such as 'he knows,' 'let him meditate,' 'let him form the idea' (cp. *Kh. Up.* III, 14, 1). And difference of terms is acknowledged as a reason of difference of acts, according to *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā-sūtras* II, 2, 1.—The clause 'and the like' in the *Sūtra* intimates that also qualities and so on may be employed, according to circumstances, as reasons for the separateness of acts.—But, an objection is raised, from passages such as 'he knows' and so on we indeed apprehend a difference of words, but not a difference of sense such as we apprehend when meeting with such clauses as 'he sacrifices' and the like (*yagate*, *guhōti*, *dadāti*). For all these words (*viz.* *veda*, *upāsīta*, &c.) denote one thing only, *viz.* a certain activity of the mind, and another meaning is not possible in their case<sup>1</sup>. How then does difference of *vidyā* follow from difference of words?—This objection is without force, we reply; for although all those words equally denote a certain activity of the mind only, yet a difference of *vidyā* may result from a difference of connexion. The Lord indeed is the only object of meditation in the passages quoted, but according to its general purport each passage teaches different qualities of the Lord; and similarly, although one and the same *Prāṇa* is the object of meditation in the other series

<sup>1</sup> *Vedopāśītetyādisabdhānām kvāṭig gñānam kvāṭid dhyānam ity arthabhedam āśaṅkya gñānasyāvidheyatvād vidhīyamānam upāśānam evetyāha arthāntareti. Ān. Gi.*

of passages, yet one of his qualities has to be meditated upon in one place and another in another place. From difference of connexion there thus follows difference of injunction, and from the latter we apprehend the separateness of the vidyās. Nor can it be maintained (as the pūrvapakshin did) that one of those injunctions is the injunction of the vidyā itself, while the others enjoin mere qualities; for there is no determining reason (as to which is the vidyā-vidhi and which the guṇavidhis), and as in each passage more than one quality are mentioned it is impossible that those passages should enjoin qualities with reference to a vidyā established elsewhere<sup>1</sup>. Nor should, in the case of the pūrvapakshin's view being the true one, the qualities which are common to several passages, such as 'having true wishes,' be repeated more than once. Nor can the different sections be combined into one syntactical whole, because in each one a certain kind of meditation is enjoined on those who have a certain wish, whence we understand that the passage is complete in itself<sup>2</sup>. Nor is there in the present case an additional injunction of a meditation on something whole—such as there is in the case of the cognition of the Vaisvānara—owing to the force of which the meditations on the single parts which are contained in each section would combine themselves into a whole. And if on the ground of the object of cognition being one we should admit unity of vidyā without any restriction, we should thereby admit an altogether impossible combination of all qualities (mentioned anywhere in the Upanishads). The Sūtra therefore rightly declares the separateness of the vidyās.—The present adhikāraṇa being thus settled, the first Sūtra of the pāda has now to be considered<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For to enjoin in one passage several qualities—none of which is established already—would involve an objectionable vākyabheda.

<sup>2</sup> A sentence is to be combined with another one into a larger whole only if the sentences are not complete in themselves but evince an ākaṅkshā, a desire of complementation.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the present adhikāraṇa ought in reality to head the entire pāda.

59. There is (restriction to) option (between the vidyās), on account of their having non-differing results.

The difference of the vidyās having been determined, we now enter on an inquiry whether, according to one's liking, there should be cumulation of the different vidyās or option between them; or else restriction to an optional proceeding (to the exclusion of cumulation). For restriction to cumulation (which might be mentioned as a third alternative) there is no reason, because the separation of the vidyās has been established.—But we observe that in the case of the sacrifices, agnihotra, darsapûrnamâsa and so on, there is restriction to cumulation (i. e. that those sacrifices have all of them to be performed, not optionally one or the other) although they are different from each other.—True; but the reason for the obligatory cumulation of those sacrifices lies therein that scripture teaches them to be of absolute obligation. No scriptural passage, on the other hand, teaches the absolute obligatoriness of the vidyās, and it cannot therefore be a rule that they must be cumulated.—Nor can it be a rule that there must be option between them, because a person entitled to one vidyā cannot be excluded from another vidyā. It therefore only remains to conclude that one may proceed as one likes.—But—an objection is raised—we must rather conclude that option between them is the rule, because their fruits are non-different. For vidyās such as 'He who consists of mind, whose body is prāṇa;' 'Brahman is Ka, Brahman is Kha;' 'He whose wishes are true, whose purposes are true,' have all of them equally the obtaining of the Lord for their fruit.—This does not affect our conclusion; for we see that it is allowed to proceed as one likes also with regard to certain sacrificial acts which are the means of obtaining the heavenly world, and thus have all of them the same result. It therefore remains a settled conclusion that in the case of vidyās one may proceed as one likes.

To this we reply as follows. There must be option between the vidyās, not cumulation, because they have the

same fruit. For the fruit of all of them is the intuition of the object meditated upon, and when this object, e.g. the Lord, has once been intuited through one meditation a second meditation would be purposeless. It would, moreover, be impossible even to effect an intuition through the cumulation of several meditations, since that would cause distraction of attention. And that the fruit of a vidyâ is to be effected through intuition various scriptural passages declare; cp. *Kh. Up.* III, 14, 4, 'He who has this faith and no doubt;' *Bri. Up.* IV, 1, 3, 'Having become a god he goes to the gods,' and others. Also *Smṛiti*-passages such as *Bha. Gîtâ* VIII, 6, and others.—One therefore has to select one of those vidyâs the fruit of which is the same, and to remain intent on it until, through the intuition of the object to be meditated upon, the fruit of the vidyâ is obtained.

60. But (vidyâs) connected with wishes may, according to one's liking, be cumulated or not; on account of the absence of the former reason.

The above Sûtra supplies a counter-instance to the preceding Sûtra.—We have, on the other hand, vidyâs connected with definite wishes; as e.g. *Kh. Up.* III, 15, 2, 'He who knows that the wind is the child of the regions never weeps for his sons;' *Kh. Up.* VII, 1, 5, 'He who meditates on name as Brahman, walks at will as far as name reaches.' In these vidyâs which, like actions, effect their own special results by means of their 'unseen' Self, there is no reference to any intuition, and one therefore may, according to one's liking, either cumulate them or not cumulate them; 'on account of the absence of the former reason,' i.e. because there is not the reason for option which was stated in the preceding Sûtra.

61. With the (meditations on) members (of sacrificial acts) it is as with their abodes.

Are those meditations—enjoined in the three Vedas—which rest on members of sacrificial actions such as the

udgītha to be superadded to each other, or may we proceed with regard to them as we like?—To this doubt the Sūtra replies, 'it is according to the abodes.' As the abiding-places of those meditations, viz. the Stotra and so on, are combined (for the performance of the sacrifice), so those meditations also. For a meditation is subject to what it rests on.

## 62. And on account of the teaching.

As the Stotra and the other members of the sacrifice on which the meditations under discussion rest are taught in the three Vedas, so also the meditations resting on them. The meaning of this remark is that also as far as the mode of information is concerned there is no difference between the members of a sacrificial act and the meditations referring to them.

## 63. On account of the rectification.

The passage, 'From the seat of the Hotri he sets right any mistake committed in the udgītha' (*Kh. Up. I, 5, 5*), declares that, owing to the might of the meditation on the unity of *praṇava* and udgītha, the Hotri sets right any mistake he may commit in his work, by means of the work of the Hotri.

Now, as a meditation mentioned in one Veda is connected (with what is mentioned in another Veda) in the same way as a thing mentioned in another Veda, the above passage suggests the conclusion that all meditations on members of sacrificial acts—in whatever Veda they may be mentioned—have to be combined<sup>1</sup>.

## 64. And because the text states a quality (of the vidyā) to be common (to the three Vedas).

The text states that the syllable Om which is a quality,

<sup>1</sup> A 'thing' belonging to the *Rig-veda*, viz. the *praṇava*, is, according to the *Khândogya*-passage, connected with the *Sâma-veda* meditation on the udgītha. Hence meditations also which belong to different Vedas may be combined; for there is no difference between them and things as far as connexion is concerned.

i.e. the abode of a meditation, is common to the three Vedas, 'By that syllable the threefold knowledge proceeds. With Om the Adhvaryu gives orders, with Om the Hotṛi recites, with Om the Udgâṭṛi sings.' This suggests that, as the abode of the vidyâ (viz. the *Omkâra*) is common, the vidyâs which abide in it are common also.—Or else the Sûtra may be explained as follows. If the udgîtha and so on, which are matters qualifying the sacrificial action, were not all of them common to all sacrificial performances, the vidyâs resting on them would not go together. But the scriptural passages which teach the sacrificial performances and extend over all subordinate matters, state that the udgîtha and so on are common to all performances. As thus the abodes of the vidyâs go together, the vidyâs abiding in them go together likewise.

65. (The meditations on members of sacrificial actions are) rather not (to be combined), as the text does not state their going together.

The words 'rather not' discard the pûrvapaksha. The meditations resting on members of actions are not to be treated like what they rest on, because scripture does not state their going together. Scripture actually states the going together of the Stotras and other subordinate members of sacrificial action which are enjoined in the three Vedas; cp. passages such as 'After the taking of the graha or the raising of the *kamasa* he performs the Stotra;' 'After the Stotra he recites;' 'Prastotṛi sing the Sâman;' 'Hotṛi recite the Yâgyâ for this;' and so on. But, on the other hand, there are no analogous texts expressly teaching the going together of the meditations.—But the going together of the meditations is established by those texts which intimate the successive performance of the different constituent members of a sacrifice!—By no means, we reply. The meditations subserve the end of man, while the texts referred to by you establish only the going together of the udgîtha and the like which subserve the purpose of the sacrifice. That the meditations on the udgîtha and so on—although resting on

members of sacrificial acts—yet subserve the end of man only in the same way as the godohana vessel does, we have already explained under III, 3, 42.—And this very difference between members of sacrificial action and the meditations resting on them, viz. that the former subserve the purpose of the sacrifice while the latter subserve the end of man, is founded on the express teaching of scripture<sup>1</sup>.—And the further two indicatory marks (pointed out by the pûrvapakshin in Sûtras 63 and 64) supply no reason for the going together of the meditations, because no direct scriptural statement may be constructed from them. Nor<sup>2</sup> does the fact that in each sacrificial performance all foundations of meditations are comprised, enable us to conclude that the meditations founded on them are to be combined also; for the meditations are not caused by what they rest on. The meditations, as resting on their foundations, would, it may be admitted, not exist if those foundations did not exist. But therefrom it does not follow that the going together of the foundations implies a necessary going together of the meditations; for as to this we have no direct scriptural statement.—From all this it results that the meditations may be performed according to one's liking.

66. And because (scripture) shows it.

Scripture moreover shows that the meditations do not go together, viz. in the following passage, 'A Brahman priest who knows this saves the sacrifice, the sacrificer, and all the priests' (*Kh. Up. IV, 17, 10*). For if all meditations were to be combined, all priests would know them all, and the text could not specially announce that the Brahman priest possessing a certain knowledge thereby saves the others.—The meditations may therefore, according to one's liking, be either combined or optionally employed.

<sup>1</sup> A remark refuting the averment made in Sûtra 62.

<sup>2</sup> And this is meant to refute the second interpretation given of Sûtra 64.

## FOURTH PĀDA.

## REVERENCE TO THE HIGHEST SELF !

1. The purpose of man (is effected) thence (i. e. through the mere knowledge of Brahman), thus Bādarāyaṇa opines.

The Sūtrakāra at present enters on an inquiry whether the knowledge of the Self which is derived from the Upanishads, is connected with works through him who is entitled to perform the works<sup>1</sup>, or is an independent means to accomplish the purpose of man. He begins by stating the final view in the above Sūtra, 'Thence' &c. The teacher Bādarāyaṇa is of opinion that thence, i. e. through the independent knowledge of Brahman enjoined in the Vedānta-texts, the purpose of man is effected.—Whence is this known?—'From scripture,' which exhibits passages such as the following: 'He who knows the Self overcomes grief' (*Kh. Up. III, 4, 1*); 'He who knows that highest Brahman becomes even Brahman' (*Mu. Up. III, 2, 9*); 'He who knows Brahman attains the Highest' (*Taitt. Up. II, 1*); 'For him who has a teacher there is delay only so long as he is not delivered; then he will be perfect' (*Kh. Up. VI, 14, 2*); 'He who has searched out and understands the Self which is free from sin, &c. &c., obtains all worlds and all desires' (*Kh. Up. VIII, 7, 1*); 'The Self is to be seen' &c. up to 'Thus far goes immortality' (*Bri. Up. IV, 5, 6-15*). These and similar texts declare that mere knowledge effects the purpose of man.—Against this the opponent raises his voice as follows.

2. On account of (the Self) standing in a supplementary relation (to action), (the statements as to

<sup>1</sup> The pūrvapakshin (see next Sūtra) maintains that the knowledge of the Self is subordinate to (sacrificial) action through the mediation of the agent, i. e. in so far as it imparts to the agent a certain qualification.



the fruits of the knowledge of the Self) are arthavādas, as in other cases, thus Gaimini opines.

As the Self, in consequence of its being the agent, stands in a supplementary relation to action, the knowledge of the Self also is connected with action through the mediation of its object, analogously to the case of the sprinkling of the rice-grains with water; hence as the purpose of the knowledge of the Self is understood thereby, the statements of the text about the fruits of that knowledge are mere arthavādas. Such is the opinion of the teacher Gaimini<sup>1</sup>. The case is analogous to that of other textual statements as to the fruits of certain materials, *samskāras* and works; which statements have likewise to be understood as arthavādas. Cp. the passage, 'He whose sacrificial ladle is made of *parṇa*-wood hears no evil sound;' 'By anointing his eye he wards off the eye of the enemy;' 'By making the *prayāga* and *anuyāga*-oblations he makes an armour for the sacrifice, an armour for the sacrificer so that he overcomes his enemies<sup>2</sup>.'—But how can it be supposed that

<sup>1</sup> The contention of the *pūrvapakshin*—Gaimini—is that the knowledge of the Self has no independent fruit of its own, because it stands in a subordinate relation to sacrificial action. This relation is mediated by the Self—the object of knowledge—which is the agent in all action, and therefore itself stands in a subordinate relation to action. By learning that his Self will outlive the body the agent becomes qualified for actions, the fruit of which will only appear after death. The qualification the Self thus acquires is analogous to that which the rice-grains acquire by being sprinkled with water; for only through this latter act of ceremonial modification (or purification, *samskāra*) they become fit to be used in the sacrifice.—As the knowledge of the Self thus has no independent position, it cannot have an independent fruit of its own, and consequently the passages which state such fruits cannot be taken as 'injunctions of fruits,' but merely as arthavādas, making some additional statement about the fruit of the sacrificial actions to which the knowledge of the Self is auxiliary.

<sup>2</sup> The material, i. e. the ladle made of *parṇa*-wood, is auxiliary to the sacrifice, and the fruit which the text ascribes to it (*viz.* hearing no evil sound) therefore has to be viewed as a fruit of

the knowledge of the Self which the text does not exhibit under any special heading can enter into sacrificial action as a subordinate member, without the presence of any of the means of proof—general subject-matter and so on—which determine such subordinate relation?—The *pūrvapakshin* may reply that the knowledge of the Self enters into sacrificial action through the mediation of the agent, on the ground of the means of proof called *vākya* (sentence; syntactical unity)<sup>1</sup>. But this we deny because in the present case 'sentence' has no force to teach the application (of the knowledge of the Self to the sacrifices, as a subordinate member of the latter). Things which the text states under no particular heading may indeed be connected with the sacrifice on the ground of 'sentence,' through some intermediate link which is not of too wide an application<sup>2</sup>; but the agent is an intermediate link of too wide an application, since it is common to all action whether worldly or based on the Veda. The agent cannot therefore be used as a mediating link to establish the connexion of the knowledge of the Self with the sacrifice.—Your objection is not valid, the *pūrvapakshin* replies, since the knowledge of a Self different from the body is of no use anywhere but in works based on the Veda. For such knowledge is of no use in worldly works, in all of which the activity may be shown to be guided by visible purposes; with reference to Vedic works, on the other hand, whose fruits manifest themselves only after the death of this body no activity would be possible

the entire sacrifice. Analogously in the case of the *samskāra*—the anointing—which fits the sacrificer for performing the sacrifice, and in the case of the *prayāgas* and *anuyāgas* which are merely subordinate members of the *darsapūṇamāsa*.

<sup>1</sup> The entire Veda constituting an extended syntactical whole, in which the agent is the same.

<sup>2</sup> Thus the quality of being made of *parṇa*-wood is connected with the sacrifices on the ground of the *vākya* implied in '*yasya parṇamayī guhūr bhavati*,' because here we have as an intermediate link the *guhū*, i. e. a special implement which is used at sacrifices only, and therefore is not of too wide an application.

were it not for the knowledge of a Self separate from the body, and such knowledge therefore has its uses there.—But, another objection is raised, from attributes given to the Self, such as ‘free from sin,’ and the like, it appears that the doctrine of the Upanishads refers to that Self which stands outside the *samsāra* and cannot therefore be subordinate to activity.—This objection too is without force; for what the Upanishads teach as the object of cognition is just the transmigrating Self, which is clearly referred to in such terms as ‘dear’ (*Bṛi. Up. II, 4, 5*). Attributes such as being free from sin, on the other hand, may be viewed as aiming merely at the glorification of that Self.—But in more than one place Brahman, the cause of the world, which is additional to the transmigrating Self and itself not subject to transmigration has been established, and the Upanishads teach that this very Brahman constitutes the real nature of the transmigrating Self!—True, that has been established; but in order to confirm that doctrine, objections and their refutation are again set forth with reference to the question as to the fruit (of the knowledge of the Self).

3. On account of scripture showing (certain lines of) conduct.

‘Ganaka the king of the Videhas sacrificed with a sacrifice at which many presents were given to the priests’ (*Bṛi. Up. III, 1, 1*); ‘Sirs, I am going to perform a sacrifice’ (*Kh. Up. V, 11, 5*); these and similar passages—which occur in sections that have another purport—show that those who know Brahman are connected with sacrificial action also. And similarly we apprehend from the fact that according to scripture Uddālaka and others taught their sons and so on, that they were connected with the condition of life of householders. If mere knowledge could effect the purpose of man, why should the persons mentioned have performed works troublesome in many respects? ‘If a man would find honey in the Arka tree why should he go to the forest?’

## 4. Because scripture directly states that.

‘What a man does with knowledge, faith and the Upanishad is more powerful’ (*Kh. Up.* I, 1, 10); this passage directly states that knowledge is subordinate to work<sup>1</sup>, and from this it follows that mere knowledge cannot effect the purpose of man.

## 5. On account of the taking hold together.

‘Then both his knowledge and his work take hold of him’ (*Bri. Up.* IV, 4, 2); as this passage shows that knowledge and work begin together to manifest their fruits, it follows that knowledge is not independent.

## 6. And because scripture enjoins (works) for such (only as understand the purport of the Veda).

‘He who has learnt (lit. “read”) the Veda from a family of teachers, according to the sacred injunction, in the leisure time left from the duties to be performed for the Guru ; who after having received his discharge has settled in his own house, studying his sacred texts in some sacred spot’ (*Kh. Up.* VIII, 15); such passages also show that those who know the purport of the whole Veda are qualified for sacrificial action, and that hence knowledge does not independently bring about a result.—But the expression ‘who has read’ directly states only that the Veda is read, not that its purport is understood!—Not so, we reply. The reading of the Veda extends up to the comprehension of its purport, as thus the reading has a visible purpose<sup>2</sup>.

## 7. And on account of definite rules.

‘Performing works here (i. e. in this life) let a man wish to live a hundred years ; thus work will not cling to thee, man ; there is no other way than that’ (*Īśa. Up.* 2); ‘The

<sup>1</sup> For the instrumental case ‘vidyayâ’ directly represents knowledge as a means of work.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Mîmāṃsâ* principle that, wherever possible, actions enjoined must be understood to have a visible purpose (a supersensuous result being admitted only where no visible result can be made out).

Agnihotra is a sattra lasting up to old age and death ; for through old age one is freed from it or through death' (Sat. Brā. XII, 4, 1, 1); from such definite rules also it follows that knowledge is merely supplementary to works.

Against all these objections the Sūtrakāra upholds his view in the following Sūtra.

8. But on account of (scripture teaching) the additional one (i.e. the Lord), (the view) of Bādarāyana (is valid) ; as that is seen thus (in scriptural passages).

The word 'but' discards the pūrvapaksha.—The assertion made in Sūtra 2 cannot be maintained 'on account of the text teaching the additional one.' If the Vedānta-texts taught that the transmigrating embodied Self which is an agent and enjoyer is something different from the mere body, the statements as to the fruit of the knowledge of the Self would, for the reasons indicated above, be mere arthavādas. But what the Vedānta-texts really teach as the object of knowledge is something different from the embodied Self, viz. the non-transmigrating Lord who is free from all attributes of transmigratory existence such as agency and the like and distinguished by freedom from sin and so on, the highest Self. And the knowledge of that Self does not only not promote action but rather cuts all action short, as will be declared in Sūtra 16. Hence the view of the reverend Bādarāyana which was stated in Sūtra 1 remains valid and cannot be shaken by fallacious reasoning about the subordination of knowledge to action and the like. That the Lord who is superior to the embodied Self is the Self many scriptural texts declare; compare 'He who perceives all and knows all' (Mu. Up. I, 1, 9); 'From terror of it the wind blows, from terror the sun rises' (Taitt. Up. II, 8); 'It is a great terror, a raised thunderbolt' (Ka. Up. II, 6, 2); 'By the command of that imperishable one, O Gārgi' (Bṛi. Up. III, 8, 9); 'It thought, may I be many, may I grow forth. It sent forth fire' (Kā. Up. VI, 2, 3). There are indeed passages in

which the transmigrating Self—hinted at by such terms as ‘dear’—is referred to as the object of knowledge, such as ‘But for the love of the Self everything is dear. Verily the Self is to be seen’ (*Bri. Up.* II, 4, 5); ‘He who breathes in the up-breathing he is thy Self and within all’ (*Bri. Up.* III, 4, 1); ‘The person that is seen in the eye that is thy Self,’ up to ‘But I shall explain him further to you’ (*Kh. Up.* VIII, 7 ff.). But as there are at the same time complementary passages connected with the passages quoted above—viz. ‘There has been breathed forth from this great Being the *Rîg-veda*, *Yagur-veda*,’ &c. (*Bri. Up.* II, 4, 10); ‘He who overcomes hunger and thirst, sorrow, passion, old age and death’ (*Bri. Up.* III, 5, 1); ‘Having approached the highest light he appears in his own form. That is the highest person’ (*Kh. Up.* VIII, 12, 3)—which aim at giving instruction about the superior Self; it follows that the two sets of passages do not mean to teach an absolute difference of the two Selves and that thus contradiction is avoided. For the Self of the highest Lord is the real nature of the embodied Self, while the state of being embodied is due to the limiting adjuncts, as appears from scriptural passages such as ‘Thou art that;’ ‘There is no other seer but he.’ All which has been demonstrated by us at length in the earlier parts of this commentary in more than one place.

9. But the declarations (of scripture) are equal (on the other side).

In reply to the averment made in Sûtra 3, we point out that there are declarations of scripture, of equal weight, in favour of the view that knowledge is not complementary to action. For there are scriptural passages such as, ‘Knowing this the *rîshis* descended from Kavasha said: For what purpose should we study the Veda? for what purpose should we sacrifice? Knowing this indeed the Ancient ones did not offer the Agnihotra;’ and ‘When Brâhmaṇas know that Self and have risen above the desire for sons, wealth, and worlds, they wander about as mendicants’ (*Bri. Up.* III, 5). Scripture moreover shows that

Yāgñavalkya and others who knew Brahman did not take their stand on works. 'Thus far goes immortality. Having said so Yāgñavalkya went away into the forest' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 5, 15). With reference to the indicatory sign (as to the dependence of knowledge to work) which is implied in the passage, 'Sirs, I am going to perform a sacrifice,' we remark that it belongs to a section which treats of Vaisvānara. Now, the text may declare that a vidyā of Brahman as limited by adjuncts is accompanied by works; but all the same the vidyā does not stand in a subordinate relation to works since 'leading subject-matter' and the other means of proof are absent.

We now reply to the averment made in Sūtra 4.

10. (The direct statement is) non-comprehensive.

The direct scriptural statement implied in 'What a man does with knowledge' &c. does not refer to all knowledge, as it is connected with the knowledge forming the subject-matter of the section. And the latter is the knowledge of the udgītha only, 'Let a man meditate on the syllable Om (as) the udgītha.'

11. There is distribution (of the work and knowledge) as in the case of the hundred.

In reply to the averment (Sūtra 5) that the passage, 'Then both his knowledge and his work take hold of him,' indicates the non-independence of knowledge, we point out that the passage must be understood in a distributed sense, knowledge taking hold of one man and work of another. The case is analogous to that of the 'hundred.' When it is said, 'Let a hundred be given to these two men,' the hundred are divided in that way that fifty are given to one man and fifty to the other.—Moreover what the text says about the laying hold does not refer to him who is about to obtain final release; for the concluding passage, 'So much for the man who desires,' indicates that the whole section refers to the soul implicated in the *samsāra*, and a new beginning is made for him who is about to be released, in the clause, 'But as to the man who does not

desire.' The clause about the laying hold thus comprises all knowledge which falls within the sphere of the transmigrating soul whether it be enjoined or prohibited<sup>1</sup>, since there is no reason for distinction, and to all action whether enjoined or prohibited, the clause embodying a reference to knowledge and work as established elsewhere. And on this interpretation there is room for the clause even without our having recourse to the distribution of knowledge and work.

The next Sūtra replies to the averment made in Sūtra 6.

12. Of him who has merely read the Veda (there is qualification for works).

As the clause, 'Having learnt (read) the Veda from a family of teachers,' speaks only of the reading, we determine that acts are there enjoined for him who has only read the Veda.—But from this it would follow that on account of being destitute of knowledge such a person would not be qualified for works!—Never mind; we do not mean to deny that the understanding of sacrificial acts which springs from the reading of the texts is the cause of qualification for their performance; we only wish to establish that the knowledge of the Self derived from the Upanishads is seen to have an independent purpose of its own and therefore does not supply a reason of qualification for acts. Analogously a person who is qualified for one act does not require the knowledge of another act.

Against the reasoning of Sūtra 7 we make the following remark.

13. There being no specification (the rule does) not (specially apply to him who knows).

In passages such as 'Performing works here let a man live' &c., which state definite rules, there is no specification

---

<sup>1</sup> Pratishiddhā ka ragnastrīdarsanādirūpā. Ân. Gi. — Pratishiddhā ka yathāsaktāstrādighigamanalakṣaṇā (not 'yathā saktāstra' as in the Biblioth. Indica edition). Bhāmati.



of him who knows, since the definite rule is enjoined without any such specification.

14. Or else the permission (of works) is for the glorification (of knowledge).

The passage 'Performing works here' may be treated in another way also. Even if, owing to the influence of the general subject-matter, only he who knows is to be viewed as he who performs works, yet the permission to perform works must be viewed as aiming at the glorification of knowledge; as appears from the subsequent clause, 'no work clings to the man.' The meaning of the entire passage thus is: To a man who knows no work will cling, should he perform works during his whole life even, owing to the power of knowledge. And this clearly glorifies knowledge.

15. Some also by proceeding according to their liking (evince their disregard of anything but knowledge).

Moreover some who know, having obtained the intuition of the fruit of knowledge, express, in reliance thereon, the purposelessness of the means of all other results, viz. by proceeding according to their liking (and abandoning those means). A scriptural text of the Vāgasaneyins runs as follows: 'Knowing this the people of old did not wish for offspring. What shall we do with offspring, they said, we who have this Self and this world' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 22*). And that the fruit of knowledge, being present to intuition, does not manifest itself at a later time only as the fruits of actions do, we have explained more than once. From this also it follows that knowledge is not subordinate to action, and that the scriptural statements as to the fruit of knowledge cannot be taken in any but their true sense.

16. And (scripture teaches) the destruction (of the qualification for works, by knowledge).

Moreover scripture teaches that this whole apparent world—which springs from Nescience, is characterised by

actions, agents and results of actions and is the cause of all qualification for works—is essentially destroyed by the power of knowledge. Compare such passages as ‘But when all has become the Self of him, wherewith should he see another, wherewith should he smell another?’ (*Bri. Up.* IV, 5, 15). For him now who should teach that the qualification for works has for its necessary antecedent the knowledge of the Self which the Vedânta-texts teach, it would follow that the qualification for works is cut short altogether. From this also it follows that knowledge is independent.

17. And (knowledge belongs) to those who are bound to chastity; for in scripture (that condition of life is mentioned).

Scripture shows that knowledge is valid also for those stages of life for which chastity is prescribed. Now in their case knowledge cannot be subordinate to work because work is absent; for the works prescribed by the Veda such as the Agnihotra are no longer performed by men who have reached those stages.—But, an objection is raised, those stages of life are not even mentioned in the Veda!—This is not so, we reply. Certain Vedic passages clearly intimate them; so e.g. ‘There are three branches of the law’ (*Kh. Up.* II, 23, 1); ‘Those who in the forest practise faith and austerity’ (*Kh. Up.* V, 10, 1); ‘Those who practise penance and faith in the forest’ (*Mu. Up.* I, 10, 11); ‘Wishing for that world only mendicants wander forth’ (*Bri. Up.* IV, 4, 22); ‘Let him wander forth at once from the state of studentship.’—That the stages requiring chastity are open to men whether they have reached householdership or not, and whether they have paid the debts (of procreating a son, &c.) or not, is known from scripture and *Smṛiti*. Herefrom also follows the independence of knowledge.

18. Gaimini (considers that scriptural passages mentioning those stages of life in which chastity is obligatory, contain) a reference (only to those stages);

they are not injunctions ; for (other scriptural passages) forbid (those stages).

The Vedic texts which have been quoted to the end of showing the existence of the stages of life on which chastity is binding—such as ‘ There are three branches of the law ’ and so on—have no power to establish those stages. For the teacher Gaimini is of opinion that those passages contain only a reference to the other stages of life, not an injunction (of them).—Why?—Because they contain no words expressive of injunction such as imperative verbal forms, and because each of them is seen to have some other purport. In the passage, ‘ There are three ’ &c., the text at first refers to three stages of life (‘ Sacrifice, study, and charity are the first ’ &c. &c.), thereupon declares them not to have unbounded results (‘ All these obtain the world of the blessed ’), and finally glorifies ‘ the state of being grounded on Brahman ’ as having unbounded results (‘ the Brahmasamsthā obtains immortality ’).—But is not a mere reference even sufficient to intimate the existence of those stages of life?—True ; but they are established (enjoined) not by direct scriptural statements, but only by *Smṛiti* and custom, and therefore when contradicted by direct scriptural statement<sup>1</sup> are either to be disregarded or else to be viewed as concerning those who (for some reason or other) are disqualified (for active worship, sacrifices and the like).—But together with the stages demanding chastity the text refers to the condition of the householder also<sup>2</sup>. (‘ Sacrifice, study, and charity are the first. ’)—True ; but the existence of the state of the householder is established (not by that passage but) by other scriptural passages, viz. those which enjoin on the householder certain works such as the *Agnihotra*. Hence the reference in the passage under discussion aims at glorification only, not at injunction.

<sup>1</sup> Such as that concerning the permanent obligation of the *Agnihotra* and so on.

<sup>2</sup> And we therefore may conclude that those stages are as valid as the—notoriously valid—state of householdership.

Moreover, direct scriptural enunciations forbid other stages of life ; cp. 'A murderer of the gods is he who removes the fire ;' 'After having brought to thy teacher his proper reward do not cut off the line of children' (Taitt. Up. I, 11, 1) ; 'To him who is without a son the world does not belong ; all beasts even know that.'—Similarly the passages, 'Those who in the forest practise faith and austerity' (*Kh.* Up. V, 10, 1), and the analogous passage (from the *Mundaka*), contain instruction not about the other stages of life but about the going on the path of the gods. And of clauses such as 'austerity is the second' it is doubtful whether they speak of a stage of life at all. And a passage like 'Wishing for that world only mendicants wander forth,' does not enjoin the wandering forth but merely glorifies that world.—But there is at any rate one scriptural text which directly and unambiguously enjoins the condition of life of the wandering mendicant, viz. the one of the *Gâbâlas*, 'Let him wander forth at once from the state of studentship.'—True, but our discussion is carried on without reference to that passage.

19. (The other stage of life) is to be accomplished, (according to) *Bâdarâyana* ; on account of the scriptural statement of equality.

The teacher *Bâdarâyana* is of opinion that that other stage of life is something to be accomplished. The view that there is a contradiction because the other stage of life is stated in the Veda and, on the other hand, works such as the Agnihotra must necessarily be performed, and that, in order to remove this contradiction, that other stage of life must be entered upon by those only who are not qualified for active worship, he rejects ; being of opinion that that other stage is to be entered upon, in the same way as the state of the householder, even by him who does not wish to do so.—On what ground ?—'On account of the scriptural statement of equality.' For we have a passage (viz. 'There are three branches of the law,' &c.) which refers equally to that other stage as to the state of the householder. As the state of the householder which

is enjoined in other passages only is here referred to, so also that other stage of life. The case is analogous to the reference made to the wearing of the sacrificial thread round the neck or on the right shoulder—which two modes are established in other scriptural passages—in a passage the purpose of which it is to enjoin the wearing of the thread on the left shoulder. The other stage must therefore be entered upon in the same way as the state of the householder.—Analogously in the passage, ‘Wishing for that world only mendicants leave their homes,’ the last stage of life is mentioned together with the study of the Veda, sacrifice and so on, and in the passage, ‘Those who in the forest,’ &c., with the knowledge of the five fires.—The remark, made above by the pûrvapakshin, that in such passages as ‘austerity is the second’ there is unambiguous reference to a further stage of life, is without force, since there is a reason enabling us to determine what is meant. The text proclaims in the beginning that there are three subdivisions (‘There are three branches of the law’). Now the sacrifice and the other duties (which the text enumerates subsequently to the introductory clause) can, because they are more than three, and rest on separate originaive injunctions, be comprised within the three branches only if they are connected with one of the stages of life. Now the terms ‘sacrifice’ and so on indicate that the stage of householdership constitutes one branch of the law, and the term ‘Brahmakârin’ clearly denotes another stage; what then remains but to assume that the term ‘austerity’ also denotes a stage of life, viz. the one in which austerity is the chief thing? Analogously the reference to the forest—in the passage, ‘Those who in the forest,’—indicates that by the austerity and faith mentioned there we have to understand that stage of life in which austerity and faith are the chief thing.—From all this it follows that the further stage of life has to be gone through, even if the passage under discussion should do nothing but refer to it.

20. Or (the passage rather is) an injunction, as in the case of the carrying (of the firewood).

Or the passage is rather to be understood as containing an injunction, not a mere reference.—But, an objection is raised, if we assume it to be an injunction we thereby oppose the conception of the entire passage as a coherent whole, while yet the passage has clearly to be conceived as constituting such a whole, viz. as meaning that while the three branches of the law have for their result the world of the blessed, the condition of being grounded in Brahman has immortality for its result.—True, but all the same we must set aside the conception of the passage as a whole—well founded as it is—and assume it to be an injunction. For it is a new injunction because no other injunction is observed, and as the conception of the other stage of life clearly arises from the passage it is impossible to interpret it as a coherent whole by means of the assumption that it is a mere *gunavāda* <sup>1</sup>.

The case is analogous to that of the ‘carrying.’ There is a scriptural text (relating to the Agnihotra which forms part of the *mahāpitṛiyagñā*), ‘Let him approach carrying the firewood below (the ladle holding the offering); for above he carries it for the gods.’ Now this passage may be conceived as an unbroken whole if we view it as referring to the carrying below only; nevertheless we determine that it enjoins the carrying above because that

---

<sup>1</sup> In the clause ‘*vidhyantarādarsanāt*’ I can see nothing more than an explanation of—or reason for—the ‘*apūrvatvāt*.’ If we viewed the passage as glorifying the *brahmasamsthātā* compared to the three branches of the law through the statement of its super-sensuous results (so that it would constitute an *arthavāda* of the kind called *gunavāda*), we should indeed preserve the unity of the passage—which is destroyed if we view it as enjoining the different stages of life. But all the same the latter explanation is the true one; for a glorificatory passage presupposes an injunctive one, and as no such injunctive passage is met with elsewhere, it is simpler to assume that the present passage is itself injunctive than to construe (on the basis of it if viewed as a *gunavāda*) another injunctive passage. (In Ānanda Giri’s gloss on this passage—*Biblioth. Indica* edition—read ‘*vihitatvopagamaprasaktyā*’ and ‘*stutilakṣaṇayaika*’.)

is not enjoined anywhere else<sup>1</sup>. This is explained in the chapter treating of 'complement,' in the Sūtra, 'But it is an injunction,' &c. (Pū. Mīm. Sū.). In the same way we assume that our passage referring to the different āśramas is an injunctory passage only.

Even if (to state an alternative conclusion) the passage contains references only to the other āśramas, it must be viewed as enjoining at any rate the condition of being grounded in Brahman, owing to the glorification of that condition. The question here arises whether that state belongs to any one comprised within the four āśramas, or only to the wandering mendicant. If now a reference to the mendicant also is contained within the references to the āśramas up to the Brahmaṭārin (i.e. the three āśramas the text refers to before the passage about the brahmasaṁstha); then, as all four āśramas are referred to equally and as somebody not belonging to any āśrama could not possibly be called brahmasaṁstha, it follows that the term 'brahmasaṁstha' denotes any one standing within one of the four āśramas. If, on the other hand, the mendicant is not comprised within the references to the three āśramas, he alone remains, and this establishes the conclusion that the brahmasaṁstha is the mendicant only. (We therefore have to inquire which of the two alternatives stated has to be adopted.)—Here some maintain that the term 'austerity' which denotes the hermit in the woods implies a reference to the mendicant also. But this is wrong. For as long as any other explanation is possible, we must not assume that a term which expresses a distinctive attribute of the hermits living in the forest comprises the wandering mendicants also. Both the Brahmaṭārin and the householder are

<sup>1</sup> The ekavākyatā is preserved if we take the clause from 'above' as an arthavāda meant to give the reason why in sacrifices offered to the Fathers the firewood has to be carried below. Nevertheless the clause must be taken as a vidhi enjoining the carrying above in all sacrifices offered to the gods, because this particular is not enjoined elsewhere.

referred to by distinctive terms applying to them only, and we therefore expect that the mendicant and the hermit also should be referred to by analogous terms. Now 'austerity' is a distinctive attribute of the hermits living in the woods; for the principal conventional meaning of the word 'austerity' is mortification of the body. The distinctive attribute of the mendicant, on the other hand, viz. restraint of the senses and so on, cannot be denoted by the term 'austerity.' Moreover it would be an illegitimate assumption that the âśramas which are known to be four should here be referred to as three. And further the text notifies a distinction, viz. by saying that those three reach the world of the blessed, while one enjoys immortality. Now there is room for such a distinction if the hermits and the mendicants are separate; for we do not say 'Devadatta and Yagñadatta are stupid, but one of them is clever,' but we say 'Devadatta and Yagñadatta are stupid, but Vishnumitra is clever.' The passage therefore has to be understood in that sense, that those belonging to the three former âśramas obtain the world of the blessed, while the remaining one, i. e. the wandering mendicant, enjoys immortality.—But how can the term 'brahmasamsthā,' which according to its etymological meaning may be applied to members of all âśramas, be restricted to the mendicant? and, if we agree to take it in its conventional meaning, it follows that immortality may be reached by merely belonging to an âśrama, and hence that knowledge is useless!—To these objections we make the following reply. The term 'brahmasamsthā' denotes fulfilment in Brahman, a state of being grounded in Brahman to the exclusion of all other activity. Now such a state is impossible for persons belonging to the three former âśramas, as scripture declares that they suffer loss through the non-performance of the works enjoined on their âśrama. The mendicant, on the other hand, who has discarded all works can suffer no loss owing to non-performance. Such duties as are incumbent on him, viz. restraint of the senses and the like, are not opposed to the state of being grounded in Brahman, but rather helpful



to it. For the only work enjoined on him by his āsrama is the state of being firmly grounded in Brahman, wherein he is strengthened by restraint of the senses and so on—just as sacrifices and the like are prescribed for the other āśramas—and loss he incurs only by neglecting that work. In agreement herewith texts from scripture and *Smṛiti* declare that for him who is grounded in Brahman there are no works. Compare ‘Renunciation is Brahman; for Brahman is the highest; for the highest is Brahman; above those lower penances, indeed, there rises renunciation;’ ‘Those anchorites who have well ascertained the object of the knowledge of the Vedānta and have purified their nature by the Yoga of renunciation’ (Mu. Up. III, 2, 6); and similar scriptural passages. And *Smṛiti*-texts to the same effect, such as ‘They whose minds are fixed on him, who have their Self in him, their stand on him, their end in him’ (Bha. Gītā V, 17). All these passages teach that for him who is founded on Brahman there are no works. From this there also follows the non-validity of the second objection raised above, viz. that the mendicant’s reaching immortality through the mere stage of life in which he stands would imply the uselessness of knowledge.—In this way we understand that, although there is a reference to the other stages of life, that which is indicated by the quality of being grounded in Brahman is the state of the wandering mendicant.

This whole discussion has been carried on by the teacher without taking into account the text of the *Gābālas*, which enjoins the other stage of life. But there exists that text which directly enjoins the other stage, ‘Having completed his studentship he is to become a householder; having been a householder he is to become a dweller in the forest; having been a dweller in the forest he is to wander forth; or else he may wander forth from the student’s state; or from the house; or from the forest.’ Nor can this text be interpreted as referring to those who are not qualified for works; for it states no difference, and there is a separate injunction (of the *pārivrāgya*-state) for those who are not qualified, viz. in the passage, ‘May he have

taken vows upon himself or not, may he be a snātaka or not, may he be one whose fire has gone out or one who has no fire,' &c. That the text does not refer to such only as are not qualified for works, further follows from the fact that the state of the mendicant is meant to subserve the development of the knowledge of Brahman<sup>1</sup>, as scripture declares, 'The wandering mendicant, with colourless dress, shaven, wifeless, pure, guileless, living on alms, qualifies himself for the intuition of Brahman.'—From all this it follows that the stages of life for which chastity is obligatory are established by scripture, and that knowledge—because enjoined on persons who have entered on those stages—is independent of works.

21. If it be said that (texts such as the one about the udgītha are) mere glorification, on account of their reference (to parts of sacrifices); we deny that, on account of the newness (of what they teach, if viewed as injunctions).

'That udgītha is the best of all essences, the highest, holding the highest place, the eighth' (*Kh. Up. I, 1, 3*); 'This earth is the *Rik*, the fire is *Sāman*' (*Kh. Up. I, 6, 1*); 'This world in truth is that piled-up fire-altar' (*Sat. Brā. X, 1, 2, 2*); 'That hymn is truly that earth' (*Ait. Ār. II, 1, 2, 1*); with reference to these and other similar passages a doubt arises whether they are meant to glorify the udgītha and so on, or to enjoin devout meditations.

The pūrvapakshin maintains that their aim is glorification, because the text exhibits them with reference to subordinate members of sacrificial actions, such as the udgītha and so on. They are, he says, analogous to passages such as 'This earth is the ladle;' 'the sun is the tortoise;' 'the heavenly world is the *Āhavanīya*,' whose

---

<sup>1</sup> Which has to be acquired in the regular prescribed way of Brahmanical studentship.

aim it is to glorify the ladle and so on. To this the Sūtra-kāra replies as follows. We have no right to consider the purpose of those passages to be mere glorification, on account of the newness. If they aim at injunction, a new matter is enjoined by them; if, on the other hand, they aimed at glorification they would be devoid of meaning. For, as explained in the Pū. Mīm. Sū., glorificatory passages are of use in so far as entering into a complementary relation to injunctive passages; but the passages under discussion are incapable of entering into such a relation to the udgītha and so on which are enjoined in altogether different places of the Veda, and would therefore be purposeless as far as glorification is concerned. Passages such as 'This earth is the ladle' are not analogous because they stand in proximity to injunctive passages.—Therefore texts such as those under discussion have an injunctive purpose.

22. And on account of the words expressive of becoming.

Moreover the text exhibits words of clearly injunctive meaning, in connexion with the passages quoted above, viz. 'Let him meditate on the udgītha' (*Kh. Up. I, 1, 1*); 'Let him meditate on the Sāman' (*Kh. Up. II, 2, 1*); 'Let him think: I am the hymn' (*Ait. Ār. II, 1, 6*). Now these injunctive forms would be rendered futile by the assumption of the texts under discussion aiming at glorification only. Compare the following saying of those who know Nyāya, 'Let him do, let it be done, it is to be done, let it become, let it be; these forms are in all Vedas the settled signs of injunction.' What they mean thereby is that injunction is the sense of all potential, imperative, &c., verbal forms.—Moreover in each of the sections to which the passages under discussion belong the text states special fruits, 'He becomes indeed a fulfiller of desires' (*Kh. Up. I, 1, 7*); 'He is able to obtain wishes through his song' (*Kh. Up. I, 7, 9*); 'The worlds in an ascending and a descending line belong to him' (*Kh. Up. II, 2, 3*). For this reason also the texts

about the udgîtha and so on are meant to enjoin devout meditations.

23. (The stories told in the Upanishads) are for the purpose of the pâriplava; we deny this on account of (certain stories only) being specified.

‘Yâgñavalkya had two wives, Maitreyî and Kâtyâyanî’ (*Bṛi. Up.* IV, 5, 1); ‘Pratardana, forsooth, the son of Divodâsa came to the beloved abode of Indra’ (*Kau. Up.* III, 1); ‘There lived once upon a time Gânasrutî Pautrâyana, who was a pious giver, giving much and keeping open house’ (*Kṛ. Up.* IV, 1, 1); with regard to these and similar stories met with in the Vedânta portions of scripture there arises a doubt whether they are meant to subserve the performance of the pâriplava<sup>1</sup>, or to introduce the vidyâs standing in proximity to them.

The pûrvapakshin maintains that those scriptural stories subserve the pâriplava because they are stories like others, and because the telling of stories is enjoined for the pâriplava. And from this it follows that the Vedânta-texts do not chiefly aim at knowledge, because like mantras they stand in a complementary relation to sacrificial performances.

This conclusion we deny ‘on account of the specification.’ Under the heading ‘he is to recite the pâriplava,’ scripture specifies certain definite stories such as that of ‘Manu Vivasvat’s son the king.’ If, now, for the reason that all tales as such are alike, all tales were admitted for the pâriplava, the mentioned specification would be devoid of meaning. We therefore conclude that those scriptural stories are not meant to be told at the pâriplava.

24. This follows also from the connexion (of the stories with the vidyâs) in one coherent whole.

And as thus the stories do not subserve the pâriplava it

---

<sup>1</sup> I. e. have to be recited at stated intervals during the year occupied by the arvamedha sacrifice.

is appropriate to assume that they are meant to bring nearer to our understanding the approximate vidyās with which they are seen to form connected wholes; for they serve to render the latter more acceptable and facilitate their comprehension.

In the Maitreyī-brāhmaṇa we see that the story forms a whole with the vidyā beginning, 'The Self indeed is to be seen,' &c.; in the account of Pratardana with the vidyā, 'I am prāṇa, the conscious Self;'; in the legend of Gāṇasruti with the vidyā, 'Air indeed is the end of all.' The case of all these stories is analogous to that of stories met with in scriptural texts referring to works, whose purpose is the glorification of injunctions standing in proximity; as e.g. 'He cut out his own omentum.'—The stories under discussion therefore do not subserve the pāriplava.

25. For this very reason there is no need of the lighting of the fire and so on.

The expression 'For this very same reason' must be viewed as taking up Sūtra III, 4, 1, because thus a satisfactory sense is established. For this very same reason, i.e. because knowledge subserves the purpose of man, the lighting of the sacrificial fire and similar works which are enjoined on the different āśramas are not to be observed, since man's purpose is effected through knowledge.

The Sūtrakāra thus sums up the result of the first adhikaraṇa, intending to make some further remarks.

26. And there is need of all (works), on account of the scriptural statement of sacrifices and the like; as in the case of the horse.

We now consider whether knowledge has absolutely no need of the works enjoined on the different āśramas, or whether it has some need of them. Under the preceding Sūtra we have arrived at the conclusion that as knowledge effects its own end the works enjoined on the āśramas are absolutely not required. With reference to this point the present Sūtra now remarks that knowledge has regard

for all works enjoined on the âśramas, and that there is not absolute non-regard.—But do not the two Sûtras thus contradict each other?—By no means, we reply. Knowledge having once sprung up requires no help towards the accomplishment of its fruit, but it does stand in need of something else with a view to its own origination.—Why so?—On account of the scriptural statements of sacrifices and so on. For the passage, ‘Him Brâhmanas seek to know by the study of the Veda, by sacrifice, by gifts, by penance, by fasting’ (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 22*), declares that sacrifices and so on are means of knowledge, and as the text connects them with the ‘seeking to know,’ we conclude that they are, more especially, means of the origination of knowledge. Similarly the passage, ‘What people call sacrifice that is really brahma-kārya’ (*Kh. Up. VIII, 5, 1*), by connecting sacrifices and so on with brahma-kārya which is a means of knowledge, intimates that sacrifices &c. also are means of knowledge. Again the passage, ‘That word which all the Vedas record, which all penances proclaim, desiring which men live as religious students, that word I tell thee briefly, it is Om’ (*Ka. Up. I, 2, 15*), likewise intimates that the works enjoined on the âśramas are means of knowledge. Similarly *Smṛiti* says, ‘Works are the washing away of uncleanness, but knowledge is the highest way. When the impurity has been removed, then knowledge begins to act.’

The phrase, ‘as in the case of the horse,’ supplies an illustration on the ground of suitability. As the horse, owing to its specific suitability, is not employed for dragging ploughs but is harnessed to chariots; so the works enjoined on the âśramas are not required by knowledge for bringing about its results, but with a view to its own origination.

27. But all the same he (who is desirous of knowledge) must be possessed of calmness, subjection of the senses, &c., since those (states) are enjoined as auxiliaries to that (*viz.* knowledge), and must (on that account) necessarily be accomplished.

Perhaps somebody might think that we have no right to look upon sacrifices and the like as means of knowledge because there is no injunction to that effect. For a passage like 'By sacrifice they seek to know' is of the nature of an anuvāda, and therefore does not aim at enjoining sacrifices but rather at glorifying knowledge, 'so glorious is knowledge that they seek to obtain it through sacrifices and the like.'

But even should this be so the seeker for knowledge must possess calmness of mind, must subdue his senses and so on ; for all this is enjoined as a means of knowledge in the following scriptural passage, 'Therefore he who knows this, having become calm, subdued, satisfied, patient, and collected, sees self in Self' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 23*). And what is enjoined must necessarily be carried out.—But in the above passage also we observe only a statement as to something actually going on—'Having become calm, &c., he sees,' not an injunction!—Not so, we reply. The introductory word 'therefore' which expresses praise of the subject under discussion makes us understand that the passage has an injunctive character<sup>1</sup>.

Moreover the text of the Mādhyandinas directly reads 'let him see' (not 'he sees'). Hence calmness of mind and so on are required even if sacrifices, &c., should not be required.—Sacrifices and so on, however, are required likewise, because (as said in Sūtra 26) scripture teaches them.—But it has been said that in the passage, 'Him they seek to know by sacrifices,' no injunction is observed!—True ; but nevertheless we must assume the passage to be an injunction, because the connexion of the search for knowledge with sacrifices and so on is something new ; i.e. is not established by another text, and therefore the

<sup>1</sup> For if there were no injunction, the praise would be without meaning. The 'therefore' connects the passage with the preceding clause, 'he is not sullied by any evil deed.' The sense then is, 'Because he who knows the Self as described before is not sullied by any evil deed, therefore let him, after having become calm, &c., see the Self, and so on.'

passage under discussion cannot be an anuvāda referring to it. The case is analogous to that of passages such as 'therefore Pūshan<sup>1</sup> receives a well-crushed share of food, for he is toothless.' There also no injunction is directly stated ; but as the matter of the passage is new we assume an injunction and understand that the grains for Pūshan are to be crushed at all vikṛitis of the darsapūṛṇamāsa ; as was explained in the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā.

An analogous conclusion was arrived at under Sūtra 20.—Smṛitis also such as the Bhagavadgītā explain that sacrifices and the like if undertaken without a view to their special results become for him who is desirous of final release a means of knowledge. Hence sacrifices and the like, on the one hand, and calmness of mind and so on, on the other hand, according to the āśramas, i.e. all works enjoined on the āśramas must be had regard to with a view to the springing up of knowledge. Calmness of mind, &c., are, on account of the expression 'he who knows this' connecting them with knowledge, to be viewed as approximate—direct—means of knowledge, while sacrifices and so on which scripture connects with the search of knowledge are to be looked upon as remote—indirect—means.

28. And there is permission of all food, (only) in the case of danger of life ; on account of this being shown (by scripture).

In the colloquy of the prānas the *Kṛandogas* record, 'To him who knows this there is nothing which is not food' (*Kṛ. Up. V, 1, 2*) ; and the *Vāgasaneyins*, 'By him nothing is eaten that is not food, nothing is received that is not food' (*Bṛi. Up. VI, 1, 14*). The sense of the two passages is that anything may be eaten by him.—A doubt here arises whether the texts enjoin the permission of eating anything

---

<sup>1</sup> The passage quoted occurs in the Veda under the heading of the darsapūṛṇamāsa. But as Pūshan has no share in the fundamental form of that sacrifice, we conclude that the injunction implied in the passage is valid for those vikṛitis of the darsapūṛṇamāsa in which offerings are made to Pūshan.



as an auxiliary to knowledge—as calmness of mind, &c., are—or mention them for the purpose of glorification.—The pûrvapakshin maintains that the passages are injunctions because thus we gain an instruction which causes a special kind of activity. What, therefore, the text teaches is the non-operation of a definite rule, in so far as auxiliary to the knowledge of the prâṇas in proximity to which it is taught.—But this interpretation implies the sublation of the scriptural rules as to the distinction of lawful and unlawful food!—Such sublation, we reply, is possible, because the present case is one of general rule and special exception. The prohibition of doing harm to any living creature is sublated by the injunction of the killing of the sacrificial animal; the general rule which distinguishes between such women as may be approached and such as may not, is sublated by the text prescribing, with reference to the knowledge of the Vâmadevya, that no woman is to be avoided ('Let him avoid no woman, that is the vow,' *Kh. Up. II, 13, 2*); analogously the passage which enjoins, with reference to the knowledge of the prâṇas, the eating of all food may sublate the general rule as to the distinction of lawful and unlawful food.

To this we reply as follows. The permission to eat any food whatever is not enjoined, since the passages do not contain any word of injunctive power; for the clause, 'To him who knows this there is nothing,' &c., expresses only something actually going on. And where the conception of an injunction does not naturally arise we may not assume one from the mere wish of something causing a special line of activity. Moreover the text says that 'for him who knows this there is nothing that is not food,' only after having said that everything even unto dogs and the like is food for the Prâṇa. Now food such as dogs and the like cannot be enjoyed by the human body; but all this can be thought of as food of the Prâṇa. From this it follows that the passage is an arthavâda meant to glorify the knowledge of the food of the Prâṇa, not an injunction of the permission of all food.—This the Sûtra indicates in the words, 'and there is permission of all food

in danger of life.' That means: Only in danger of life, in cases of highest need, food of any kind is permitted to be eaten. 'On account of scripture showing this.' For scripture shows that the *rishi Kâkrâyana* when in evil plight proceeded to eat unlawful food. In the *brâhmaṇa* beginning, 'when the Kurus had been destroyed by hail-stones,' it is told how the *rishi Kâkrâyana* having fallen into great wretchedness ate the beans half eaten by a chief, but refused to drink what had been offered on the ground of its being a mere leaving; and explained his proceeding as follows: 'I should not have lived if I had not eaten them; but water I can drink wherever I like.' And again on the following day he ate the stale beans left by himself and another person. Scripture, in thus showing how the stale leaving of a leaving was eaten, intimates as its principle that in order to preserve one's life when in danger one may eat even unlawful food. That, on the other hand, in normal circumstances not even a man possessing knowledge must do this, appears from *Kâkrâyana's* refusing to drink.—From this it follows that the passage, 'For to him who knows this,' &c., is an *arthavâda*.

### 29. And on account of the non-sublation.

And thus those scriptural passages which distinguish lawful and unlawful food,—such as *Kh. Up. VII, 26, 2*, 'When the food is pure the whole nature becomes pure,'—are non-sublated.

### 30. And this is said in *Smṛiti* also.

That in cases of need both he who knows and he who does not know may eat any food *Smṛiti* also states; compare e.g. 'He who being in danger of his life eats food from anywhere is stained by sin no more than the lotus leaf by water.'—On the other hand, many passages teach that unlawful food is to be avoided. 'Intoxicating liquor the *Brâhmaṇa* must permanently forego;' 'Let them pour boiling spirits down the throat of the *Brâhmaṇa* who drinks spirits;' 'Spirit-drinking worms grow in the

mouth of the spirit-drinking man, because he enjoys what is unlawful.'

31. And hence also a scriptural passage as to non-proceeding according to liking.

There is also a scriptural passage prohibiting unlawful food, the purpose of which it is to stop procedure therein according to one's liking, viz. in the *Samhitā* of the *Kaṭhas*, 'Therefore a Brāhmaṇa is not to drink spirits.' This text also is more appropriate if we take the passage, 'To him who knows this,' as an arthavāda.—Hence passages of that kind are arthavādas, not injunctions.

32. The works of the āśramas (are incumbent on him) also (who does not desire release); because they are enjoined.

Under Sūtra 26 it has been proved that the works enjoined on the āśramas are means of knowledge. Now we will consider whether those works have to be performed also by him who does not desire final release and therefore takes his stand on his āśrama merely without wishing for knowledge.—Here the pūrvapakshin maintains that as the works incumbent on the āśramas are enjoined as means of knowledge by the passage, 'Him the Brāhmaṇas seek to know by the study of the Veda' &c., the works of permanent obligation are not to be performed by him who, not desirous of knowledge, wishes for some other fruit. Or else they are to be performed by him also; but then they cannot be means of knowledge, since it would be contradictory to attribute to them a permanent and a non-permanent connexion<sup>1</sup>.

Against this conclusion the Sūtrakāra remarks that the works of permanent obligation are to be performed by

---

<sup>1</sup> I. e. we must not think that because they enjoy the 'nityatā' of certain works, other passages may not enjoy the same works as mere means of knowledge.

him only who, not desirous of release, takes his stand on the āśramas merely, because they are enjoined by texts such 'as long as his life lasts he is to offer the agnihotra.' For to such texts no excessive weight must be ascribed.—The next Sūtra replies to the objection raised above in the words, 'but then they cannot be means of knowledge.'

33. And through the co-operativeness (of the works towards the origination of knowledge).

Those works are also co-operative with knowledge just because they are enjoined as such, viz. in passages such as 'Him the Brāhmaṇas seek to know by the study of the Veda,' &c. This has been explained under Sūtra 26. Nor must you think that the texts stating the co-operation of the works of the āśramas towards knowledge refer to the fruit of knowledge, as e.g. the offerings called prayāgas co-operate towards the fruit of the darsapûṇamāsa of which they are auxiliary members; for knowledge is not characterised by injunction, and the fruit of knowledge is not to be effected by means. Means characterised by injunctions such as the darsapûṇamāsa-sacrifice which aim at bringing about certain fruits such as the heavenly world require other (subordinate) means co-operating towards the fruit (such as the prayāgas). But not so knowledge. Compare on this point Sūtra 25. Therefore texts stating the co-operation of works (with knowledge) have to be interpreted as stating that works are means for the origination of knowledge.—Nor need we fear that thus there arises a contradiction of permanent and non-permanent connexion. For there may be difference of connexion even where there is no difference of work. One connexion is permanent, resting on the texts about the life-long performance of the agnihotra and so on; of this knowledge is not the result. The other connexion is non-permanent, resting on texts such as 'Him the Brāhmaṇas seek to know,' &c.; of this knowledge is the result. The case is analogous to that of the one khadira, which through a permanent connexion serves the purpose of the sacrifice, and through a non-permanent connexion the purpose of man.

34. In any case the same (duties have to be performed) on account of the twofold indicatory marks.

In any case, i. e. whether viewed as duties incumbent on the āsramas or as co-operating with knowledge, the very same agnihotra and other duties have to be performed.—What, it may be asked, does the teacher wish to preclude by the emphatic expression ‘the very same?’—The suspicion, we reply, that those works might be separate works<sup>1</sup>. In the ayana of the *Kundapâyins* indeed the injunctive statement, ‘They offer the agnihotra for a month<sup>2</sup>,’ enjoins a sacrifice different from the permanent (ordinary) agnihotra ; but in our present case there is no analogous separation of works.—Why?—On account of the twofold indicatory mark ; i. e. on account of both scripture and *Smṛiti* supplying indicatory marks. In the first place, the scriptural passage, ‘Him the Brāhmaṇas seek to know through the study of the Veda,’ &c., directs that sacrifices and the like—as things already established and the form of which is already in existence (viz. through previous injunctions)—are to be employed as means in the search for knowledge ; and does not originate a new form of those works, while the passage quoted above, ‘They offer the agnihotra for a month,’ does originate a new separate sacrifice.—In the second place the *Smṛiti*-passage, ‘He who performs the work to be done without aiming at the fruit of the work,’ shows that the very same work which is already known as something to be performed subserves the origination of knowledge. Moreover the *Smṛiti*-passage, ‘He who is qualified by those forty-eight purifications,’ &c., refers to the purifications required for Vedic works, with a view to the origination of knowledge in him who has undergone those purifications.—The *Sūtrakāra* therefore rightly emphasizes the non-difference of the works.

<sup>1</sup> That the works referred to in the Upanishads as means of knowledge, might be works altogether different from those enjoined in the *karmakāṇḍa* as means of bringing about certain special results such as the heavenly world.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 250.

35. And scripture also declares that (those performing works) are not overpowered (by passion and the like).

This Sûtra points out a further indicatory mark fortifying the conclusion that works co-operate towards knowledge. Scripture also shows that he who is furnished with such means as *Brahmakārya*, &c., is not overpowered by such afflictions as passion and the like. Compare the passage, 'That Self does not perish which they find out by *Brahmakārya*' (*Kh. Up. VIII, 5, 3*).—It is thus a settled conclusion that sacrifices and so on are works incumbent on the *âśramas* as well as co-operative towards knowledge.

36. But also (persons standing) between (are qualified for knowledge); for that is seen (in scripture).

A doubt arises whether persons in want who do not possess means, &c., and therefore are not able to enter one or the other of the *âśramas*, standing between as it were, are qualified for knowledge or not.—They are not qualified, the *pûrvapakshin* maintains. For we have ascertained that the works incumbent on the *âśramas* are the cause of knowledge, and those persons have no opportunity to perform those works.—To this the *Sûtrakāra* replies, 'But also between.' Even a person who because he does not belong to an *âśrama* stands between, as it were, is qualified for knowledge. 'For that is seen.' For we meet with scriptural passages declaring that persons of that class—such as *Raikva* and the daughter of *Vaknu*—possessed the knowledge of Brahman (*Kh. Up. IV, 1; Bri. Up. III, 6, 8*).

37. This is stated in *Smṛiti* also.

It is recorded in *itihâsas* also how *Samvarta* and others who paid no regard to the duties incumbent on the *âśramas*, in going naked and so on, became great *Yogins* all the same.—But the instances quoted from scripture and *Smṛiti* furnish merely indicatory marks; what then is

the final conclusion?—That conclusion is stated in the next Sūtra.

38. And the promotion (of knowledge is bestowed on them) through special acts.

Also for widowers, &c., the favour of knowledge is possible through special acts of duty, such as praying, fasting, propitiation of divinities, &c., which are not opposed to their āsrama-less condition and may be performed by any man as such. Thus *Smṛiti* says, 'By mere prayer no doubt the Brāhmaṇa perfects himself. May he perform other works or not, the kindhearted one is called Brāhmaṇa' (*Manu Samh.* II, 87), which passage shows that where the works of the āsramas are not possible prayer qualifies for knowledge. Moreover knowledge may be promoted by āsrama works performed in previous births. Thus *Smṛiti* also declares, 'Perfectured by many births he finally goes the highest way' (*Bha. Gītā* VI, 45); which passage shows that the aggregate of the different purificatory ceremonies performed in former births promotes knowledge.—Moreover knowledge—as having a seen result (*viz.* the removal of ignorance)—qualifies any one who is desirous of it for learning and so on, through the mere absence of obstacles<sup>1</sup>. Hence there is no contradiction in admitting qualification for knowledge on the part of widowers and the like.

39. Better than this is the other (state of belonging to an āsrama), on account of the indicatory marks.

'Than this,' i.e. 'than standing between,' a better means of knowledge it is to stand within one of the āsramas, since this is confirmed by *Sruti* and *Smṛiti*. For scripture supplies an indicatory mark in the passage, 'On that path goes whoever knows Brahman and who has done holy

---

<sup>1</sup> I.e. any one who wishes to learn may do so, if only there is no obstacle in the way. No special injunction is wanted.

works (as prescribed for the āśramas) and obtained splendour' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 9*); and *Smṛiti* in the passage, 'Let a Brāhmaṇa stay not one day even outside the āśrama; having stayed outside for a year he goes to utter ruin.'

40. But of him who has become that (i.e. entered on a higher āśrama) there is no becoming not that (i.e. descending to a lower one), according to *Gai-minī* also, on account of restrictive rule, absence of such like (i.e. statements of descent), and non-existence (of good custom).

It has been established that there are stages of life for which chastity is obligatory. A doubt here arises whether one who has entered them may for some reason or other fall from them or not.—The *pūrvapakṣhin* maintains that as there is no difference a person may descend to a lower stage, either from the wish of well performing the duties of that stage, or influenced by passion and the like.—To this we reply as follows, 'Of him who has become that,' i.e. of him who has reached the stages for which chastity is obligatory, there is no 'becoming not that,' i.e. descending thence.—Why?—'On account of restrictive rule, absence of such like, and non-existence.' That means: there are, in the first place, restrictive rules declaring that a descent may not take place. Compare 'for life mortifying the body in the house of a tutor' (*Kh. Up. II, 23, 2*); 'He is to go into the forest, that is he is not to return thence, that is the Upanishad'; 'Having been dismissed by the teacher he is to follow one of the four āśramas, according to rule, up to release from the body.'—In the second place there are texts teaching the ascent to higher āśramas ('Having completed the Brahma-kārya state he is to become a householder; he may wander forth from the Brahma-kārya state'); but there are none teaching the descent to lower āśramas.—And in the third place there exists no good custom of that kind.—The descent to a lower āśrama can in no way be based on the wish of well performing the duties of that āśrama; for



*Smṛiti* says, 'One's own duty, however badly performed, is better than another duty well carried out' (Bha. Gītā III, 35). And the principle is that whatever is enjoined on a certain person constitutes his duty, not what a person is able to perform well; for all duty is characterised by injunction. Nor is a descent allowed owing to the influence of passion, &c.; for restrictive rules are weightier than passion.—By the word 'also' the *Sūtrakāra* indicates the consensus of *Gaimini* and *Bādarāyaṇa* on this point, in order to confirm thereby the view adopted.

41. And not also (can the expiation take place) prescribed in the chapter treating of qualification, because on account of the inference of his lapse from *Smṛiti* he (the *Naishṭhika*) is not capable of it.

If a *Brahmakārin* for life breaks from inattention the vow of chastity, is he to perform the expiatory sacrifice enjoined by the text, 'A student who has broken the vow of chastity shall sacrifice an ass to *Nirṛiti*<sup>1</sup>' or not?—He is not, the *pūrvapakshin* says. For although in the chapter which treats of qualification (*Pū. Mīm. Sū. VI, 8, 22*) that expiatory ceremony has been settled (for *Brahmakārins* in general), it does not yet hold good for the professed *Brahmakārin*. For *Smṛiti* declares that such sins cannot be expiated by him any more than a head once cut off can again be healed on to the body, 'He who having once entered on the duties of a *Naishṭhika* again lapses from them, for him—a slayer of the Self—I see no expiation which might make him clean again.' The *Upakurvāna* (i. e. he who is a *Brahmakārin* for a certain time only, not for life) on the other hand, about whose sin *Smṛiti* makes no similar declaration, may purify himself by the ceremony mentioned.

42. But some (consider the sin) a minor one, (and

<sup>1</sup> Cp. e. g. *Āpastamba Dharma-sūtra I, 9, 26, 8*. The passage quoted in the text is, however, a scriptural one.

hence claim) the existence (of expiation for the Naishṭhika also); as in the case of the eating (of unlawful food). This has been explained (in the Pûrva Mīmāṃsā).

Some teachers, however, are of opinion that the transgression of the vow of chastity, even on the part of a professed Brahmaċārin, is a minor sin, not a mortal one, excepting cases where the wife of the teacher and so on are concerned. For they plead that that sin is not anywhere enumerated among the deadly ones such as violating a teacher's bed and so on. Accordingly they claim the expiatory ceremony to be valid for the Naishṭhika as well as the Upakurvāṇa; both being alike Brahmaċārins and having committed the same offence. The case is analogous to that of eating. Just as Brahmaċārins (in general) who have broken their vow by eating honey, flesh, and the like may again purify themselves by a ceremony, so here also.—The reason for this decision is that for those who assume the absence of all expiation on the part of the Naishṭhikas no scriptural passage supporting their view is met with; while those who admit expiation can base their view on the passage quoted above ('A student who has broken the vow' &c.), which makes no distinction between Upakurvāṇas and Naishṭhikas. It therefore is more appropriate to assume the validity of the ceremony for Naishṭhikas also. The principle guiding the decision has been explained in the chapter treating of the means of right knowledge (Pû. Mî. Sû. I, 3, 8).—On this view the Smṛiti-passage which declares that there is no expiation for the Naishṭhika must be explained as aiming at the origination of weighty effort on the Naishṭhika's part.—Similarly in the case of the mendicant and the hermit. The hermit, when he has broken his vows, undergoes the Krikkhra penance for twelve nights and then cultivates a place rich in plants. The mendicant proceeds like the hermit, with the exception of cultivating the Soma-plant, and undergoes the purifications prescribed for his state. The rules given by Smṛiti for those cases have to be followed.

43. But (they are to be kept outside) in either case, on account of *Smṛiti* and custom.

But whether lapses from the duties of one's order, committed by those who are bound to chastity, be mortal sins or minor sins, in either case such persons are to be excluded by honourable men (*śiṣṭas*). For *Smṛiti* refers to them in terms of the highest reproach; cp. passages such as the one quoted under Sūtra 41; and the following one, 'He who touches a Brāhmaṇa that has broken his vow and fallen from his order, or a hanged man or one gnawed by worms must undergo the *Kāṇḍāyana* penance.' And good custom also condemns them; for good men do not sacrifice, study, or attend weddings with such persons.

44. To the lord (of the sacrifice) only (the agent-ship in meditations belongs), because scripture declares a fruit; this is the view of Ātreya.

With regard to meditations on subordinate members of sacrificial actions there arises a doubt whether they are to be carried out by the sacrificer (i.e. him for whom the sacrifice is performed) or by the officiating priests.—By the sacrificer, the *pūrvapakṣin* maintains, because scripture declares fruits. For a fruit is declared in such texts as the following one, 'There is rain for him, and he brings rain for others who thus knowing meditates on the fivefold *Sāman* as rain' (*Kh. Up.* II, 3, 2); and we must conclude that that fruit goes to the Lord of the sacrifice, because it is he who is entitled to the sacrificial performance together with its subordinate members, and because such meditations fall within the sphere of that to which he is entitled. And that the fruit belongs to him who carries out the meditations scripture states when saying, 'There is rain for him who meditates.'—But scripture declares a fruit for the priest also, viz. in the passage, 'Whatever desire he may desire either for himself or for the sacrificer he obtains by his singing.'—That passage, we reply, is of no force because it expressly declares the fruit (as belonging to the priest in a special case only). Hence the lord of the sacrifice only

is the agent in those meditations which have a fruit ; this is the opinion of the teacher Âtreya.

45. (They are) the work of the priest, this is the view of Audulomi ; since for that (i.e. the entire sacrificial work) he is feed.

The assertion that the meditations on subordinate members of the sacrifice are the work of the sacrificer is unfounded. They rather are the work of the priest, as the teacher Audulomi thinks. For the priest is rewarded for the work together with its subordinate members ; and the meditations on the udgîtha and so on fall within the performance of the work since they belong to the sphere of that to which the person entitled (viz. the lord of the sacrifice) is entitled. Hence they are to be carried out by the priests only, the case being analogous to that of the restrictive rule as to the work to be performed by means of the godohana vessel. In agreement herewith scripture declares the udgâtri to be the agent in knowledge, in the following passage, 'Him Vaka Dâlbhya knew. He was the udgâtri of the Naimishîya-sacrificers' (*Kh. Up. I, 2, 13*). With reference to the circumstance noted by the pûrvapakshin that scripture states the fruit to belong to the agent, we remark that this makes no difference ; for with the exception of cases expressly stated the priest cannot be connected with the sacrifice since he subserves the purposes (acts for) another (viz. the lord of the sacrifice).

46. And on account of scriptural statement.

'Whatever blessing the priests pray for at the sacrifice, they pray for the good of the sacrificer ; thus he said' (*Sat. Brâ. I, 3, 1, 26*) ; 'Therefore an udgâtri who knows this may say : what wish shall I obtain for you by my singing?' (*Kh. Up. I, 7, 8*). These scriptural passages also declare that the fruit of meditations in which the priest is the agent goes to the sacrificer.—All this establishes the conclusion that the meditations on subordinate parts of the sacrifice are the work of the priest.

47. There is the injunction of something else co-operating (towards knowledge) (which is) a third thing (with regard to *bālya* and *pāṇḍitya*), (which injunction is given) for the case (of perfect knowledge not yet having arisen) to him who is such (i. e. the *Samnyâsin* possessing knowledge); as in the case of injunctions and the like.

‘Therefore let a *Brâhmana* after he has done with learning wish to stand by a childlike state; and after he has done with the childlike state and learning (he is, or, may be) a *Muni*; and after he has done with what constitutes *Muniship* and non-*Muniship* (he is, or, may be) a *Brâhmana*’ (*Bṛi. Up. III, 5*). With reference to this passage a doubt arises whether it enjoins the state of a *Muni* or not.—The *pûrvapakshin* maintains that it does not enjoin it, since the injunction is completed with the clause, ‘Let him wish to stand by a childlike state.’ The following clause ‘then a *Muni*’ contains no verbal form of injunctive force and therefore must be viewed as a mere *anuvâda* (making a remark concerning the state of a *Muni* which is already established). Should it be asked how this conclusion is reached, we reply that *Muniship* is established by the clause ‘having done with learning’ (which forms part of the injunctive portion of the passage), as ‘*Muni*’ and ‘learned man’ both denote knowledge<sup>1</sup>. It is, moreover, clear also that the last clause, ‘and after he has done with what constitutes *Muniship* and non-*Muniship* (he is) a *Brâhmana*,’ does not enjoin the condition of a *Brâhmana*, as that state is previously established (independently of that clause); but the words ‘then a *Brâhmana*’ are a mere glorificatory *anuvâda*. Now as the words ‘then a *Muni*’ show an analogous form of enunciation (to the clause ‘then a *Brâhmana*’), they also can embody a glorificatory *anuvâda* only.

<sup>1</sup> The state of a *Muni* is already enjoined by the clause ‘*pāṇḍi-tyam nirvidya*,’ the clause ‘*atha muniḥ*,’ therefore, may be viewed as an *anuvâda* (as which it could not be viewed, if there were no previous injunction of *mauna*).

To all this we reply as follows. 'There is an injunction of something else which co-operates.' The passage must be understood as enjoining the state of a Muni—which co-operates towards knowledge—in the same way as it enjoins learning and a childlike state, because that state is something new (not enjoined before).—But it has been said above that the word 'learning' already intimates Muniship!—This, we reply, does not invalidate our case since the word 'muni' denotes (not only knowledge as the term 'learned man' does, but) pre-eminence of knowledge, on the ground as well of its etymology from 'manana,' i.e. thinking, as of common use, shown in such phrases as 'I am the Vyāsa of Munis also.'—But the term 'Muni' is also seen to denote the last order of life; cp. passages such as 'Householdership, studentship, the order of Munis, the order of hermits in the woods.'—Yes, but it has not that meaning exclusively, as we see that it does not apply to phrases such as 'Valmīki is the foremost among Munis.' In the passage quoted (about the four orders) the last order is referred to, by the term 'Muni,' because there it stands in proximity to the other orders of life, and, as the state of the Ascetic is the only one which remains (after we have assigned the three other terms to the stages of life clearly denoted by them), the last order may be denoted 'mauna' because knowledge is its principal requirement.—We therefore conclude that in the passage under discussion the state of the Muni—whose characteristic mark is pre-eminence of knowledge—is enjoined as something third—with regard to the childlike state and learning.—Against the objection that the injunction terminates with the childlike state, we remark that all the same we must view the Muniship also as something enjoined, as it is something new, so that we have to supplement the clause as follows: 'then *he is to be* a Muni.' That the state of a Muni is something to be enjoined, in the same way as the childlike state and learning, also follows from its being referred to as something to be done with (like *bālya* and *pāṇḍitya*). It is enjoined 'on him who is such,' i.e. on the *Samnyāsin* possessing knowledge.—How do we know this latter point?—Because

the *Samnyâsin* who possesses knowledge forms the topic, as we see from the preceding passage, 'Having cognized the Self and risen above the desire for sons, &c., they wander about as mendicants.'—But if the *Samnyâsin* possesses knowledge, pre-eminence of knowledge is already established thereby; what then is the use of the injunction of Muniship?—To this the *Sûtra* replies 'in the case of.' That means: in the case of pre-eminence of knowledge not being established owing to the prevailing force of the (erroneous) idea of multiplicity; for that case the injunction (of Muniship, i.e. of pre-eminence of knowledge) is given. 'As in the case of injunctions and the like.' With reference to sacrifices such as are enjoined in the passage, 'He who is desirous of the heavenly world is to offer the *darsapûrna-mâsa*-sacrifice,' the aggregate of subordinate members, such as the establishment of the sacred fires, is enjoined as something helpful; similarly in this text whose topic is knowledge and which therefore does not chiefly aim at injunction, Muniship is enjoined as something helpful to knowledge.

As thus the order of the ascetic, as distinguished by a childlike state and so on, is actually established by scripture, for what reason does the *Khândogya* Upanishad wind up with the householder, viz. in the passage, 'After having received his discharge from his teacher he settles in his own house,' &c.? For by concluding with the householder, scripture manifests special regard for him.—To this doubt the next *Sûtra* replies.

48. On account of his being all, however, there is winding up with the householder.

The word 'however' is meant to lay stress on the householder's being everything. For the performance of many works belonging to his own *âsrama*, such as sacrifices and the like, which involve not a little trouble, is enjoined on him by scripture; and at the same time the duties of the other *âsramas*—such as tenderness for all living creatures, restraint of the senses and so on—are incumbent on him also as far as circumstances allow. There is therefore nothing con-

tradictory in the *Khândogya* winding up with the householder.

49. On account of there being injunction of the others also, in the same way as of the state of a Muni.

As the state of the Muni (*Samnyâsin*) and the state of the householder are enjoined in scripture, so also the two other orders, viz. that of the hermit and that of the student. For we have already pointed above to passages such as 'Austerity is the second, and to dwell as a student in the house of a teacher is the third.' As thus the four âśramas are equally taught by scripture, they are to be gone through equally, either in the way of option (between them) or in the way of comprehension (of all of them).—That the *Sûtra* uses a plural form (of 'the others') when speaking of two orders only, is due to its having regard either to the different sub-classes of those two, or to their different duties.

50. (The passage enjoining *bālya* means that the ascetic is to live) not manifesting himself; on account of the connexion (thus gained for the passage).

The passage, 'Therefore let a *Brāhmaṇa* after he has done with learning wish to stand by a childlike state,' speaks of the childlike state as something to be undertaken. Now by the 'childlike state' we have to understand either the nature or the actions of a child. Childhood in so far as it means a period of life cannot be brought about at will, and we therefore must take the 'childlike state' to mean either the behaviour of a child—such as attending to the calls of nature without any respect of place, &c.—or inward purity, i. e. absence of cunning, arrogance, force of the sensual passions, and so on<sup>1</sup>.—With regard to the

---

<sup>1</sup> I am doubtful as to the true reading in this place. The 'va' of the Calcutta edition (p. 1039, last line) has certainly to be struck



doubt thus arising the pûrvapakshin maintains that by 'childlike being' people more commonly understand behaving, talking, and eating according to one's liking, freely attending to the calls of nature and so on, and that therefore the word is to be understood here also in that sense.—But such free conduct is improper, because sinfulness and so on would follow from it!—Not so, the pûrvapakshin replies; for the *Samnyâsin* possessing knowledge is, through express scriptural statements, free from all sinfulness thus incurred; just as the sacrificer is declared to be free from the sin he might incur in slaying the sacrificial animal.

To this we reply that it is not so because the statement of the text may be understood in a different sense. For as long as another rational interpretation of the word 'bâlya' is possible we have no right to adopt an interpretation which involves the assumption of another injunction being rendered futile. Moreover subordinate matters are enjoined with a view to the furtherance of the principal matter, and what here is the principal matter is the endeavour after knowledge which ascetics have to take upon themselves. Now if we accepted the entire conduct of a child as what is enjoined here we could in no way show that the endeavour of knowledge is furthered thereby. We therefore understand by 'bâlya' the special inward state of a child, i. e. absence of strong sensual passions and the like. This the Sûtra expresses by saying 'Not manifesting.' The meaning of the clause under discussion thus is: Let him be free from guile, pride, and so on, not manifesting himself by a display of knowledge, learning, and virtuousness, just as a child whose sensual powers have not yet developed themselves does not strive to make a display of himself before others. For thus the passage gains a connexion with the entire chapter on the ground of co-operating towards the principal matter. In agreement herewith *Smṛiti*-writers have said, 'He whom nobody knows either

---

out. Some good MSS. read:—*bâla*taritam antargatâ bhâvavirud-dhir aprarûḍhendriyatvam dambhâdirahitatvam vâ.—The 'antar-gatâ' seems to mean the same as the 'ântaraḥ,' p. 1041, ll. 1-2.

as noble or ignoble, as ignorant or learned, as well-conducted or ill-conducted, he is a Brāhmaṇa. Quietly devoted to his duty, let the wise man pass through life unknown; let him step on this earth as if he were blind, unconscious, deaf.' Another similar passage is, 'With hidden nature, hidden conduct,' and so on.

51. In this life also (the origination of knowledge takes place) if there is no obstruction of what is ready at hand; on account of this being seen (in scripture).

Beginning from Sūtra 26 of the present pāda we have discussed the various means of knowledge. We are now to consider whether knowledge—the fruit of those means—when accomplishing itself accomplishes itself only here in this life, or sometimes in the next life only.—The pūrva-pakṣin maintains that it accomplishes itself here in this life only. For, he argues, knowledge has for its antecedent the learning of scripture and so on, and nobody applies himself to learning, &c., with the intention that knowledge should result therefrom in the next life only; we rather observe that men begin to learn with a view to knowledge already springing up in this life. And also sacrifices and the like produce knowledge only mediately through learning and so on; for knowledge can be produced (directly) through the means of right knowledge only<sup>1</sup>. Hence the origination of knowledge takes place in this life only.—To this we reply, 'The origination of knowledge takes place in this life if there is no obstruction of that which is ready at hand.' That means: When the means of knowledge which is operative is not obstructed by some other work the results of which are just then reaching maturity, knowledge already reaches maturity in this life.

<sup>1</sup> Of which study is one.—Sacrifices indeed may bear their special fruits in the next life only; but in so far as they co-operate towards knowledge they are effective in this life. For their only action in that line is to purify the mind and thus to render it fitter to receive knowledge.

But when such an obstruction takes place, then in the next life. And a work's reaching maturity depends on place, time, and operative cause presenting themselves. Nor is there any binding rule according to which the same time, place, and operative cause which ripen one work should ripen another work also ; for there are works the fruits of which are opposed to each other. And scripture also goes only so far as to teach what the fruit of each work is, without teaching the special conditions of place, time, and operative cause. And owing to the specific strength of the means employed the supersensuous power of one work manifests itself (i. e. the fruit of that work realizes itself), while that of another is obstructed thereby and comes to a standstill.

Nor is there any reason why a man should not form, with regard to knowledge, an unspecified intention<sup>1</sup> ; for we may freely form the intention that knowledge should spring up from us either in this life or in some subsequent life. And knowledge although springing up through the mediation of learning and so on, springs up only in so far as learning destroys the obstacles in the way of knowledge. Thus scripture also declares the difficulty of knowing the Self, 'He of whom many are not even able to hear, whom many even when they hear of him do not comprehend ; wonderful is a man when found who is able to teach him ; wonderful is he who comprehends him when taught by an able teacher' (Ka. Up. I, 2, 7).—Moreover scripture relates that Vāmadeva already became Brahman in his mother's womb, and thus shows that knowledge may spring up in a later form of existence through means procured in a former one ; for a child in the womb cannot possibly procure such means in its present state.

The same is shown by Smṛiti. Vāsudeva being asked by Arguna, 'What will be the fate of him, O *Kṛishṇa*, who has not reached perfection ?' replies, 'None who performs good works undergoes an evil fate ;' declares thereupon

---

<sup>1</sup> I. e. there is no reason for the assertion made by the pūrva-pakshin that men form a specified intention only, viz. that knowledge should spring up in this life only.

that such a man reaches the world of the blessed and is, later on, born again in a good family; and finally states just what we at present maintain in the passage beginning, 'There he obtains that knowledge which corresponds to his former bodily existence,' and closing, 'Perfected by many states of existence he then goes the highest way.'—It therefore is an established conclusion that knowledge originates, either in the present or in a future life, in dependence on the evanescence of obstacles.

52. No such definite rule (exists) as to the fruit which is release, on account of the assertions as to that condition, on account of the assertions as to that condition.

We have seen that in the case of persons desirous of release who rely upon the means of knowledge there exists a definite difference of result, in so far as the knowledge resulting springs up either in this life or a future life according to the degree of strength of the means employed. It might now be supposed that there exists a similar definite difference with regard to the fruit characterised as final release, owing to the superior or inferior qualification of the persons knowing.

With reference to this possible doubt the Sûtra now says, 'No such definite rule as to that fruit which is release.' That means: We must not suppose that in the case of that fruit which is release there exists an analogous definite rule of difference.—Why?—'On account of the assertions (by scripture) about that condition.' For all Vedânta-texts assert the state of final release to be of one kind only. The state of final release is nothing but Brahman, and Brahman cannot be connected with different forms since many scriptural passages assert it to have one nature only. Compare e.g. 'It is neither coarse nor fine' (*Bri. Up.* III, 8, 8); 'That Self is to be described by No, no' (*Bri. Up.* III, 9, 26); 'Where one sees nothing else' (*Kh. Up.* VII, 24, 1); 'That immortal Brahman is before' (*Mu. Up.* II, 2, 11); 'This everything is that Self' (*Bri. Up.* II, 4, 6);

'This great unborn Self, undecaying, undying, immortal, fearless, is indeed Brahman' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 25*); 'When the Self only is all this how should he see another?' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 5, 15*).—Moreover the means of knowledge might perhaps, according to their individual strength, impart a higher (or lower) degree to their result, viz. knowledge, but not to the result of knowledge, viz. release; for, as we have explained more than once, release is not something which is to be brought about, but something whose nature is permanently established, and is reached through knowledge. Nor does, in reality, knowledge admit of lower or higher degree; for it is, in its own nature, high only, and would not be knowledge at all if it were low. Although therefore knowledge may differ in so far as it originates after a long or short time, it is impossible that release should be distinguished by a higher or lower degree. And from the absence of difference of knowledge also there follows absence of definite distinction on the part of the result of knowledge (viz. release). The whole case is analogous to that of the results of works. In that knowledge which is the means of release there is no difference as there is between works. In those cognitions, on the other hand, which have the qualified Brahman for its object—such as 'he who consists of mind, whose body is *prāṇa*'—a difference is possible according to the addition or omission of qualities, and hence there may be a definite distinction of results, just as there is between the results of actions. This is also indicated by the passage, 'according as they meditate on him they become.' But in meditations on Brahman devoid of qualities it is otherwise. Thus *Smṛiti* also says, 'No higher road is possible for any one; for they speak of inequality only where there are qualities.'—The repetition of the clause 'on account of the assertions as to that condition' indicates the termination of the *adhyāya*.

## FOURTH ADHYĀYA.

### FIRST PĀDA.

#### REVERENCE TO THE HIGHEST SELF!

1. Repetition (of the mental functions of knowing, meditating, &c., is required) on account of the text giving instruction more than once.

The third adhyāya was taken up chiefly with a discussion of the means of knowledge as related to the higher and lower vidyās. In the fourth adhyāya we shall now discuss the fruits of knowledge, and as occasion suggests some other topics also.—In the beginning, however, we shall carry on, in a few *adhikaraṇas*, a special discussion connected with the means of knowledge. ‘Verily the Self is to be seen, to be heard, to be thought, to be reflected on’ (*Bri. Up.* II, 4, 5); ‘Let a wise Brāhmaṇa after he has discovered him practise wisdom’ (*Bri. Up.* IV, 4, 21); ‘That it is which we must search out, that it is which we must try to understand’ (*Kh. Up.* VIII, 7, 1).

Concerning these and similar passages a doubt arises whether the mental action referred to in them is to be performed once only or repeatedly.—Once only, the *pūrva* *vapakshin* says; as in the case of the *prayāga*-offerings and the like. For thereby the purpose of scripture is accomplished; while to practise repetitions not demanded by scripture would be to accomplish what is not the purpose of scripture.—But passages have been quoted which teach repetition ‘it is to be heard, to be thought, to be reflected on,’ &c. !—Let us then repeat exactly as scripture says, i. e. let us hear the Self once, let us think it once, let us reflect on it once, and nothing more. But where scripture teaches something once only—viz. in such passages as ‘He knows,’ ‘Let him meditate,’ &c.—no repetition has to be practised.—To this we reply as

follows. Repetition is to be performed because scripture gives repeated instruction. For the repeated instruction contained in passages such as 'He is to be heard, to be thought, to be reflected on' intimates the repetition of the required mental acts.—But the pûrvapakshin has said above that the repetition is to extend exactly to what scripture says and not to go further!—This is wrong, we reply, because all those mental activities have for their end intuition. For hearing and so on when repeated terminate in intuition, and thus subserve a seen purpose, just as the action of beating, &c., terminates in freeing the rice grains from their husks. Moreover also such terms as 'meditating,' 'being devoted to,' and 'reflecting' denote actions in which repetition is implied as a quality. Thus we say in ordinary life that a person 'is devoted' to a teacher or a king if he follows him with a mind steadily set on him; and of a wife whose husband has gone on a journey we say that she thinks of him, only if she steadily remembers him with longing. And (that also 'knowing' implies repetition, follows from the fact that) in the Vedānta-texts the terms 'knowing' and 'meditating' are seen to be used one in the place of the other. In some passages the term 'knowing' is used in the beginning and the term 'meditating' in the end; thus e.g. 'He who knows what he knows is thus spoken of by me,' and 'Teach me, sir, the deity which you meditate on' (*Kh. Up. IV, 1, 4; 2, 2*). In other places the text at first speaks of 'meditating' and later on of 'knowing;' thus e.g. 'Let a man meditate on mind as Brahman,' and 'He who knows this shines and warms through his celebrity, fame, and glory of countenance' (*Kh. Up. III, 18, 1; 6*).—From this it follows that repetition has to be practised there also, where the text gives instruction once only. Where, again, the text gives repeated instruction, repeated performance of the mental acts is directly intimated.

## 2. And on account of an indicatory mark.

An indicatory mark also gives to understand that repetition is required. For, in the section treating of meditation

on the udgîtha, the text rejects the meditation on the udgîtha viewed as the sun, because its result is one sun only, and (in the clause 'Do thou resolve his rays,' &c.) enjoins a meditation on his manifold rays as leading to the possession of many suns (*Kh. Up. I, 5, 1 ; 2*); which shows that the repetition of meditations is something well known. Now as other meditations are meditations no less than the one referred to, it follows that repetition holds good for all of them.

Here the following objection may be raised. With regard to those meditations whose fruit is something to be effected repetition may hold good, because thereby superior strength may be imparted to them. But of what use can repetition be with regard to the meditations having for their object the highest Brahman, which present to us Brahman as the universal Self characterised by eternal purity, thought, and freedom? Should it be said that repetition has to be allowed because the knowledge of Brahman being the Self cannot spring up on hearing a text once only, we reply that in that case it will not spring up even when it is heard repeatedly. For if a text such as 'Thou art that' does not originate the true notion of Brahman if heard once, what hope is there that the desired effect should be produced by its repetition?—Perhaps it will be said that a sentence alone is not able to lead to the intuition of a thing; but that a sentence assisted by reasoning may enable us to intuit Brahman as the universal Self. But even in that case repetition would be useless; for the reasoning will lead to the desired intuition even if gone through once only.—Again it will perhaps be said that the sentence and reasoning together effect only a cognition of the generic nature of the object known, not of its specific individual character. When, to exemplify this, a man says that he feels a pain in his heart another person can infer from this statement—and certain accompanying symptoms such as trembling of the limbs—only that there exists a pain in general but is unable to intuit its specific character; all he knows is 'This man suffers a pain.' But what removes ignorance is (not



a general knowledge but) the intuitive knowledge of the specific character of something. And repetition serves to produce such knowledge.—This also is not so. For if so much only is done repeatedly even, no specific knowledge can spring up. When a specific character is not cognized through scripture and reasoning being applied once, it will not be cognized through them if applied a hundred times even. Hence whether scripture and reasoning produce specific knowledge or general knowledge, in either case they will do so even if acting once only; and repetition therefore is of no use. Nor can it be laid down as a binding rule that scripture and reasoning, applied once, in no case produce intuitive knowledge; for their effect will after all depend on the various degrees of intelligence of those who wish to learn. Moreover a certain use of repetition may be admitted in the case of worldly things which consist of several parts and possess generic character as well as individual difference; for there the student may grasp by one act of attention one part of the object, and by another act another part; so e.g. in the case of long chapters to be studied. But in order to reach a true knowledge of Brahman whose Self is mere intelligence and which therefore is destitute of generic character as well as specific difference there clearly is no need of repetition.

To this we make the following reply. Repetition would indeed be useless for him who is able to cognize the true nature of Brahman even if enounced once only in the sentence 'Thou art that.' But he who is not able to do that, for him repetition is of use. For this reason the teacher in the *Khândogya*, having given instruction in the sentence 'Thou art that, O Svetaketu,' and being again and again asked by his pupil—'Please, sir, inform me still more'—removes his pupil's reasons for doubt, and again and again repeats the instruction 'Thou art that.' We have already given an analogous explanation of the passage 'The Self is to be heard, to be thought, to be reflected upon.'—But has not the *pûrvapakshin* declared that if the first enunciation of the sentence 'Thou art that' is not able to effect an intuition of its sense, repetition will like-

wise fail of the desired effect?—This objection, we reply, is without force, because the alleged impossibility is not confirmed by observation. For we observe that men by again and again repeating a sentence which they, on the first hearing, had understood imperfectly only, gradually rid themselves of all misconceptions and arrive at a full understanding of the true sense.—Moreover the sentence ‘Thou art that’ teaches that what is denoted by the term ‘thou’ is identical with what is denoted by ‘that.’ Now the latter term denotes the subject of the entire section, viz. the thinking Brahman which is the cause of the origin and so on of the world; which is known from other passages such as ‘Brahman which is true knowledge, infinite’ (Taitt. Up. II, 1); ‘Brahman that is knowledge and bliss’ (Bri. Up. III, 9, 28); ‘That Brahman is unseen, but seeing; unknown, but knowing’ (Bri. Up. III, 8, 11); ‘not produced’ (Mu. Up. II, 1, 2); ‘not subject to old age, not subject to death’ (Bri. Up. IV, 4, 25); ‘not coarse, not fine; not short, not long’ (Bri. Up. III, 8, 8). In these passages terms such as ‘not produced’ deny the different phases of existence such as origination; such terms as ‘not coarse’ deny of it the qualities of substances such as coarseness; and such terms as ‘knowledge’ declare that the luminousness of intelligence constitutes its nature. The entity thus described—which is free from all the qualities of transmigratory existence, has consciousness for its Self and is called Brahman—is known, by all students of the Vedânta, as what is denoted by the term ‘that.’ They likewise know that what is denoted by the term ‘thou’ is the inward Self (pratyagâtman); which is the agent in seeing and hearing, is (successively) apprehended as the inward Self of all the outward involucra beginning with the gross body (cp. Taitt. Up.), and finally ascertained as of the nature of intelligence. Now in the case of those persons for whom the meaning of these two terms is obstructed by ignorance, doubt, and misconception, the sentence ‘Thou art that’ cannot produce a right knowledge of its sense, since the knowledge of the sense of a sentence presupposes the knowledge of the sense of the words; for them therefore the repetition of the scriptural

text and of reasoning must be assumed to have a purpose, viz. the discernment of the true sense of the words.—And although the object to be known, viz. the Self, does not consist of parts, yet men wrongly superimpose upon it the attribute of being made up of many parts, such as the body, the senses, the manas, the buddhi, the objects of the senses, the sensations, and so on. Now by one act of attention we may discard one of these parts, and by another act of attention another part; so that a successively progressing cognition may very well take place. This however is merely an antecedent of the (true) knowledge of the Self (in which there can be no successive stages).

Those quick-witted persons, on the other hand, in whose mind the sense of the words is not obstructed by ignorance, doubt, and misconception, are able to intuit the sense of the sentence 'Thou art that' on its first enunciation even, and for them therefore repetition is not required. For the knowledge of the Self having once sprung up discards all ignorance; so that in this case no progressive process of cognition can be acknowledged.—All this might be so—an objection is raised—if cognition did spring up in any mind in the way described. (But this is not the case); for the cognition of the Self being subject to pain and so on has such strength that nobody ever reaches the cognition of all absence of pain and so on.—This objection, we reply, is without force; for it can be shown that the conceit of the Self being subject to pain, &c., is a wrong conceit, no less than the conceit of the body being the Self. For we clearly observe that when the body is cut or burned a wrong notion springs up, 'I am being cut,' 'I am being burned;' and similarly we observe that when sons, friends, &c.—who are even more external to the Self than one's own body—suffer affliction, that affliction is wrongly attributed to the Self. Analogous to these cases is the conceit of the Self being subject to pain, &c.; for like the body and so on, the condition of being subject to pain is observed as something external to intelligence. This moreover follows from its not being continued in such states as dreamless sleep and the like; while scripture expressly declares that in deep

sleep intelligence suffers no interruption, 'And when there he does not see, yet he is seeing,' &c. (*Bri. Up.* IV, 3, 22). Hence the intuition of the Self consists in the knowledge, 'My Self is pure intelligence free from all pain.' For him who possesses that knowledge there remains no other work. Thus scripture says, 'What shall we do with offspring, we who have this Self and this world' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 4, 22). And *Smṛiti* also says, 'But that man who loves the Self, is satisfied by the Self and has all his longings stilled by the Self only, for him there is no further work' (*Bha. Gîtâ* III, 12).—For him, on the other hand, who does not reach that intuition all at once, we admit repetition, in order that the desired intuition may be brought about. He also, however, must not be moved towards repetition in such a way as to make him lose the true sense of the teaching, 'Thou art that.' In the mind of one on whom repetition is enjoined as a duty, there arise infallibly notions opposed to the true notion of Brahman, such as 'I have a claim on this (knowledge of the Self) as an agent; this is to be done by me<sup>1</sup>.' But if a learner, naturally slow-minded, is about altogether to dismiss from his mind the purport of the sentence, because it does not reveal itself to him, it is permissible to fortify him in the understanding of that sense by means of reasoning on the texts relative to repetition and so on.—All this establishes the conclusion that, also in the case of cognitions of the highest Brahman, the instruction leading to such cognition may be repeated.

3. But as the Self (scriptural texts) acknowledge and make us comprehend (the Lord).

The *Sûtrakâra* now considers the question whether the highest Self whose characteristics scripture declares is

<sup>1</sup> Care must be taken not to engender in the mind of such a learner the notion that the repeated acts of reflection are incumbent on him as a duty; for such notions would only obstruct the end aimed at, i. e. the intuition that the Self of the meditating man is identical with Brahman's Self, to which no notions of duty or action apply.

to be understood as the 'I' or as different from me.—But how can a doubt arise, considering that scripture exhibits the term 'Self' whose sphere is the inward Self?—This term 'Self'—a reply may be given—may be taken in its primary sense, provided it be possible to view the individual soul and the Lord as non-different; but in the other case the term has to be taken in a secondary (metaphorical) sense only<sup>1</sup>.

The pûrvapakshin maintains that the term 'Self' is not to be taken as meaning the 'I.' For that which possesses the qualities of being free from all evil, &c., cannot be understood as possessing qualities of a contrary nature, nor can that which possesses those contrary qualities be understood as being free from all evil and so on. But the highest Lord possesses the qualities of being free from all evil, &c., and the embodied Self is characterised by qualities of a contrary nature.—Moreover, if the transmigrating soul constituted the Self of the Lord, it would follow that he is no Lord, and thus scripture would lose its meaning; while, if the Lord constituted the Self of the individual soul, the latter would not be entitled (to works and knowledge), and scripture would thus also lose its meaning. The latter assumption would moreover run counter to perception and the other means of proof.—Should it be said that, although the Lord and the soul are different, they yet must be contemplated as identical, on the basis of scripture, just as Vishnu and other divinities are contemplated in images and so on; the answer is that this contemplation may take place, but that therefrom we must not conclude that the Lord is the real Self of the transmigrating soul.

To all this we make the following reply. The highest Lord must be understood as the Self. For in a chapter treating of the highest Lord the Gābālas acknowledge him to be the Self, 'Thou indeed I am, O holy divinity; I indeed thou art, O divinity!'—In the same light other

---

<sup>1</sup> And in that case the identity of the highest Self and the 'I' would not follow from the term 'Self.'

texts have to be viewed, which also acknowledge the Lord as the Self, such as 'I am Brahman' (*Bri. Up. I, 4, 10*). Moreover certain Vedânta-texts make us comprehend the Lord as the Self, 'Thy Self is this which is within all' (*Bri. Up. III, 4, 1*); 'He is thy Self, the ruler within, the immortal' (*Bri. Up. III, 7, 3*); 'That is the True, that is the Self, thou art that' (*Kh. Up. VI, 8, 7*).—Nor can we admit the truth of the assertion, made by the pûrvapakshin, that all these passages teach merely a contemplation (of the Lord) in certain symbols, analogous to the contemplation of Vishnu in an image. For that would firstly involve that the texts have not to be understood in their primary sense<sup>1</sup>; and in the second place there is a difference of syntactical form. For where scripture intends the contemplation of something in a symbol, it conveys its meaning through a single enunciation such as 'Brahman is Mind' (*Kh. Up. III, 18, 1*), or 'Brahman is Âditya' (*Kh. Up. III, 19, 1*). But in the passage quoted above, scripture says, 'I am Thou and thou art I.' As here the form of expression differs from that of texts teaching the contemplation of symbols, the passage must be understood as teaching non-difference. This moreover follows from the express prohibition of the view of difference which a number of scriptural texts convey. Compare e.g. 'Now if a man worships another deity, thinking the deity is one and he another, he does not know' (*Bri. Up. I, 4, 10*); 'From death to death goes he who here perceives any diversity' (*Bri. Up. IV, 4, 19*); 'Whosoever looks for anything elsewhere than in the Self is abandoned by everything' (*Bri. Up. II, 4, 6*).—Nor is there any force in the objection that things with contrary qualities cannot be identical; for this opposition of qualities can be shown to be false.—Nor is it true that from our doctrine it would follow that the Lord is not a Lord. For in these matters scripture alone is authoritative, and we, moreover, do not at all admit that scripture teaches the Lord to be the Self of the transmi-

<sup>1</sup> And this is objectionable as long as it has not been demonstrated that the primary meaning is altogether inadmissible.

grating soul, but maintain that by denying the transmigrating character of the soul it aims at teaching that the soul is the Self of the Lord. From this it follows that the non-dual Lord is free from all evil qualities, and that to ascribe to him contrary qualities is an error.—Nor is it true that the doctrine of identity would imply that nobody is entitled to works, &c., and is contrary to perception and so on. For we admit that before true knowledge springs up, the soul is implicated in the transmigratory state, and that this state constitutes the sphere of the operation of perception and so on. On the other hand texts such as ‘But when the Self only has become all this, how should he see another?’ &c., teach that as soon as true knowledge springs up, perception, &c., are no longer valid.—Nor do we mind your objecting that if perception, &c., cease to be valid, scripture itself ceases to be so; for this conclusion is just what we assume. For on the ground of the text, ‘Then a father is not a father’ up to ‘Then the Vedas are not Vedas’ (*Bri. Up. IV, 3, 22*), we ourselves assume that when knowledge springs up scripture ceases to be valid.—And should you ask who then is characterised by the absence of true knowledge, we reply: You yourself who ask this question!—And if you retort, ‘But I am the Lord as declared by scripture,’ we reply, ‘Very well, if you have arrived at that knowledge, then there is nobody who does not possess such knowledge.’—This also disposes of the objection, urged by some, that a system of non-duality cannot be established because the Self is affected with duality by Nescience.

Hence we must fix our minds on the Lord as being the Self.

4. Not in the symbol (is the Self to be contemplated); for he (the meditating person) (may) not (view symbols as being the Self).

‘Let a man meditate on mind as Brahman; this is said with reference to the body. Let a man meditate on ether as Brahman; this is said with reference to the Devas’ (*Kh. Up. III, 18, 1*); ‘Āditya is Brahman, this is the doctrine’

(*Kk. Up.* III, 19, 1); 'He who meditates on name as Brahman' (*Kk. Up.* VII, 1, 5). With regard to these and similar meditations on symbols a doubt arises whether the Self is to be apprehended in them also, or not.

The *pûrvapakshin* maintains that it is right to apprehend the Self in them also because Brahman is known from scriptural passages as the (universal) Self. For those symbols also are of the nature of Brahman in so far as they are effects of it, and therefore are of the nature of the Self as well.

We must not, our reply runs, attach to symbols the idea of Brahman. For he, i.e. the meditating person, cannot comprehend the heterogeneous symbols as being of the nature of the Self.—Nor is it true that the symbols are of the nature of the Self, because as being effects of Brahman they are of the nature of Brahman; for (from their being of the nature of Brahman) there results the non-existence of (them as) symbols. For the aggregate of names and so on can be viewed as of the nature of Brahman only in so far as the individual character of those effects of Brahman is sublated; and when that character is sublated how then can they be viewed as symbols, and how can the Self be apprehended in them? Nor does it follow from the fact of Brahman being the Self that a contemplation of the Self can be established on the ground of texts teaching a contemplation on Brahman (in certain symbols), since a contemplation of the latter kind does not do away with agentship and the like. For the instruction that Brahman is the Self depends on the doing away with agentship and all other characteristics of transmigratory existence; the injunction of meditations, on the other hand, depends on the non-removal of those characteristics. Hence we cannot establish the apprehension of the Self (in the symbols) on the ground of the meditating person being the same as the symbols. For golden ornaments and figures made of gold are not identical with each other, but only in so far as gold constitutes the Self of both. And that from that oneness (of symbol and meditating person) which depends on Brahman being the Self of all there results non-existence of the symbols (and hence impossibility of the meditations



enjoined), we have explained above.—For these reasons the Self is not contemplated in symbols.

5. A contemplation of Brahman (is to be superinduced on symbols of Brahman), on account of the exaltation (thereby bestowed on the symbols).

With regard to the texts quoted above there arises another doubt, viz. whether the contemplation of Āditya and so on is to be superimposed on Brahman, or the contemplation of Brahman on Āditya and so on<sup>1</sup>.—But whence does this doubt arise?—From the absence of a decisive reason, owing to the grammatical co-ordination. For we observe in the sentences quoted a co-ordination of the term 'Brahman' with the terms 'Āditya,' &c. 'Āditya is Brahman,' 'Prāṇa is Brahman,' 'Lightning is Brahman ;' the text exhibiting the two members of each clause in the same case. And here there is no obvious occasion for co-ordination because the words 'Brahman' on the one hand, and 'Āditya' and so on on the other hand, denote different things; not any more than there exists a relation of co-ordination which could be expressed by the sentence 'The ox is a horse.'—But cannot Brahman and Āditya and so on be viewed as co-ordinated on the basis of the relation connecting a causal substance and its effects, analogously to the case of clay and earthen vessels?—By no means, we reply. For in that case dissolution of the effect would result from its co-ordination with the causal substance, and that—as we have already explained—would imply non-existence of the symbol. Moreover, the scriptural passages would then be statements about the highest Self, and thereby the qualification for meditations would be sublated<sup>2</sup>; and further the mention of a limited effect would be purposeless<sup>3</sup>. It follows herefrom that we have

<sup>1</sup> I. e. whether Brahman is to be meditated upon as Āditya, or Āditya as Brahman.

<sup>2</sup> While, as a matter of fact, scripture enjoins the meditations.

<sup>3</sup> It would serve no purpose to refer to limited things, such as

to do here with the superimposition of the contemplation of one thing on another thing—just as in the case of the text, ‘The Brâhmana is Agni Vaisvânara,’—and the doubt therefore arises the contemplation of which of the two things is to be superimposed on the other.

The pûrvapakshin maintains that there exists no fixed rule for this case, because we have no scriptural text establishing such a rule.—Or else, he says, contemplations on Âditya and so on are exclusively to be superimposed on Brahman. For in this way Brahman is meditated upon by means of contemplations on Âditya, and scripture decides that meditations on Brahman are what is productive of fruits. Hence contemplations on Brahman are not to be superimposed on Âditya and so on.

To this we make the following reply. The contemplation on Brahman is exclusively to be superimposed on Âditya and so on.—Why?—‘On account of exaltation.’ For thus Âditya and so on are viewed in an exalted way, the contemplation of something higher than they being superimposed on them. Thereby we also comply with a secular rule, viz. the one enjoining that the idea of something higher is to be superimposed upon something lower, as when we view—and speak of—the king’s charioteer as a king. This rule must be observed in worldly matters, because to act contrary to it would be disadvantageous; for should we view a king as a charioteer, we should thereby lower him, and that would be no ways beneficial.—But, an objection is raised, as the whole matter rests on scriptural authority, the suspicion of any disadvantage cannot arise; and it is, further, not appropriate to define contemplations based on scripture by secular rules!—That might be so, we reply, if the sense of scripture were fully ascertained; but as it is liable to doubt, there is no objection to our having recourse to a secular rule whereby to ascertain it. And as by means of that rule we decide that what scripture means

---

the sun and so on, as being resolved into their causal substance, i.e. Brahman. True knowledge is concerned only with the resolution of the entire world of effects into Brahman.

is the superimposition of a higher contemplation on something lower, we should incur loss by superimposing a lower contemplation upon something higher.—As moreover in the passages under discussion the words ‘Āditya’ and so on stand first, they must, this being not contradictory, be taken in their primary sense. But, as our thought is thus defined by these words taken in their true literal sense, the word ‘Brahman,’ which supervenes later on, cannot be co-ordinated with them if it also be taken in its true literal sense, and from this it follows that the purport of the passages can only be to enjoin contemplations on Brahman (superinduced on Āditya and so on).—The same sense follows from the circumstance that the word ‘Brahman’ is, in all the passages under discussion, followed by the word ‘iti,’ ‘thus<sup>1</sup>.’ ‘He is to meditate (on Āditya, &c.) as Brahman.’ The words ‘Āditya’ and so on, on the other hand, the text exhibits without any such addition. The passages therefore are clearly analogous to such sentences as ‘He views the mother o’ pearl as silver,’ in which the word ‘mother o’ pearl’ denotes mother o’ pearl pure and simple, while the word ‘silver’ denotes, by implication, the idea of silver; for the person in question merely thinks ‘this is silver’ while there is no real silver. Thus our passages also mean, ‘He is to view Āditya and so on as Brahman.’—The complementary clauses, moreover, which belong to the passages under discussion (‘He who knowing this meditates (upon) Āditya as Brahman;’ ‘Who meditates (on) speech as Brahman;’ ‘Who meditates (on) will as Brahman’), exhibit the words ‘Āditya’ and so on in the accusative case, and thereby show them to be the direct objects of the action of meditation<sup>2</sup>.—Against the remark that in all the mentioned cases Brahman only has to be meditated upon in order that a fruit may result from the meditation, we point out that from the mode of proof used

<sup>1</sup> Which in the translations given above of the texts under discussion is mostly rendered by ‘as’ before the words concerned.

<sup>2</sup> While the word ‘Brahman’ does not stand in the accusative case.

above we infer that (not Brahman but) only Âditya and so on have to be meditated upon. But as in the case of hospitality shown to guests, Brahman, that is the supreme ruler of all, will give the fruit of meditations on Âditya and so on as well. This we have already shown under III, 2, 28. And, after all, Brahman also is meditated upon (in the cases under discussion) in so far as a contemplation on Brahman is superinduced on its symbols, analogously as a contemplation on Vishnu is superinduced on his images.

6. And the ideas of Âditya and so on (are to be superimposed) on the members (of the sacrificial action); owing to the effectuation (of the result of the sacrifice).

‘He who burns up these, let a man meditate upon him as udgîtha’ (*Kh. Up. I, 3, 1*); ‘Let a man meditate on the fivefold Sâman in the worlds’ (*Kh. Up. II, 2, 1*); ‘Let a man meditate on the sevenfold Sâman in speech’ (*Kh. Up. II, 8, 1*); ‘This earth is the *Rik*, fire is Sâman’ (*Kh. Up. I, 6, 1*).—With regard to these and similar meditations limited to members of sacrificial action, there arises a doubt whether the text enjoins contemplations on the udgîtha and so on superinduced on Âditya and so on, or else contemplations on Âditya, &c., superinduced on the udgîtha and so on.

No definite rule can here be established, the pûrvapakshin maintains, since there is no basis for such a rule. For in the present case we are unable to ascertain any special pre-eminence, while we were able to do so in the case of Brahman. Of Brahman, which is the cause of the whole world and free from all evil and so on, we can assert definitively that it is superior to Âditya and so on; the udgîtha and so on, on the other hand, are equally mere effects, and we cannot therefore with certainty ascribe to any of them any pre-eminence.—Or else we may decide that the ideas of the udgîtha and so on are to be superinduced exclusively on Âditya and so on. For the udgîtha and so on are of the nature of sacrificial work, and as it is known that the fruit is attained through the work, Âditya

and so on if meditated upon as udgītha and so on will themselves become of the nature of work and thereby be causes of fruit.—Moreover, the text, ‘This earth is the *Rik*, the fire is the *Sāman*,’ is followed by the complementary passage, ‘this *Sāman* is placed upon this *Rik*,’ where the word ‘*Rik*’ denotes the earth and the word ‘*Sāman*’ the fire. Now this (viz. this calling the earth ‘*Rik*’ and calling the fire ‘*Sāman*’) is possible only if the meaning of the passage is that the earth and the fire have to be viewed as *Rik* and *Sāman*; not if the *Rik* and the *Sāman* were to be contemplated as earth and fire. For the term ‘king’ is metaphorically applied to the charioteer—and not the term ‘charioteer’ to the king—the reason being that the charioteer may be viewed as a king.—Again in the text, ‘Let a man meditate upon the fivefold *Sāman* in the worlds,’ the use of the locative case ‘in the worlds’ intimates that the meditation on the *Sāman* is to be superimposed on the worlds as its locus. This is also proved by the analogous passage, ‘This *Gāyatra Sāman* is woven on the vital airs’ (*Kh. Up.* II, 11, 1).—Moreover (as proved before), in passages such as ‘*Āditya* is Brahman, this is the instruction,’ Brahman, which is mentioned last, is superimposed on *Āditya*, which is mentioned first. In the same way the earth, &c., are mentioned first, and the *hīnkāra*, &c., mentioned last in passages such as ‘The earth is the *hīnkāra*’ (*Kh. Up.* II, 2, 1).—For all these reasons the idea of members of sacrificial action has to be transferred to *Āditya* and so on, which are not such members.

To this we make the following reply. The ideas of *Āditya* and so on are exclusively to be transferred to members of sacrificial action, such as the udgītha and so on. For what reason?—‘On account of effectuation’—that means: Because thus, through their connexion with the supersensuous result (of the sacrificial work under discussion), when the udgītha and so on are ceremonially qualified by being viewed as *Āditya* and so on, the sacrificial work is successful<sup>1</sup>. A scriptural passage—viz. *Kh.*

<sup>1</sup> Certain constituent members of the sacrificial action—such as

Up. I, 1, 10, 'Whatever one performs with knowledge, faith, and the Upanishad is more powerful'—moreover expressly declares that knowledge causes the success of sacrificial work.—Well then, an objection is raised, let this be admitted with regard to those meditations which have for their result the success of certain works; but how is it with meditations that have independent fruits of their own? Of this latter nature is e.g. the meditation referred to in *Kh. Up.* II, 2, 3, 'He who knowing this meditates on the fivefold Sāman in the worlds (to him belong the worlds in an ascending and a descending scale).—In those cases also, we reply, the meditation falls within the sphere of a person entitled to the performance of a certain work, and therefore it is proper to assume that it has a fruit only through its connexion with the supersensuous result of the work under the heading of which it is mentioned; the case being analogous to that of the godohana-vessel<sup>1</sup>.—And as Āditya and so on are of the nature of fruits of action, they may be viewed as superior to the udgītha and so on which are of the nature of action only. Scriptural texts expressly teach that the reaching of Āditya (the sun) and so on constitutes the fruit of certain works.—Moreover the initial passages, 'Let a man meditate on the syllable Om as the udgītha,' and 'Of this syllable the full account is this' (*Kh. Up.* I, 1, 1), represent the udgītha only as the object of meditation, and only after that the

the udgītha—undergo a certain ceremonial purification (*sam-skāra*) by being meditated upon as Āditya and so on. The meditations therefore contribute, through the mediation of the constituent members, towards the apūrva, the supersensuous result of the entire sacrifice.

<sup>1</sup> The sacred text promises a special fruit for the employment of the milking-pail (instead of the ordinary *kamasa*), viz. the obtainment of cattle; nevertheless that fruit is obtained only in so far as the godohana subserves the accomplishment of the apūrva of the sacrifice. Analogously those meditations on members of sacrificial works for which the text promises a separate fruit obtain that fruit only in so far as they effect a mysterious *sam-skāra* in those members, and thereby subserve the apūrva of the sacrifice.

text enjoins the contemplations on Āditya and so on.—Nor can we accept the remark that Āditya and so on being meditated upon as udgītha, &c., assume thereby the nature of work and thus will be productive of fruit. For pious meditation is in itself of the nature of work, and thus capable of producing a result. And if the udgītha and so on are meditated upon as Āditya, &c., they do not therefore cease to be of the nature of work.—In the passage, ‘This Sāman is placed upon this *Rik*,’ the words ‘*Rik*’ and ‘Sāman’ are employed to denote the earth and Agni by means of implication (*lakṣhaṇā*), and implication may be based, according to opportunity, either on a less or more remote connexion of sense. Although, therefore, the intention of the passage is to enjoin the contemplation of the *Rik* and the Sāman as earth and Agni, yet—as the *Rik* and the Sāman are mentioned separately and as the earth and Agni are mentioned close by—we decide that, on the ground of their connexion with the *Rik* and Sāman, the words ‘*Rik*’ and ‘Sāman’ are employed to denote them (i. e. earth and Agni) only. For we also cannot altogether deny that the word ‘charioteer’ may, for some reason or other, metaphorically denote a king.—Moreover the position of the words in the clause, ‘Just this (earth) is *Rik*,’ declares that the *Rik* is of the nature of earth; while if the text wanted to declare that the earth is of the nature of *Rik*, the words would be arranged as follows, ‘this earth is just *Rik*.’—Moreover the concluding clause, ‘He who knowing this sings the Sāman,’ refers only to a cognition based on a subordinate member (of sacrificial action), not to one based on the earth and so on.—Analogously in the passage, ‘Let a man meditate (on) the fivefold Sāman in the worlds,’ the worlds—although enounced in the locative case—have to be superimposed on the Sāman, as the circumstance of the ‘Sāman’ being exhibited in the objective case indicates it to be the object of meditation. For if the worlds are superimposed on the Sāman, the Sāman is meditated upon as the Self of the worlds; while in the opposite case the worlds would be meditated upon as the Self of the Sāman.—The same remark applies to the passage, ‘This Gāyatra

Sâman is woven on the *prâṇas*' (*Kh. Up. II, 11, 1*).—Where again both members of the sentence are equally exhibited in the objective case, viz. in the passage, 'Let a man meditate on the sevenfold Sâman (as) the sun' (*Kh. Up. II, 9, 1*), we observe that the introductory passages—viz. 'Meditation on the whole Sâman is good;' 'Thus for the fivefold Sâman;' 'Next for the sevenfold Sâman' (*Kh. Up. II, 1, 1*; *7, 2*; *8, 1*)—represent the Sâman only as the object of meditation, and therefrom conclude that Âditya has to be superinduced on it, and not the reverse.—From this very circumstance of the Sâman being the object of meditation, it follows that even in cases where the two members of the sentence have a reverse position—such as 'The earth (is) the *hîṅkāra*,' &c.—the *hîṅkāra*, &c., have to be viewed as earth and so on; and not the reverse.—From all this it follows that reflections based on things not forming constituent members of the sacrifice, such as Âditya and so on, are to be superimposed on the *udgîtha* and the like which are such constituent members.

7. Sitting (a man is to meditate), on account of the possibility.

As meditations connected with members of sacrificial action depend on action, we need not raise the question whether they are to be carried on in a sitting, or any other posture. The same holds good in the case of perfect intuition, since knowledge depends on its object only. With regard to all other meditations, on the other hand, the author of the *Sûtras* raises the question whether they may be undertaken indifferently by a person standing, sitting, or lying down; or only by a person sitting.

The *pûrvapakshin* here maintains that as meditation is something mental there can be no restriction as to the attitude of the body.—No, the author of the *Sûtras* rejoins; 'Sitting' only a man is to meditate.—Why?—'On account of the possibility.' By meditation we understand the lengthened carrying on of an identical train of thought; and of this a man is capable neither when going nor when running, since the act of going and so on tends to distract the mind.



The mind of a standing man, again, is directed on maintaining the body in an erect position, and therefore incapable of reflection on any subtle matter. A man lying down, finally, is unawares overcome by slumber. A sitting person, on the other hand, may easily avoid these several untoward occurrences, and is therefore in a position to carry on meditations.

#### 8. And on account of thoughtfulness.

Moreover also the word 'thoughtfulness' denotes a lengthened carrying on of the same train of ideas. Now 'thoughtfulness' we ascribe to those whose mind is concentrated on one and the same object, while their look is fixed and their limbs move only very slightly. We say e.g. that the crane is thoughtful, or that a wife whose husband has gone on a journey is thoughtful. Now such thoughtfulness is easy for those who sit; and we therefore conclude herefrom also that meditation is the occupation of a sitting person.

#### 9. And with reference to immobility (scripture ascribes thought to the earth, &c.).

Moreover, in the passage 'The earth thinks as it were' scripture ascribes thought to the earth, with regard to its immobility. This also helps us to infer that meditation is the occupation of one who is sitting.

#### 10. And Smṛiti-passages say the same.

Authoritative authors also teach in their Smṛitis that a sitting posture subserves the act of meditation: cp. e.g. Bha. Gītā VI, 11, 'Having made a firm seat for one's self on a pure spot.' For the same reason the Yogasāstra teaches different sitting postures, viz. the so-called lotus position and so on.

#### 11. Where concentration of mind (is possible), there (meditation may be carried on), on account of there being no difference.

A doubt here arises with regard to direction, place, and

time, viz. whether any restrictive rules exist or not.—Against the view of those who maintain that such rules exist because we have analogous rules concerning the locality, &c., of Vedic works, the Sâtrakâra remarks that all rules concerning direction, place, and time depend on the aim merely ; that is to say : Let a man meditate at whatever time, in whatever place and facing whatever region, he may with ease manage to concentrate his mind. For while scripture prescribes an easterly direction, the time of forenoon, and a spot sloping towards the east for certain sacrifices, no such specific rules are recorded for meditation, since the requisite concentration may be managed indifferently anywhere.—But, an objection is raised, some passages record such specific rules, as e.g. the following one, ‘Let a man apply himself (to meditation) in a level and clean place, free from pebbles, fire and dust, noises, standing water, and the like, favourable to the mind, not infested by what hurts the eyes, full of caves and shelters’ (Svet. Up. II, 10).—Such particular rules are met with indeed ; but the teacher being friendly-minded says that there is no binding rule as to the particulars mentioned therein. The clause ‘favourable to the mind’ moreover shows that meditation may be carried on wherever concentration of the mind may be attained.

12. Up to death (meditations have to be repeated); for then also it is thus seen in scripture.

The first *adhikarâṇa* (of the present *adhyâya*) has established that repetition is to be observed with regard to all meditations. But now a distinction is made. Those meditations which aim at complete knowledge, terminate—in the same way as the beating of the rice grains is terminated by the husks becoming detached from the grains—with their effect being accomplished ; for as soon as the effect, i.e. perfect knowledge, has been obtained, no further effort can be commanded, since scriptural instruction does not apply to him who knows that Brahman—which is not the object of injunction—constitutes his Self. On the other hand a doubt arises whether the devotee is to repeat those meditations which aim at certain forms of

exaltation for a certain time only and then may stop ; or whether he is to repeat them again and again as long as he lives.

Here the pûrvapakshin maintains that such meditations are to be carried on for some time only and then to be given up, since this satisfies the demands of those scriptural passages which teach meditations distinguished by repetition.

To this we make the following reply. The devotee is to reiterate those meditations up to his death, since the supersensuous result (of such meditations) is reached by means of the extreme meditation. For such works also as originate a fruit to be enjoyed in a future state of existence presuppose, at the time of death, a creative cognition analogous to the fruit to be produced ; as appears from such passages as, ' Endowed with knowledge (i.e. the conception of the fruit to be obtained) he (i.e. the individual soul) goes after that (viz. the fruit) which is connected with that knowledge' (*Bri. Up. IV, 4, 2*) ; ' Whatever his thought (at the time of death), with that he goes into Prâna, and the Prâna united with light, together with the individual Self, leads on to the world as conceived (at the moment of death)' (*Pr. Up. IV, 2, 10*). This also follows from the comparison to the caterpillar (*Bri. Up. IV, 4, 3*). But the meditations under discussion do not, at the time of death, require any other creative cognition but a repetition of themselves. Such meditations therefore as consist in the creative conception of a fruit to be obtained must be repeated up to the moment of death. Analogously the scriptural text, *Sat. Brâ. X, 6, 3, 1*—' With whatever thought he passes away from this world '—declares that the meditation extends up to the time of death. Similarly *Smṛiti* says, ' Remembering whatever form of being he in the end leaves this body, into that same form he ever passes, assimilated to its being ' (*Bha. Gîtâ VIII, 6*) ; and ' At the time of death with unmoved mind ' (*Bha. Gîtâ VIII, 10*). And that at the moment of death also there remains something to be done, the scriptural passage (*Kh. Up. III, 17, 6*) also proves, ' Let a man, at the time of death, take refuge with this triad.'

13. On the attainment of this (viz. Brahman) (there take place) the non-clinging and the destruction of later and earlier sins; this being declared (by scripture).

The supplement to the third adhyāya is finished herewith, and an inquiry now begins concerning the fruit of the knowledge of Brahman.—The doubt here presents itself whether, on the attainment of Brahman, sins the results of which are opposed in nature to such attainment are extinguished or not. They cannot possibly be extinguished, the *pūrvapakshin* maintains, before they have given their results, because the purpose of all works is their result. For we understand from scripture that work possesses the power of producing results; if, therefore, the work would perish without the enjoyment of its result, scripture would thereby be rendered nugatory. *Smṛiti* also declares that 'works do not perish.'—But from this it would follow that all scriptural instruction regarding expiatory ceremonies is meaningless!—This objection is without force, we reply, because expiatory ceremonies may be viewed as merely due to certain special occurrences; as is the case with the offering enjoined on the occasion of the house (of one who has established the sacred fire-place) being burned<sup>1</sup>.—Let us moreover admit that expiatory ceremonies, because enjoined on account of a person being afflicted by some mischief, may be meant to extinguish that mischief. But there is no analogous injunction of the knowledge of Brahman.—But if we do not admit that the works of him who knows Brahman are extinguished, it follows that he must necessarily enjoy the fruits of his works and thus cannot obtain release!—This follows by no means; but in the same way as the results of works, release will take place in due dependence on place, time, and special causes.—For these reasons the obtainment of Brahman does not imply the cessation of (the consequences of) misdeeds.

<sup>1</sup> Scripture enjoins the *ishā* in question merely on the occasion of the house being burned, not as annulling the mischief done.

To this we make the following reply. On the obtainment of Brahman there take place the non-clinging (to the agent) of the posterior sins and the annihilation of anterior ones.—‘On account of this being declared.’ For in a chapter treating of the knowledge of Brahman scripture expressly declares that future sins which might be presumed to cling to the agent do not cling to him who knows: ‘As water does not cling to a lotus-leaf, so no evil deed clings to him who knows this’ (*Kh. Up.* IV, 14, 3). Similarly scripture declares the destruction of previously accumulated evil deeds: ‘As the fibres of the Ishikā reed when thrown into the fire are burned, thus all his sins are burned’ (*Kh. Up.* V, 24, 3). The extinction of works the following passage also declares, ‘The fetter of the heart is broken, all doubts are solved, extinguished are all his works when He has been beheld who is high and low’ (*Mu. Up.* II, 2, 8).—Nor is there any force in the averment that the assumption of works being extinguished without their fruits having been enjoyed would render scripture futile. For we by no means deny the fruit-producing power of works; this power actually exists; but we maintain that it is counteracted by other causes such as knowledge. Scripture is concerned only with the existence of this power in general, not with its obstruction and non-obstruction. Thus also the *Smṛiti* passage, ‘For work is not extinguished,’ expresses the general rule; for as fruition of the result is the purpose of work, work is not extinguished without such fruition. But it is assumed that evil deeds are extinguished through expiatory ceremonies and the like, on account of scriptural and *Smṛiti* passages such as ‘All sins transcends he, the murder of a Brāhmaṇa transcends he who offers the asvamedha-sacrifice and who knows it thus’ (*Tai. Samh.* V, 3, 12, 1).—Nor is there any truth in the assertion that expiatory ceremonies are due to certain special occurrences (without possessing the power of extinguishing the evil inherent in such occurrences). For as these expiatory acts are enjoined in connexion with evil events, we may assume that they have for their fruit the destruction of such evil,

and are therefore not entitled to assume any other fruit. —Against the objection that knowledge is not actually enjoined with reference to the destruction of evil while expiatory acts are so enjoined, we make the following remark. In the case of the meditations on the qualified Brahman there exists such injunction, and the corresponding complementary passages declare that he who possesses such knowledge obtains lordly power and cessation of all sin. Now there is no reason why the passages should not expressly aim at declaring these two things<sup>1</sup>, and we therefore conclude that the fruit of those vidyâs is the acquisition of lordly power, preceded by the annulment of all sin. In the case of vidyâs referring to Brahman devoid of qualities we indeed have no corresponding injunction; nevertheless the destruction of all works follows from the cognition that our true Self is not an agent. (With relation to these vidyâs about Brahman as devoid of qualities) the term 'non-clinging' shows that, as far as future works are concerned, he who knows Brahman does not enter at all into the state of agency. And as to works past, although he has entered as it were into that state owing to wrong knowledge, yet those works also are dissolved when, through the power of knowledge, wrong cognition comes to an end; this is conveyed by the term 'destruction.' 'That Brahman whose nature it is to be at all times neither agent nor enjoyer, and which is thus opposed in being to the (soul's) previously established state of agency and enjoyment, that Brahman am I; hence I neither was an agent nor an enjoyer at any previous time, nor am I such at the present time, nor shall I be such at any future time;' this is the cognition of the man who knows Brahman. And in this way only final release is possible; for otherwise, i.e. if the chain of works which have been running on from eternity could not be cut short, release

---

<sup>1</sup> I. e. there is no reason to assume that those passages mention the acquisition of lordly power and the cessation of sin merely for the purpose of glorifying the injunction, and not for the purpose of stating the result of our compliance with the injunction.

could never take place.—Nor can final release be dependent on locality, time, and special causes, as the fruit of works is; for therefrom it would follow that the fruit of knowledge is non-permanent and cannot be.

It therefore is an established conclusion that on attaining Brahman there results the extinction of all sin.

14. Of the other (i. e. good works) also there is, in the same way, non-clinging; but at death.

In the preceding *adhyakṣaṇa* it has been shown that, according to scriptural statements, all natural sin—which is the cause of the soul's bondage—does, owing to the power of knowledge, either not cling to the soul or undergo destruction. One might now think that works of religious duty which are enjoined by scripture are not opposed to knowledge also founded on scripture. In order to dispel this notion the reasoning of the last *adhyakṣaṇa* is formally extended to the case under discussion. For him who knows there is 'in the same way,' i. e. as in the case of sin, 'non-clinging' and destruction 'of the other also,' i. e. of good works also; because such works also, as productive of their own results, would be apt to obstruct thereby the result of knowledge. Scripture also—in passages such as 'He overcomes both' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 22*)—declares that good works are extinguished no less than evil ones, and the extinction of works which depends on the cognition of the Self not being an agent is the same in the case of good and of evil works, and moreover there is a passage making a general statement without any distinction, viz. 'And his works are extinguished' (*Mu. Up. II, 2, 8*). And even there where the text mentions evil works only, we must consider good works also to be implied therein, because the results of the latter also are inferior to the result of knowledge. Moreover scripture directly applies the term 'evil works' to good works also, viz. in the passage, *Kṛ. Up. VIII, 4, 1*, 'Day and night do not pass that bank,' where good works are mentioned together with evil works, and finally the term 'evil' is without any distinction applied to all things mentioned before, 'All evil things

turn back from it.'—'But at death.' The word 'but' is meant for emphatical assertion. As it is established that good as well as evil works—which are both causes of bondage—do, owing to the strength of knowledge, on the one hand not cling and on the other hand undergo destruction, there necessarily results final release of him who knows as soon as death takes place.

15. But only those former (works) whose effects have not yet begun (are destroyed by knowledge); because (scripture states) that (i.e. the death of the body) to be the term.

In the two preceding *adhikaraṇas* it has been proved that good as well as evil works are annihilated through knowledge. We now have to consider the question whether this annihilation extends, without distinction, to those works whose effects have already begun to operate as well as to those whose effects have not yet begun; or only to works of the latter kind.

Here the *pûrvapakshin* maintains that on the ground of scriptural passages such as 'He thereby overcomes both,' which refer to all works without any distinction, all works whatever must be considered to undergo destruction.

To this we reply, 'But only those whose effects have not begun.' Former works, i.e. works, whether good or evil, which have been accumulated in previous forms of existence as well as in the current form of existence before the origination of knowledge, are destroyed by the attainment of knowledge only if their fruit has not yet begun to operate. Those works, on the other hand, whose effects have begun and whose results have been half enjoyed—i.e. those very works to which there is due the present state of existence in which the knowledge of Brahman arises—are not destroyed by that knowledge. This opinion is founded on the scriptural passage, 'For him there is delay only as long as he is not delivered (from the body)' (*Kh. Up. VI, 14, 2*), which fixes the death of the body as the term of the attainment of final release. Were it otherwise,



i.e. were all works whatever extinguished by knowledge, there would be no reason for the continuance of the current form of existence, and the rise of knowledge would therefore be immediately followed by the state of final release ; in which case scripture would not teach that one has to wait for the death of the body.—But, an objection is raised, the knowledge of the Self being essentially non-active does by its intrinsic power destroy (all) works ; how then should it destroy some only and leave others unaffected ? We certainly have no right to assume that when fire and seeds come into contact the germinative power of some seeds only is destroyed while that of others remains unimpaired !—The origination of knowledge, we reply, cannot take place without dependence on an aggregate of works whose effects have already begun to operate, and when this dependence has once been entered into, we must—as in the case of the potter's wheel—wait until the motion of that which once has begun to move comes to an end, there being nothing to obstruct it in the interim. The knowledge of our Self being essentially non-active destroys all works by means of refuting wrong knowledge ; but wrong knowledge—comparable to the appearance of a double moon—lasts for some time even after it has been refuted, owing to the impression it has made.—Moreover it is not a matter for dispute at all whether the body of him who knows Brahman continues to exist for some time or not. For how can one man contest the fact of another possessing the knowledge of Brahman—vouched for by his heart's conviction—and at the same time continuing to enjoy bodily existence ? This same point is explained in scripture and *Smṛiti*, where they describe him who stands firm in the highest knowledge.—The final decision therefore is that knowledge effects the destruction of those works only—whether good or evil—whose effects have not yet begun to operate.

16. But the Agnihotra and the like (tend) towards the same effect ; scripture showing this.

The reasoning as to evil deeds has been extended to the

non-clinging and destruction of good deeds also. Against a notion which now might present itself, viz. that this extension comprehends all good works alike, the Sûtrakâra remarks, 'But the Agnihotra and so on.'—The word 'but' is meant to set that notion aside. Works of permanent obligation enjoined by the Veda, such as the Agnihotra, tend 'towards the same effect,' i. e. have the same effect as knowledge. For this is declared by texts such as the following one, 'Brâhmanas seek to know him by the study of the Veda, by sacrifices, by gifts' (*Bri. Up. IV, 4, 22*).—But, an objection is raised, as knowledge and works have different effects, it is impossible that they should have one and the same effect!—It is observed, we reply, that sour milk and poison whose ordinary effects are fever and death have for their effects satisfaction and a flourishing state of the body, if the sour milk is mixed with sugar and the poison taken while certain mantras are recited; in the same way works if joined with knowledge may effect final release.—But final release is something not to be effected at all; how then can you declare it to be the effect of works?—Works, we reply, may subserve final release mediately. For in so far as furthering knowledge, work may be spoken of as an indirect cause of final release. For the same reason the equality of effect spoken of above extends only to works past (at the time when knowledge springs up). Because for him who knows Brahman no future Agnihotras and the like are possible, since the attainment of the Self of Brahman—which Brahman is not subject to injunction—lies outside the sphere of sacred precept. In those meditations, on the other hand, which refer to the qualified Brahman, the Self does not cease to be an agent, and consequently future Agnihotras and the like are not excluded. Such works also—because they have no other effect if undertaken without a view to reward—may be brought into connexion with knowledge.

To what works then, it may be asked, does the statement refer made above about the non-clinging and the destruction, and to what works the following statement made in some Sâkhâ about the application of works, 'His sons enter upon

his inheritance, his friends on his good works, his enemies upon his evil works?'—To this question the next Sūtra replies.

17. For (there is) also (a class of good works) other than this, according to some. (There is agreement) of both (teachers) (as to the fate of those works.)

'For also one other than this,' i. e. there is also a class of good works different from works of permanent obligation, viz. those good works which are performed with a view to a fruit. Of those latter works the passage quoted above from some Sākhā ('His friends enter on his good works') teaches the application. And first of those works Sūtra 14 teaches that, in the same way as evil deeds, they do not cling to the doer or else are destroyed. Both teachers, Gaimini as well as Bādarāyana, are agreed that such works, undertaken for the fulfilment of some special wish, do not contribute towards the origination of true knowledge.

18. For (the text) 'whatever he does with knowledge' (intimates that).

In the preceding *adhikaraṇa* the following conclusion has been established:—Works of permanent obligation such as the Agnihotra, if performed by a person desirous of release with a view to release, lead to the extinction of evil deeds committed, thus become a means of the purification of the mind, and thereby cause the attainment of Brahman, which leads to final release; they therefore operate towards the same effect as the knowledge of Brahman. Now the Agnihotra and similar works are either connected with a special knowledge based on the constituent members of the sacrificial work, or absolute (non-connected with such knowledge). This appears from scriptural texts such as 'He who knowing this sacrifices; he who knowing this makes an offering; he who knowing this recites; he who knowing this sings; therefore let a man make him who knows this his Brahman-priest

(*Kṛ.* Up. IV, 17, 1); therefore both perform the work, he who knows this and he who does not know it' (*Kṛ.* Up. I, 1, 10).—We have now to consider the question whether only such Agnihotras and so on as are connected with knowledge cause knowledge on the part of him who desires release and thus operate towards the same effect as knowledge; or whether both kinds of works—those connected with knowledge and those not so connected—equally act in that way. The doubt concerning this point arises on the one hand from scriptural passages such as 'That Self they seek to know by sacrifice' (*Bṛi.* Up. IV, 4, 22), which represent sacrifices and the like, without difference, as auxiliary to the knowledge of the Self; and on the other hand from our observing that a superiority is conceded to Agnihotras, &c., if connected with knowledge.

Here the pûrvapakshin maintains that only such sacrificial works as are connected with knowledge are helpful towards the cognition of the Self, since we understand from various scriptural and *Smṛiti* passages that works connected with knowledge are superior to those destitute of knowledge; cp. e. g. 'On the very day on which he sacrifices on that day he overcomes death again, he who knows this' (*Bṛi.* Up. I, 5, 2); and 'Possessor of this knowledge thou wilt cast off the bonds of action;' 'Action is far inferior to concentration of mind' (*Bha. Gitā* II, 39; 49).

To this the Sûtrakâra replies, 'For what with knowledge only.' It is true that works such as the Agnihotra if joined with knowledge are superior to works destitute of knowledge, in the same way as a Brâhmaṇa possessed of knowledge is superior to one devoid of knowledge. Nevertheless works such as the Agnihotra even if not connected with knowledge are not altogether ineffective; for certain scriptural texts declare that such works are, all of them without any difference, causes of knowledge; so e. g. the passage, 'That Self they seek to know through sacrifices.'—But, as we understand from scripture that works connected with knowledge are superior to those destitute of knowledge, we must suppose that the Agnihotra and the like if unaccompanied by knowledge are inoperative towards the

cognition of the Self!—By no means, we reply. The proper assumption is that the Agnihotra and so on, if accompanied by knowledge, possess a greater capability of originating knowledge and therefore are of superior causal efficiency with regard to the cognition of the Self; while the same works if devoid of knowledge possess no such superiority. We cannot, however, admit that the Agnihotra and similar works which scripture, without making any distinction, declares to subserve knowledge (cp. 'they seek to know through sacrifices') should not subserve it. With this our conclusion agrees the scriptural text, 'Whatever he performs with knowledge, faith, and the Upanishad that is more powerful' (*Kh. Up. I, 1, 10*); for this text—in speaking of the greater power of work joined with knowledge and thus proclaiming the superiority of such work with regard to its effect—intimates thereby that work destitute of knowledge possesses some power towards the same effect. By the 'power' of work we understand its capacity of effecting its purpose. We therefore accept as settled the following conclusion: All works of permanent obligation, such as the Agnihotra—whether joined with or devoid of knowledge—which have been performed before the rise of true knowledge, either in the present state of existence or a former one, by a person desirous of release with a view to release; all such works act, according to their several capacities, as means of the extinction of evil desert which obstructs the attainment of Brahman, and thus become causes of such attainment, subserving the more immediate causes such as the hearing of and reflecting on the sacred texts, faith, meditation, devotion, &c. They therefore operate towards the same effect as the knowledge of Brahman.

19. But having destroyed by fruition the two other (sets of work) he becomes one with Brahman.

It has been shown that all good and evil deeds whose effects have not yet begun are extinguished by the power of knowledge. 'The two others,' on the other hand, i. e. those good and evil works whose effects have begun, a man

has at first to exhaust by the fruition of their consequences, and then he becomes one with Brahman. This appears from scriptural passages such as 'For him there is delay so long as he is not delivered (from the body), then he will become one with Brahman' (*Kh. Up.* VI, 14, 2); and 'Being Brahman he goes to Brahman' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 4, 6).—But, an objection is raised, even when perfect intuition has risen the practical intuition of multiplicity may continue after the death of the body, just as it continued before death; analogously to the visual appearance of a double moon (which may continue even after it has been cognized as false).—Not so, we reply. After the death of the body there no longer exists any cause for such continuance; while up to death there is such a cause, viz. the extinction of the remainder of works to be enjoyed.—But a new aggregate of works will originate a new fruition!—Not so, we reply; since the seed of all such fruition is destroyed. What, on the death of the body, could originate a new period of fruition, is only a new set of works, and works depend on false knowledge; but such false knowledge is completely destroyed by perfect intuition. When therefore the works whose effects have begun are destroyed, the man who knows necessarily enters into the state of perfect isolation.

## SECOND PĀDA.

## REVERENCE TO THE HIGHEST SELF!

1. Speech (is merged) in mind, on account of this being seen, and of the scriptural statement.

Being about to describe the path of the gods which leads those who possess the lower kind of knowledge towards the attainment of their reward, the Sūtrakāra begins by explaining, on the basis of scriptural statements, the successive steps by which the soul passes out of the body; for, as will be stated later on, the departure of the soul is the same in the case of him who possesses the (lower) knowledge and of him who is devoid of all knowledge.

About the process of dying we have the following passage, 'When a man departs from hence his speech merges in his mind, his mind in his breath, his breath in fire, fire in the highest deity' (*Kh. Up. VI, 6, 1*). A doubt here arises whether the passage means to say that speech itself, together with its function, is merged in the mind, or only the function of speech.

The pūrvapakshin maintains that speech itself is merged in the mind. For this explanation only is in agreement with the direct statement of the sacred text, while the other alternative compels us to have recourse to an implied meaning; now wherever direct enunciation and implied meaning are in conflict the preference has to be given to the former, and we therefore maintain that speech itself is merged in the mind.

To this we reply that only the function of speech is merged in the mind.—But how can this interpretation be maintained, considering that the teacher (in the Sūtra) expressly says 'Speech in the mind?'—True, we reply; but later on he says 'There is non-division, according to scriptural statement' (Sūtra 16), and we therefrom conclude that what is meant in the present Sūtra is merely cessation of the function of speech. For if the intention were to

express absorption of the thing (i.e. the organ of speech) itself, there would be 'non-division' in all cases, and for what reason then should 'non-division' be specially stated in another case (i.e. in the case of which Sûtra 16 treats)? The meaning therefore is that the different functions are retracted, and that while the function of the mind continues to go on the function of speech is retracted first.—Why so?—'Because this is seen.' It is a matter of observation that while the mind continues to act the function of speech comes to an end; nobody, on the other hand, is able to see that the organ of speech itself, together with its function, is merged in the mind.—But are we not justified in assuming such a merging of speech in the mind, on the ground of scriptural statement?—This is impossible, we reply, since mind is not the causal substance of speech. We are entitled to assume only that a thing is merged in what is its causal substance; a pot e.g. (when destroyed) is merged in clay. But there is no proof whatever for speech originating from mind. On the other hand we observe that functions originate and are retracted even where they do not inhere in causal substances. The function of fire, e.g. which is of the nature of heat, springs from fuel which is of the nature of earth, and it is extinguished in water.—But how do you, on this interpretation, account for the scriptural statement that 'speech is merged in the mind?'—'And on account of the scriptural statement,' the Sûtrakâra replies. The scriptural statement also may be reconciled with our interpretation, in so far as the function and the thing to which the function belongs are viewed as non-different.

2. And for the same reason all (sense-organs) (follow) after (mind).

'Therefore he whose light has gone out comes to a new birth with his senses merged in the mind' (Pr. Up. III, 9); this passage states that all senses without difference are merged in the mind. 'For the same reason,' i.e. because there also as in the case of speech, it is observed that the eye and so on discontinue their functions, while the mind together with its functions persists, and because the organs



themselves cannot be absorbed, and because the text admits of that interpretation ; we conclude that the different organs follow after, i. e. are merged in, the mind only as far as their functions are concerned.—As all organs<sup>1</sup> without difference are merged in the mind, the special mention made of speech (in Sūtra 1) must be viewed as made in agreement with the special example referred to by scripture, 'Speech is merged in mind.'

3. That mind (is merged) in breath, owing to the subsequent clause.

It has been shown that the passage, 'Speech is merged in mind,' means a merging of the function only.—A doubt here arises whether the subsequent clause, 'mind in breath,' also means to intimate a merging of the function only or of that to which the function belongs.—The *pūrvapakṣin* maintains the latter alternative. For that, he says, agrees with scripture, and moreover breath may be viewed as the causal substance of mind. For scripture—'Mind is made of earth, breath of water' (*Kh. Up. VI, 6, 5*)—states that mind comes from earth and breath from water, and scripture further states that 'Water sent forth earth' (*Kh. Up. VI, 2, 4*). When mind therefore is merged in breath, it is the same as earth being merged in water ; for mind is earth and breath is water, causal substance and effect being non-different.

To this we reply as follows. 'The subsequent clause' intimates that the mind, after having absorbed within itself the functions of the outer senses, is merged in breath only in the way of its function being so merged. For we observe in the case of persons lying in deep sleep or about to die that, while the function of breath persists, the functions of the mind are stopped. Nor is the mind capable of being itself merged in breath, since breath does not constitute its causal substance.—But it has been shown above that breath is the causal substance of mind !—This is not valid,

---

<sup>1</sup> I. e. the functions of all organs.

we reply. For the relation of causality, made out in such an indirect way, does not suffice to show that mind is really merged in breath. Were it so, then mind would also be merged in earth, earth in water, breath in water. Nor is there, on the alternative contemplated, any proof of mind having originated from that water which had passed over into breath.—Mind cannot therefore, in itself, be merged in breath. And that the scriptural statement is satisfied by a mere merging of the function—the function and that to which the function belongs being viewed as identical—has been shown already under the preceding Sûtra.

4. That (viz. breath) (is merged) in the ruler (i. e. the individual soul), on account of the (statements as to the *prâṇas*) coming to it and so on.

We have ascertained that a thing which has not originated from another is not itself merged in the latter, but only through its functions. A doubt now arises whether, according to the word of scripture, the function of breath is merged in heat, or in the individual soul which is the ruler of the body and senses.—According to the *pûrvapakshin* we must conclude that the breath is merged in heat only, since the scriptural statement allows no room for doubt and we are not entitled to assume something not declared by scripture. The breath under discussion persists 'in the ruler,' i. e. the intelligent Self (the individual soul) which possesses nescience, work, and former knowledge as limiting adjuncts; i. e. the function of breath has that soul for its substratum.—Why so?—'On account of (the *prâṇas*) going towards him,' &c.—Another scriptural passage declares that all *prâṇas* without any difference go to the soul, 'All the *prâṇas* go to the Self at the time of death when a man is thus going to expire' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 3, 38*). Another passage again specially declares that the *prâṇa* with its five functions follows the individual soul, 'After him thus departing the *prâṇa* departs,' and that the other *prâṇas* follow that *prâṇa*, 'And after the *prâṇa* thus departing all the other *prâṇas* depart' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 2*). And the text, 'He is furnished with intelligence' (*ibid.*), by declaring the individual soul to

be of intimately intelligent nature, suggests that in it, viz. the soul, the *prāṇa*—into which the different organs of knowledge have been merged—has taken its abode.—But scripture also says, ‘The *prāṇa* (is merged) in heat;’ why then make the addition implied in the doctrine—that breath is merged in the individual soul?—We must make that addition, we reply, because in the process of departure &c. the soul is the chief agent, and because we must pay regard to specifications contained in other scriptural passages also.—How then do you explain the statement, ‘Breath is merged in heat?’—To this question the next *Sūtra* replies.

5. To the elements (the soul, with *prāṇa*, goes), on account of the subsequent scriptural clause.

The soul joined by the *prāṇa* takes up its abode within the subtle elements which accompany heat and form the seed of the (gross) body. This we conclude from the clause, ‘Breath in heat.’—But this passage declares, not that the soul together with the *prāṇa* takes up its abode in heat, but only that the *prāṇa* takes up its abode!—No matter, we reply; since the preceding *Sūtra* intercalates the soul in the interval (between *prāṇa* and *tejas*). Of a man who first travels from *Srughna* to *Mathurā* and then from *Mathurā* to *Pāṭaliputra*, we may say shortly that he travels from *Srughna* to *Pāṭaliputra*. The passage under discussion therefore means that the soul together with the *prāṇa* abides in the elements associated with heat.—But how are you entitled to draw in the other elements also, while the text only speaks of heat?—To this question the next *Sūtra* replies.

6. Not to one (element) (the soul goes); for both (i. e. scripture and *Smṛiti*) declare this.

At the time of passing over into another body the individual soul does not abide in the one element of heat only; for we see that the new body consists of various elements. This matter is declared in the question and answer about the waters called *man* (*Kh. Up. V, 3, 3*); as explained by us in III, 1, 2.—Scripture and *Smṛiti* alike

teach this doctrine; compare e.g. 'Consisting of earth, water, wind, ether, heat' (*Bṛi.* Up. IV, 4, 5); and 'The subtle perishable parts of the five (elements) from them all this is produced in due succession' (*Manu* I, 27).—But is there not another scriptural text—beginning 'Where then is that person?'—which teaches that at the time of the soul attaining a new body, after speech and the other organs have been withdrawn within the soul, work constitutes the soul's abode, 'What those two said, as work they said it; what they praised, as work they praised it' (*Bṛi.* Up. III, 2, 13)?—That passage, we reply, describes the operation of bondage consisting of the senses and their objects—there called *grahas* and *atigrahas*—and therefore work is spoken of as the abode; here on the other hand the elements are said to be the abode because we have to do with the origination of a new body out of the matter of the elements. The expression 'they prayed' moreover intimates only that work occupies the chief place in the process, and does not exclude another abode. The two passages therefore do not contradict each other.

7. And common (to him who knows and him who does not know) (is the departure) up to the beginning of the way; and the immortality (of him who knows) (is relative only) without having burned (nescience and so on).

The question here arises whether the departure of the soul, as described hitherto, is the same in the case of him who knows and him who is destitute of knowledge; or whether there is any difference.—There is a difference, the *pūrvapakshin* maintains. For the departure as described has for its abode the elements, and this abiding in the elements is for the purpose of a new birth. But he who possesses true knowledge cannot be born again, since scripture declares that 'He who knows reaches immortality.' Hence only he who is devoid of knowledge departs in the way described.—But as that departure is described in chapters treating of knowledge it can belong only to him

who knows!—Not so, the *pūrvapakshin* replies. In the same way as sleep and the like, the departure of the soul is only referred to in the texts as something established elsewhere (not as something to be taught as part of true knowledge). Passages such as ‘When a man sleeps,—is hungry,—is thirsty’ (*Kh. Up. VI, 8*), although forming part of chapters concerned with true knowledge, mention sleep and so on which are common to all living beings, because they assist the comprehension of the matter to be taught, but do not aim at enjoining them specially for those who know. Analogously the texts about the soul’s departure refer to that departure only in order to teach that ‘that highest deity in which the heat of the dying man is merged, that is the Self, that art thou.’ Now that departure is (in other scriptural passages) specially denied of him who knows; it therefore belongs to him only who does not know.

To this we make the following reply. That departure which is described in the passage, ‘speech is merged in mind,’ &c., must be ‘common’ to him who knows and him who does not know ‘up to the beginning of the way;’ because scripture records no distinction. The soul destitute of true knowledge having taken its abode in the subtle elements which constitute the seed of the body and being impelled by its works, migrates into a new body; while the soul of him who knows passes into the vein, revealed by true knowledge, which is the door of release. In this sense the *Sūtra* says ‘up to the beginning of the way.’—But he who knows reaches immortality, and immortality does not depend on a change of place; why then should the soul take its abode in the elements or set out on a journey?—That immortality, we reply, is ‘without having burned,’ i. e. for him who, without having altogether burned nescience and the other afflictions, is about to obtain, through the power of the lower knowledge, a relative immortality only, there take place the entering on the way and the abiding in the elements. For without a substratum the *prāṇas* could not move. There is thus no difficulty.

8. This (aggregate of the elements) (continues to exist) up to the (final absolute) union (with Brahman); on account of the declarations of the *samsâra* state (made by scripture).

With regard to the final clause, 'Heat in the highest deity,' the force of its connexion with what precedes shows that the meaning is 'the heat of the dying man is—together with the individual soul, the *prâna*, the aggregate of the organs and the other elements—merged in Brahman.'—We now have to consider of what kind that merging is.—The *pûrvapakshin* maintains that it is an absolute absorption of the things merged, since it is proved that those things have the highest deity for their causal matter. For it has been established that the deity is the causal substance of all things that have an origin. Hence that passing into the state of non-separation is an absolute one.

To this we reply as follows. Those subtle elements—heat and so on—which constitute the abode of hearing and the other organs persist up to the 'union,' i. e. up to final release from the *samsâra*, which is caused by perfect knowledge. 'On account of the declarations of the *samsâra* state' made in passages such as 'Some enter the womb, for embodied existence as organic beings; others go into inorganic matter, according to their work and according to their knowledge' (Ka. Up. II, 5, 7). Otherwise the limiting adjuncts of every soul would, at the time of death, be absorbed and the soul would enter into absolute union with Brahman; which would render all scriptural injunction and scriptural doctrine equally purportless. Moreover bondage, which is due to wrong knowledge, cannot be dissolved but through perfect knowledge. Hence, although Brahman is the causal substance of those elements, they are at the time of death—as in the case of deep sleep and a *pralaya* of the world—merged in it only in such a way as to continue to exist in a seminal condition.

9. And (heat is) subtle in measure; as this is thus observed.

The elementary matter of heat and the other elements

B b 2

which form the substratum for the soul when passing out of this body, must be subtle in its nature and extent. This follows from the scriptural passages, which declare that it passes out by the veins and so on. Their thinness renders them capable of passing out, and their transparency (permeability) is the cause of their not being stopped by any gross substance. For these reasons they, when passing out of the body, are not perceived by bystanders.

10. For this reason (it is) not (destroyed) by the destruction (of the gross body).

On account of this very subtlety the subtle body is not destroyed by what destroys the gross body, viz. burning and the like.

11. And to that same (subtle body) that warmth (belongs), on account of the proof (which observation furnishes).

To that same subtle body belongs the warmth which we perceive in the living body by means of touch. That warmth is not felt in the body after death, while such qualities as form, colour and so on continue to be perceived; it is, on the other hand, observed as long as there is life. From this it follows that the warmth resides in something different from the body as ordinarily known. Scripture also says, 'He is warm if going to live, cold if going to die.'

12. Should you say that on account of the denial (made by scripture) (the soul of him who knows Brahman does not depart); we deny this, (because scripture means to say that the prāṇas do not depart) from the embodied soul.

From the distinction conveyed by the clause, 'and (relative) immortality without having burned' (Sūtra 7), it follows that in the case of absolute immortality being reached there is no going and no departure of the soul from the body.—The idea that for some reason or other

a departure of the soul might take place in this latter case also, is precluded by the following scriptural passage, '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, of him the vital spirits do not depart,—being Brahman, he goes to Brahman' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 6*). From this express denial—forming part of the higher knowledge—it follows that the *prâṇas* do not pass out of the body of him who knows Brahman.

This conclusion the *pûrvapakshin* denies. For, he says, the passage quoted does not deny the departure of the *prâṇas* from the body, but from the embodied (individual) soul.—How is this known?—From the fact that in another *Sâkhâ* we have (not the sixth, genitive, case 'of him,' but) the fifth, ablative, case 'from him'—'From him the vital spirits do not depart' (*Mâdhyandina Sâkhâ*). For the sixth case which expresses only relation in general is determined towards some special relation by the fifth case met with in another *Sâkhâ*. And as the embodied soul which has a claim on exaltation and bliss is the chief topic of the chapter, we construe the words 'from him' to mean not the body but the embodied soul. The sense therefore is 'from that soul when about to depart the *prâṇas* do not depart, but remain with it.' The soul of him who dies therefore passes out of the body, together with the *prâṇas*. This view the next *Sûtra* refutes.

13. For (in the text) of some (the denial of the soul's departure) is clear.

The assertion that also the soul of him who knows Brahman departs from the body, because the denial states the soul (not the body) to be the point of departure, cannot be upheld. For we observe that in the sacred text of some there is a clear denial of a departure, the starting-point of which is the body.—The text meant at first records the question asked by *Ârtabhâga*, 'When this man dies, do the vital spirits depart from him or not?' then embraces the alternative of non-departure, in the words, No, replied *Yâgñavalkya*; thereupon—anticipating the objection that



a man cannot be dead as long as his vital spirits have not departed—teaches the resolution of the *prāṇas* in the body 'in that very same place they are merged;' and finally, in confirmation thereof, remarks, 'he swells, he is inflated, inflated the dead man lies.' This last clause states that swelling, &c., affect the subject under discussion, viz. that from which the departure takes place (the 'tasmât' of the former clause), which subject is, in this last clause, referred to by means of the word 'He.' Now swelling and so on can belong to the body only, not to the embodied soul. And owing to its equality thereto<sup>1</sup> also the passages, 'from him the vital spirits do not depart;' 'in that very same place they are resolved,' have to be taken as denying a departure starting from the body, although the chief subject of the passage is the embodied soul. This may be done by the embodied soul and the body being viewed as non-different<sup>2</sup>. In this way we have to explain the passage if read with the fifth case.—If again the passage is read with the sixth case ('of him the vital spirits do not depart'), it must be understood as denying the departure of him who knows, as its purport manifestly is to deny a departure established elsewhere. But what it denies can only be a departure from the body; for what is established (viz. for ordinary men not possessing the highest knowledge) is only the departure (of the soul, &c.) from the body, not the departure (of the *prāṇas*, &c.) from the embodied soul.—Moreover, after the passage, 'Either through the eye or through the skull or through other places of the body, him thus departing the *prāṇa* departs after, and after the departing *prāṇa* all *prāṇas* depart,' &c., has at length described the departure and transmigration of the soul as belonging to him who does not know, and after the account of him

<sup>1</sup> I. e. its belonging to the same chapter and treating of the same subject.

<sup>2</sup> The two being viewed as non-different, the pronoun (tasmât), which properly denotes the soul, the person, may be used to denote the body.—*Abhedopakāreṇa dehadehinor dehiparāmarśinā sarva-nāmnā deha eva parāmrśita iti. Bhā.*

who does not know has been concluded with the words, 'So much for the man who has desires,' the text designates him who knows as 'he who has no desires;' a designation which would be altogether inappropriate if the text wanted to establish departure, &c., for that person also. The passage therefore has to be explained as denying of him who knows the going and departing which are established for him who does not know. For thus only the designation employed by the text has a sense.—And for him who knowing Brahman has become the Self of that omnipresent Brahman, and in whom all desires and works have become extinct, departing and going are not even possible, as there is not any occasion for them. And such texts as 'there he reaches Brahman' (*Bri. Up. IV, 4, 7*) indicate the absence of all going and departing.

#### 14. And Smṛiti also says that.

In the Mahābhārata also it is said that those who know do not go or depart, 'He who has become the Self of all beings and has a complete intuition of all, at his way the gods themselves are perplexed, seeking for the path of him who has no path.'—But, an objection is raised, other passages speak of men knowing Brahman as going, so e.g. 'Suka the son of Vyāsa being desirous of release travelled to the sphere of the sun; being called by his father who had followed him, he gave an answering shout.'—That passage, we reply, describes (not the effects of the highest knowledge but only) how an embodied person, through the power of Yoga (which is of the nature of the lower knowledge), reached some special place and freed himself from the body. This appears from it being mentioned that he was seen by all beings; for the beings could not see a person moving without a body. The conclusion of the story makes all this clear, 'Suka having moved through the air more rapidly than wind, and having shown his power, was known by all beings.'—It thus follows that he who knows Brahman neither moves nor departs. To what sphere the scriptural texts about going and so on refer we shall explain later on.

15. Those (elements, &c.) (are merged) in the highest Brahman; for thus (scripture) says.

Those, i. e. the sense organs—denoted by the term ‘*prāṇa*’—and the elements of him who knows the highest Brahman, are merged in that same highest Brahman.—Why?—Because scripture declares that ‘Thus these sixteen parts of the spectator that go towards the person, when they have reached the person, sink into him’ (Pr. Up. VI, 5).—But another text which refers to him who knows teaches that the parts also are merged in something different from the highest Self, ‘The fifteen parts enter into their elements’ (Mu. Up. III, 2, 7).—No, we reply. This latter passage is concerned with the ordinary view of the matter, according to which the parts of the body which consist of earth and so on are merged in their causal substances, earth and so on. The former passage, on the other hand, expresses the view of him who knows; according to which the whole aggregate of the parts of him who knows the highest Brahman is merged in Brahman only.—There is thus no contradiction.

16. (There is absolute) non-division (from Brahman, of the parts merged in it); according to scriptural declaration.

When the parts of him who knows are merged in Brahman, is there a remainder (which is not so merged), as in the case of other men; or is there no such remainder? As the merging of him also who knows falls under the general heading of merging, it might be assumed that of him also there remains a potential body, and the Sūtra-kāra therefore teaches expressly that the elements, &c., of him who knows enter into the relation of (absolute) non-division from Brahman.—On what ground?—Because scripture declares this. For after having taught the dissolution of the parts, the text continues, ‘Their name and form are broken, and people speak of the person only; and he becomes without parts and immortal’ (Pr. Up. VI, 5). And when parts that are due to nescience are dissolved

through knowledge it is not possible that a remainder should be left. The parts therefore enter into absolute non-division from Brahman.

17. (There takes place) a lighting up of the point of its (the soul's) abode (viz. the heart); the door (of its egress) being illuminated thereby; owing to the power of knowledge and the application of meditation to the way which is part of that (knowledge); (the soul) favoured by him in the heart (viz. Brahman) (passes upwards) by the one that exceeds a hundred (i. e. by the hundred and first vein).

Having absolved the inquiry into a point of the higher knowledge into which we were led by a special occasion, we now continue the discussion connected with the lower knowledge.—It has been stated that up to the beginning of the way the departure of him who knows and him who does not know is the same. The present Sūtra now describes the soul's entering on the way. The abode of the soul, when—having taken within itself speech and the other powers—it is about to depart, is the heart, according to the text, 'He taking with him those elements of light descends into the heart' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 1*). Of the heart the point becomes lighted up, and subsequent to that is the departure of the soul, starting from the eye or some other place, according to the passage, 'The point of his heart becomes lighted up, and by that light the Self departs, either through the eye or through the skull or through other places of the body' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 2*). The question here arises whether that departure is the same for him who knows and him who does not know, or if there is a special limitation in the case of the former; and the *primâ facie* view might be upheld that there is no such limitation since scripture records no difference. Against this the teacher states that although, equally for him who does know and him who does not know, the point of the heart becomes shining and the door of egress thereby

is lighted up, yet he who knows departs through the skull only, while the others depart from other places.—Why so? —‘On account of the power of knowledge.’ If also he who knows departed, like all others, from any place of the body, he would be unable to reach an exalted sphere; and then all knowledge would be purportless. ‘And on account of the application of meditation on the way forming a part of that.’ That means: in different vidyās there is enjoined meditation on the soul’s travelling on the way connected with the vein that passes through the skull;—which way forms a part of those vidyās. Now it is proper to conclude that he who meditates on that way should after death proceed on it<sup>1</sup>. Hence he who knows, being favoured by Brahman abiding in the heart on which he had meditated, and thus becoming like it in nature departs by the vein which passes through the skull and ‘exceeds the hundred,’ i. e. is the hundred and first. The souls of other men pass out by other veins. For thus scripture says, in a chapter treating of the knowledge of Brahman dwelling in the heart, ‘There are a hundred and one veins of the heart; one of them penetrates the crown of the head; by that moving upwards a man reaches immortality; the others serve for departing in different directions’ (*Kh. Up. VIII, 6, 5*).

18. (The soul after having passed forth from the body) follows the rays.

There is the vidyā of him within the heart, which begins, ‘There is this city of Brahman and in it the palace, the small lotus, and in it that small ether’ (*Kh. Up. VIII, 1, 1*). A subsequent section of that chapter—beginning with the words, ‘Now these veins of the heart’—describes at length the connexion of the veins and the rays, and the text then continues, ‘When he departs from this body, he departs upwards by those very rays,’ and further on, ‘By that

<sup>1</sup> For otherwise the meditation enjoined would be ‘*adrishārtha*’ only; an alternative not to be admitted anywhere as long as a ‘seen’ purpose can be demonstrated.

moving upwards he reaches immortality.' From this we understand that the soul passing out by the hundred and first vein follows the rays.—A doubt here arises as to whether the soul of him who dies by night as well as of him who dies by day follows the rays, or the soul of the latter only.—Since scripture mentions no difference, the Sûtra teaches that the souls follow the rays in both cases.

19. (Should it be said that the soul does) not (follow the rays) by night; (we reply) not so, because the connexion (of veins and rays) exists as long as the body; and (scripture) also declares this.

It might perhaps be said that the veins and rays are connected during the day, so that the soul of a person who dies during the day may follow those rays; but not the soul of one who dies by night when the connexion of the veins and rays is broken.—But this is a mistaken assumption, because the connexion of rays and veins lasts as long as the body exists. This scripture also declares, 'They (the rays) stretch out from yonder sun and slip into these veins; they stretch from these veins and slip into yonder sun' (*Kh. Up. VIII, 6, 2*). We moreover observe that the rays of the sun continue to exist in the nights of the summer season; for we feel their warmth and other effects. During the nights of the other seasons they are difficult to perceive because then few only continue to exist; just as during the cloudy days of the cold season.—This the following scriptural passage also shows, 'Day he makes in the night.'—If, moreover, he who dies at night mounted upwards without following the rays, the following of the rays would be generally meaningless. For the text gives no special direction to the effect that he who dies by day mounts upwards by means of the rays, while he who dies by night mounts without them.—Should, on the other hand, even he who knows be prevented from mounting upwards, by the mere mischance of dying by night, knowledge would in that case produce its fruit eventually only, and the consequence would be that—as the time of death is not

fixed—nobody would apply himself to knowledge.—If, again, a man dying at night should wait for the dawn (to mount upwards), it might happen that, owing to the action of the funeral fire, &c., his body would, at the time of daybreak, not be capable of entering into connexion with the rays. Scripture moreover expressly says that he does not wait, 'As quickly as he sends off the mind he goes to the sun' (*Kh. Up. VIII, 6, 5*).—For all these reasons the soul follows the rays by night as well as by day.

20. And for the same reason (the departed soul follows the rays) also during the southern progress of the sun.

For the same reason, viz. because waiting is impossible, and because the fruit of knowledge is not a merely eventual one, and because the time of death is not fixed, also that possessor of true knowledge who dies during the southern progress of the sun obtains the fruit of his knowledge. Because dying during the northern progress of the sun is more excellent, and because Bhīṣma is known to have waited for that period, and because scripture says, 'From the light half of the month (they go) to the six months when the sun goes to the north,' it might be thought that the northern progress of the sun is needful for dying. This notion the Sūtra refutes. The greater excellence of the sun's northern progress applies to those only who do not possess the highest knowledge.—Bhīṣma's waiting for the sun's northern progress was due to his wish of upholding good customs and of showing that by the favour of his father he could choose the time of his death.—And the sense of the scriptural passage quoted will be explained under IV, 3, 4.—But we have the following *Smṛiti*-text, 'At what times the Yogins depart either not to return or to return, those times I will declare to thee' (*Bha. Gītā VIII, 23*), which determines specially that to die by day and so on causes the soul not to return. How then can he who dies by night or during the sun's southern progress depart not to return? Concerning this point the next Sūtra remarks :

21. (These details) are recorded by *Smṛiti* with reference to the Yogins; and both (*Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga*) are *Smṛiti* (only).

The rules as to dying by day and so on in order not to return are given by *Smṛiti* for the Yogins only. And those two, viz. *Yoga* and *Sāṅkhya* are mere *Smṛiti*, not of scriptural character. As thus it has a different sphere of application and is based on a special kind of authority, the *Smṛiti* rule as to the time of dying has no influence on knowledge based on scripture.—But, an objection is raised, we have such passages as the following one, ‘Fire, light, the day, the light half of the month, the six months of the northern progress; smoke, night, the dark half of the month, the six months of the southern progress’ (*Bhā. Gītā* VIII, 24; 25); in which though belonging to *Smṛiti* we recognise the path of the gods and the path of the fathers just as determined by scripture!—Our refutation, we reply, of the claims of *Smṛiti* applies only to the contradiction which may arise from the teaching of *Smṛiti* regarding the legitimate time of dying. ‘I will tell you the time,’ &c. In so far as *Smṛiti* also mentions *Agni* and the other divinities which lead on the departed soul, there is no contradiction whatever.



## THIRD PĀDA.

## REVERENCE TO THE HIGHEST SELF !

1. On the road beginning with light (the departed soul proceeds), on account of that being widely known.

It has been explained that up to the beginning of the way, the departure is the same. About the way itself, however, different texts make different declarations. One passage describes it as constituted by the junction of the veins and rays, 'Then he mounts upwards by just those rays' (*Kh. Up.* VIII, 6, 5). Another passage describes it as beginning with light, 'They go to the light, from light to day' (*Kh. Up.* V, 10, 1). Another way is described, *Kau. Up.* I, 3, 'Having reached the path of the gods, he comes to the world of Agni.' Another, *Bṛi. Up.* V, 10, 1, 'When the person goes away from this world, he comes to the wind.' Another again, *Mu. Up.* I, 2, 11, 'Free from passions they depart through the gate of the sun.' A doubt here arises whether these ways are different from each other, or whether there is only one road of which the different texts mention different particulars.—The *pūrvapakshin* embraces the former alternative, for the reason that those roads are referred to in different chapters and form parts of different meditations. If, moreover, we regarded the statements about light and so on, the emphatical assertion<sup>1</sup> made in the first of the passages quoted above would be contradicted; and the statement about the quickness of mounting, 'As quickly as he sends off the mind he goes to the sun,' would also be interfered with. We therefore conclude that the roads described are different roads. To this we reply, 'On the road beginning with light;'

<sup>1</sup> The emphasis lies in the word 'eva,' i.e. 'just' or 'only,' which seems to exclude any stages of the way but those rays.

i.e. we maintain that every one who desires to reach Brahman moves on the road beginning with light.—Why so?—‘On account of its being widely known.’ That road is known to all who possess knowledge. Thus the chapter of the vidyâ of the five fires (‘And those also who in the forest meditate on the True as faith,’ &c., *Bri. Up.* VI, 2, 15) expressly states that the road beginning with the light belongs to those also who practise other meditations.—That road, an objection is raised, may present itself to the mind in the case of those meditations which do not mention any road of their own; but why should it be accepted for such meditations as mention different roads of their own?—This objection would be valid, we reply, if the various roads mentioned were entirely different; but as a matter of fact there is only one road leading to the world of Brahman and possessing different attributes; and this road is designated in one place by one attribute and in another place by another attribute. For this relation of attributes and what possesses attributes is established by the circumstance that we recognise, in all the passages quoted, some part of the road<sup>1</sup>. And if the chapters which mention the roads are different, we, as long as the meditation is one, have to combine the different attributes of the road (mentioned separately in the different chapters), in the same way as (in general) the different particulars of one meditation (which are stated in different chapters) have to be combined. And even if the meditations (in which the particulars of the road are mentioned) are different, the road must be viewed as one and the same, because we recognise everywhere some part of the road and because the goal is everywhere the same. For all the following passages declare one and the same result, viz. the obtainment of the world of Brahman: ‘In these worlds of Brahman they dwell for ever and ever’ (*Bri. Up.* VI, 2, 15); ‘There he dwells eternal years’ (*Bri.*

---

<sup>1</sup> Each passage mentions at least one of the stages of the road leading to the world of Brahman, and we thus conclude that the same road—of which the stations are the attributes—is meant everywhere.

Up. V, 10, 1); 'Whatever victory, whatever greatness belongs to Brahman, that victory he gives, that greatness he reaches' (Kau. Up. I, 2); 'Those who find the world of Brahman by Brahmaṭarya' (*Kh.* Up. VIII, 4, 3).—To the remark that the emphatical assertion (made in the passage, 'Just by those rays,' &c.) would be contradicted by our admitting light and so on as stages of the road, we reply that no such difficulty exists, because that passage aims only at establishing the rays (as part of the road). For the one word 'just' cannot at the same time establish the rays and discard light and so on. The passage therefore must be understood as only emphasising the connexion with the rays.—Nor does the regard paid by us to the statements about light and so on being stages of the way contradict what one passage says about speed; for that passage means to say that one goes (to the world of Brahman) more quickly than anywhere else, so that its sense is, 'In the twinkling of an eye one goes there<sup>1</sup>.—Moreover the passage, 'On neither of these two ways' (*Kh.* Up. V, 10, 8)—in teaching that there is a third inferior road for those who have missed the other two roads—shows that besides the road of the fathers there is only one further road, viz. the road of the gods, of which light and so on are stages. The text about light and so on mentioning a greater number of stages while other texts mention a smaller number, it stands to reason that the less numerous should be explained in conformity with the more numerous. For this reason also the Sūtra says, 'On the road beginning with light, on account of its being widely known.'

2. From the year to Vāyu; on account of the absence and presence of specification.

But by what special combination can we establish between

<sup>1</sup> Read in the text—*tvarāvaṭanam tv arkirādyapekshāyām api gantavyāntarāpekshayā kshaipryārtha°*.—Ānandagiri comments—*tvareti, arkirādimārgasyaikye=pi kutasid anyato gantavyād anenopāyena satyalokam gaḥ iti gaḥḥantīti gantavyabhedāpekshayā vaṭanam yuktam ity arthaḥ*.

the different attributes of the road the relation of what is determined by attributes and of determining attributes? The teacher out of kindness to us connects them as follows.—The Kaushîtakins describe the road of the gods as follows, ‘Having reached the path of the gods he comes to the world of Agni, to the world of Vāyu, to the world of Varuṇa, to the world of Indra, to the world of Pragâpati, to the world of Brahman’ (Kau. Up. I, 3). Now the world of Agni means the same as light, since both terms denote burning, and we therefore need not, with regard to them, search for the order in which they are to be combined. Vāyu, on the other hand, is not mentioned in the road beginning with light; in what place then is he to be inserted?—We read, *Kh. Up. V, 10, 1*, ‘They go to the light, from light to day, from day to the waxing half of the moon, from the waxing half of the moon to the six months when the sun goes to the north, from those months to the year, from the year to Âditya.’ Here they reach Vāyu after the year and before Âditya.—Why so?—‘On account of the absence and presence of specification.’ About Vāyu—concerning whom the passage, ‘He goes to the world of Vāyu,’ contains no specification—another passage does state such a specification, viz. *Bṛi. Up. V, 10, 1*, ‘When the person goes away from this world he comes to Vāyu. Then Vāyu makes room for him like the hole of a wheel, and through it he mounts higher, he comes to Âditya.’ On account of this specification which shows Vāyu to come before Âditya, Vāyu must be inserted between the year and Âditya.—But as there is a specification showing that Vāyu comes after Agni, why is he not inserted after the light?—There is no such specification, we reply.—But a scriptural passage has been quoted which runs as follows, ‘Having reached the path of the gods he comes to the world of Agni, to the world of Vāyu.’—In that passage, we reply, we have only two clauses, of which the text exhibits one before the other, but there is no word expressing order of succession. We have there only a simple statement of facts, ‘He goes to this and to that.’ But in the other text we perceive a regular order of succession;

for it intimates that after having mounted on high through an opening as large as the wheel of a chariot, granted by Vāyu, he approaches the sun. The Sūtra therefore rightly says, 'On account of the absence and presence of specification.'—The Vāgasaneyins in their text record that he proceeds 'from the months to the world of the gods, from the world of the gods to the sun' (*Bṛi. Up. VI, 2, 15*). Here, in order to maintain the immediate succession of Vāyu and Āditya, we must suppose the souls to go from the world of the gods to Vāyu. What the Sūtra says about the soul going to Vāyu from the year has reference to the text of the *Khândogya*. As between the Vāgasaneyaka and the *Khândogya*, the world of the gods is absent from one, the year from the other. As both texts are authoritative, both stages have to be inserted in each, and the distinction has to be made that, owing to its connexion with the months, the year has the first place (i.e. after the months and before the world of the gods), and the world of the gods the second place.

3. Beyond lightning (there is) Varuṇa, on account of the connexion (of the two).

The *Khândogya* continues, 'From Āditya to the moon, from the moon to lightning.' Here Varuṇa (mentioned in the *Kaushîtaki-upan.*) has to be brought in so that above that lightning he goes to the world of Varuṇa. For there is a connexion between lightning and Varuṇa; the broad lightnings dance forth from the womb of the clouds with the sound of deep thunder, and then water falls down. And a Brâhmaṇa also says, 'It lightens, it thunders, it will rain' (*Kh. Up. VII, 11, 1*). But the lord of all water is Varuṇa, as known from *Sruti* and *Smṛiti*.—And above Varuṇa there come Indra and Pragâpati, as there is no other place for them, and according to the force of the text, as it stands. Varuṇa and so on should be inserted at the end, for that reason also that they are merely additional, no particular place being assigned to them. And lightning is the end of the road beginning with light<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> So that Varuṇa and so on are to be placed after lightning.

## 4. (They are) conductors, this being indicated.

With regard to those beginning with light a doubt arises whether they are marks of the road, or places of enjoyment, or leaders of the travelling souls.—The first possible view of the question is that light and so on are marks of the road, because the instruction has that character. For as in ordinary life a man wishing to go to a village or a town is told, 'Go from here to that hill, from there to a fig-tree, from that to a river, from that to a village; after that you will reach the town;' so here the text also says, 'from light to day, from day to the waxing half of the month,' &c.—Or else light and so on may be viewed as places of enjoyment. For the text connects Agni and so on with the word 'world'; 'He comes to the world of Agni,' &c. Now the term 'world' is used to denote places of enjoyment of living beings, as when we say, 'The world of men; the world of the Fathers; the world of the gods.' A Brâhmaṇa passage also says, 'They remain attached to the worlds which consist of day and night' (Sat. Brâ. X, 2, 6, 8). Therefore light and the rest are not conductors. Moreover, they cannot be conductors because they are without intelligence. For in ordinary life intelligent men only are appointed by the king to conduct travellers over difficult roads.

To all this we reply as follows. They must be conductors, because the text indicates this. For we read, 'From the moon to the lightning; there a person that is not a man leads them to Brahman;' which shows their conductorship to be something settled. Should it be objected that this last sentence exhausts itself in conveying its own purport<sup>1</sup>; we say No; for the attribute ('that is not a man') has only the meaning of excluding his previously established humanity. Only if in the case of the light and the rest personal conductors are settled, and those of human nature, it is appropriate to use the attribute

<sup>1</sup> And has not the additional power of indicating, i.e. enabling us to infer that also the beings previously mentioned are 'leaders' of the soul.

'amānava,' to the end of excluding this (previously established) humanity<sup>1</sup>.

But mere indication has no force, as there is nothing to prove (that there must be such personal conductors).—To this objection the next Sūtra replies.

5. (There are personal conductors) because that is established on the ground of both (i. e. road and travellers) being bewildered (i. e. unconscious).

As, owing to their separation from a body, the organs of those who go on the road beginning with light are wrapped up, they are incapable of ruling themselves ; and the light &c., as they are without intelligence, are equally incapable. Hence it follows that the particular intelligent deities who represent light and the rest are appointed to the conductorship. For in ordinary life also drunken or senseless people whose sense-organs are wrapped up follow a road as commanded by others.—Again light and the rest cannot be taken for marks of the road because they are not always present. A man who dies in the night cannot come to day in its true (physical) nature ; and he cannot wait (for the break of day), as we have already explained above (IV, 2, 19). But this objection does not apply to gods who are permanent. And gods may be called light and so on, because they represent light and so on. Nor is the expression, 'From light to day,' &c. objectionable, even if we adopt the sense of conductorship ; for it means, through the light as cause they come to the day ; through the day as cause, to the waxing half of the moon. And such instruction is seen also in the case of conductors known in ordinary life, for they say, Go hence to Balavarman, thence (i. e. Balavarman conducting you) to Gayasimha, thence to

<sup>1</sup> Why should it be specially stated that this last 'conducting person' is amānava? Only, because it is a settled matter that the previously mentioned beings are also 'conducting persons,' and at the same time 'mānava.' The last clause therefore does not only directly teach that a person conducts the souls to Brahman, but at the same time 'indicates' that the beings mentioned before in connexion with the road are also 'personal conductors.'

*Kṛishṇagupta*. Moreover, in the beginning where the text says that they go to the light, a relation in general only is expressed, not a special relation ; at the end, however, where it is said he leads them to Brahman, a special relation is expressed, viz. that between conductor and conductor. Therefore this is accepted for the beginning also.—And as the organs of the wandering souls are wrapped up together there is no possibility of their enjoying anything. Although, however, the wanderers do not enjoy anything, the word ‘world’ may be explained on the ground that those worlds are places of enjoyment for other beings dwelling there.—The conclusion therefore is that he who has reached the world of Agni is led on by Agni, and he who has reached the world ruled by Vāyu, by Vāyu.

But how, if we adopt the view of conductorship, can this apply to Varuṇa and the rest? Varuṇa and the rest were inserted above the lightning ; but scripture states that after the lightning until Brahman is reached a person leads who is not a man.—To this doubt the next Sūtra replies.

6. From thence (the souls are led) by him only who belongs to the lightning ; the sacred text stating that.

From thence, i. e. after they have come to the lightning they go to the world of Brahman, being led through the worlds of Varuṇa and the rest by the person, not a man, who follows immediately after the lightning. For that that person leads them is stated in the following passage, ‘When they have reached the place of lightning a person, not a man, leads them to the world of Brahman’ (*Bṛi. Up. VI, 2, 15*). Varuṇa and the rest, we must understand, favour them either by not hindering or somehow assisting them.—Therefore it is well said that light and so on are the gods who act as conductors.

7. To the effected (Brahman) (the souls are led) ; (thus opines) Bādari ; because going to him is possible.

With regard to the passage, ‘He leads them to Brahman,’



the doubt arises whether that person leads the souls to the effected, lower, Brahman, or to the highest, non-modified, chief Brahman.—Whence the doubt?—Because the (ambiguous) word Brahman is used, and because scripture speaks of going.—The opinion of the teacher Bādari is that the person, who is not a man, leads them to the lower, qualified, effected Brahman; because it is possible to go to that. For the effected Brahman which occupies a definite place can be the goal of a journey. With the highest Brahman, on the other hand, we cannot connect the ideas of one who goes, or object of going, or act of going; for that Brahman is present everywhere and is the inner Self of all.

8. And on account of (the Brahman to which the souls are led) being qualified (in another passage).

That the soul's going has for its object the effected Brahman, we conclude from another scriptural passage also which qualifies Brahman in a certain way, 'He leads them to the worlds of Brahman; in these worlds of Brahman they live for ever and ever' (*Bṛi. Up. VI, 2, 15*). For it would be impossible to qualify the highest Brahman by means of the plural number ('worlds'); while the plural number may be applied to the lower Brahman which may abide in different conditions.—The term 'world' also can directly denote only some place of enjoyment falling within the sphere of effects and possessing the quality of being entered into, while it must be understood in a metaphorical sense in passages<sup>1</sup> such as 'Brahman is that world' (*Bṛi. Up. IV, 4, 23*).—And also what the text says concerning an abode and some one abiding within it ('in these worlds of Brahman,' &c.), cannot be directly understood of the highest Brahman.—For all these reasons the leading of the souls has the lower Brahman for its goal.

But even on this interpretation the word 'Brahman' is inappropriate, as it has been proved that Brahman is the

<sup>1</sup> Where the term 'world' is applied to the highest Brahman.

cause of the origination and so on of the entire world.—To this objection the next Sūtra replies.

9. But on account of its proximity (to the higher Brahman) there is designation (of the lower Brahman) as that.

The word 'but' indicates the setting aside of the doubt.—As the lower Brahman is in proximity to the higher one, there is nothing unreasonable in the word 'Brahman' being applied to the former also. For when the higher Brahman is, for the purposes of pious meditation, described as possessing certain effected qualities—such as consisting of mind and the rest—which qualities depend on its connexion with certain pure limiting adjuncts; then it is what we call the lower Brahman.—But with the assumption of the lower Brahman there does not agree what scripture says about the souls not returning; for there is no permanence anywhere apart from the highest Brahman. And scripture declares that those who have set out on the road of the gods do not return, 'They who proceed on that path do not return to the life of man' (*Kh. Up.* IV, 15, 6); 'For them there is no return here' (*Bṛi. Up.* VI, 2, 15); 'Moving upwards by that a man reaches immortality' (*Kh. Up.* VIII, 6, 5).

To this objection we make the following reply.

10. On the passing away of the effected (world of Brahman) (the souls go) together with the ruler of that (world) to what is higher than that; on account of scriptural declaration.

When the reabsorption of the effected Brahman world draws near, the souls in which meanwhile perfect knowledge has sprung up proceed, together with Hiranyagarbha the ruler of that world, to 'what is higher than that,' i.e. to the pure highest place of Vishṇu. This is the release by successive steps which we have to accept on the basis of the scriptural declarations about the non-return of the souls. For we have shown that the Highest cannot be directly reached by the act of going.

11. And on account of *Smṛiti*.

*Smṛiti* also agrees with this view; cp. the following passage, 'When the pralaya has come and the end of the highest (i.e. *Hiraṇyagarbha*), then they all, together with Brahman, with purified minds enter the highest place.'—The final conclusion (*siddhānta*) therefore is that the going of the souls, of which scripture speaks, has for its goal the effected Brahman.—But what is the *primâ facie* view, with regard to which this final conclusion has been established in *Sûtras* 7-11?—This required *primâ facie* view is now set forth in the following *Sûtras*.

12. To the highest (Brahman) (the souls are led); *Gaimini* (opines); owing to this being the principal sense (of the word 'Brahman').

The teacher *Gaimini* is of opinion that the passage, 'He leads them to Brahman,' refers to the highest Brahman. For the highest Brahman constitutes the principal, primary sense, of the word 'Brahman,' which denotes the lower Brahman only in a secondary, metaphorical way. And where both senses are possible, the primary sense has to be preferred.

## 13. And because scripture declares that.

The text, 'Going upwards by that he reaches immortality,' declares that immortality is reached by going. But immortality is possible only in the highest Brahman, not in the effected one, because the latter is transitory. So scripture says, 'Where one sees something else, that is little, that is mortal' (*Kh. Up. VII, 24, 1*). According to the text of the *Kaṭha-upanishad* also the going of the soul is towards the highest Brahman; for after the highest Brahman has been introduced there as general subject-matter—in the passage, 'That which thou seest,' &c., I, 2, 14, no other kind of knowledge is taken up later on.

14. And the intention of entering (can) not (be referred) to the effected (Brahman).

Moreover the intention of entering into which is expressed

in the passage, 'I enter the hall of Pragâpati, the house' (*Kh. Up. VIII, 14, 1*), cannot have the lower Brahman for its object. For the immediately preceding passage, 'That within which these forms and names are contained is the Brahman,' shows that the highest Brahman, different in nature from the effected one, is the general subject-matter; and the subsequent passage, 'I am the glory of the Brâhmans,' represents the soul as the Self of all; it being known from another scriptural passage that 'Glory' is a name of the highest Brahman, 'There is no likeness of him whose name is great glory' (*Vâg. Samh. XXXII, 3*). And in the vidyâ of Brahman within the heart it is said of this same entering the house that it is preceded by going<sup>1</sup>, 'There is the city of Brahman Aparâgitâ, and the golden hall built by Prabhu' (*Kh. Up. VIII, 5, 3*). And that the performing of a journey is intended follows also from the use of the verb 'pad,' which denotes going (prapadye, I enter).—The other (*primâ facie*) view therefore is that all the passages about the soul's going refer to the highest Brahman.

These two views have been embodied by the teacher in the Sûtras; one in the Sûtras 7-11, the other in the Sûtras 12-14. Now the arguments contained in the former set are capable of proving the fallaciousness of the arguments in the latter set, but not vice versâ; from which it follows that the former set states the final view and the latter set the *primâ facie* view only.—For nobody can compel us to accept the primary sense of a word (such as Brahman) even where it is impossible to do so.—And although met with in a chapter that treats of the highest knowledge, the reference to the going to Brahman—which belongs to another kind of knowledge—may be explained as aiming merely at the glorification of the highest knowledge (not at teaching that the going to Brahman is the result of higher

---

<sup>1</sup> I am not quite sure which passage in the daharavidyâ is supposed to prove that the entering of Brahman's house is preceded by going. Probably VIII, 6, 5, 'He departs upwards; he is going to the sun.'

knowledge).—And with reference to the passage, ‘I enter the hall of Pragâpati, the house,’ there is no reason why we should not separate that passage from what precedes and refer the intention of entering to the effected Brahman. And the qualified Brahman also may be spoken of as being the Self of all, as shown by other passages such as ‘He to whom all works, all desires belong,’ &c. (*Kh. Up.* III, 14, 2). The texts about the going therefore all belong to the lower knowledge.—Others again, in accordance with the general principle that the earlier Sûtras set forth the primâ facie view, while the later ones contain the siddhânta view, maintain that the passages about the soul’s going fall within the sphere of the higher knowledge. But this is impossible, because nothing may go to the highest Brahman. ‘Omnipresent and eternal like the ether;’ ‘The Brahman which is visible, not invisible, the Self that is within all’ (*Bri. Up.* III, 4, 1); ‘Self only is all this’ (*Kh. Up.* VII, 25, 2); ‘Brahman only is all this, it is the best’ (*Mu. Up.* II, 2, 11): from all these passages we ascertain that the highest Brahman is present everywhere, within everything, the Self of everything, and of such a Brahman it is altogether impossible that it ever should be the goal of going. For we do not go to what is already reached; ordinary experience rather tells us that a person goes to something different from him.—But we observe in ordinary experience also that something already reached may become an object of going, in so far as qualified by a different place; a man living on the earth, e.g. goes to the earth, in so far as he goes to another place on the earth. In the same way we see that a child reaches the adult state which in reality belongs to the child’s identical Self, but is qualified by a difference of time. Analogously Brahman also may be an object of going in so far as it is possessed of all kinds of powers.—This may not be, we reply, because scripture expressly negatives Brahman’s possessing any distinctive qualities.—‘Without parts, without actions, tranquil, without fault, without taint’ (*Svet. Up.* VI, 19); ‘Neither coarse nor fine, neither short nor long’ (*Bri. Up.* III, 8, 8); ‘He who is without and within, unproduced’ (*Mu. Up.* II, 1, 2);

'This great, unborn Self, undecaying, undying, immortal, fearless, is indeed Brahman' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 4, 25); 'He is to be described by No, no!' (*Bri. Up.* III, 9, 26); from all these scriptural texts, as well as from *Smṛiti* and reasoning, it follows that the highest Self cannot be assumed to possess any differences depending on time or space or anything else, and cannot therefore become the object of going. The cases of places on the earth and of the different ages of man are by no means analogous; for they are affected by differences of locality and so on, and therefore can be gone to or reached.—Nor will it avail our opponent to say that Brahman possesses manifold powers, because scripture declares it to be the cause of the world's origination, sustentation, and final retraction; for those passages which deny difference have no other sense (but just the absolute denial of all difference).—But in the same way also those passages which state the origination and so on of the world have no other sense! (i.e. cannot be understood to teach anything but just the origination and so on of the world).—This is not so, we reply; for what they aim at teaching is the absolute oneness of Brahman. For texts which by means of the simile of the lump of clay, &c., teach that only that which is, viz. Brahman, is true, while everything effected is untrue, cannot aim at teaching the origination, &c. of the world.—But why should the passages about the origination, &c. of the world be subordinate to those which deny all difference, and not vice versa?—Because, we reply, the texts which negative all difference effect the cessation of all desire. For when the absolute oneness, permanence, and purity of the Self have once been apprehended, we cognize that the highest aim of man has been attained, and therefore conceive no further desires. Compare the following texts: 'What trouble, what sorrow can there be to him who beholds that unity?' (*Īśa-up.* 7); 'Thou hast reached fearlessness, O *Ganaka*' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 2, 4); 'He who knows does not fear anything; he does not distress himself with the thought, Why did I not do what is good? Why did I do what is bad?' (*Taitt. Up.* II, 9.) This also follows from our observing that those who know realise

contentment of mind ; and from the fact that scripture blames the false notion of (the reality of) effects, 'From death to death goes he who sees here any difference' (Ka. Up. II, 4, 10). The texts negating all difference cannot therefore be understood as subordinate to other texts. Those texts, on the other hand, which speak of the origination of the world and so on have no similar power of conveying a sense which effects cessation of all desire. At the same time it is manifest that they have another (than their literal) meaning. For the text, after having said at first, 'Of this shoot sprung up know that it cannot be without a root' (Kh. Up. VI, 8, 3), declares in the end that Being which is the root of the world is the only object of cognition. Similarly Taitt. Up. III, 1, 'That from which these beings are born, that by which when born they live, that into which they enter at their death, seek to know that ; that is Brahman.' As thus the passages about origination and so on aim at teaching the unity of the Self, Brahman cannot be viewed as possessing manifold powers, and cannot therefore be the object of the action of going.—And, as already explained under IV, 2, 13, also the text Bri. Up. IV, 4, 6 ('Of him the *prāṇas* do not depart ; being Brahman he goes to Brahman'), denies any going to the highest Brahman.

Moreover, on the hypothesis of going, that which goes, i.e. the individual soul, must be either a part of Brahman to which it goes, or an effect of Brahman, or different from Brahman ; for if the two were absolutely identical no going could take place.—Well, what then ?—We reply as follows. If, in the first place, the soul is a part of Brahman, it cannot go to it, since the whole is permanently reached by the part. Besides, the hypothesis of whole and parts cannot be applied to Brahman, which is acknowledged to be without parts.—The same objection lies against the hypothesis of the soul being an effect of Brahman ; for also that which passes over into an effect is permanently reached by the effect. A jar made of clay does not exist apart from the clay which constitutes its Self ; were it so apart it would cease to be. And on both hypotheses, as that to

which the parts or the effects would belong, i. e. Brahman is altogether unchanging, its entering into the *Samsâra* state could not be accounted for.—Let then, in the third place, the soul be different from Brahman. In that case it must be either of atomic size, or infinite, or of some intervening extent. If it is omnipresent, it cannot go anywhere. If it is of some middling extent, it cannot be permanent. If it is of atomic size, the fact of sensation extending over the whole body cannot be accounted for. The two hypotheses of atomic and middling extent have moreover been refuted at length in a former part of this work (II, 3, 19 ff.). And from the soul's being different from the highest Brahman it also would follow that such texts as 'Thou art that' are futile. This latter objection also lies against the theories of the soul being a part or an effect of Brahman. Nor can the difficulty be got over by it being pleaded that a part and an effect are not different from the whole and the causal substance; for that kind of oneness is not oneness in the true literal sense.—From all those three theories it moreover equally follows that the soul cannot obtain final release, because its *Samsâra* condition could never come to an end. Or else, if that condition should come to an end, it would follow that the very essence of the soul perishes; for those theories do not admit that the (imperishable) Brahman constitutes the Self of the soul.

Here now some come forward with the following contention. Works of permanent obligation and works to be performed on special occasions are undertaken to the end that harm may not spring up; such works as are due to special desires, and such as are forbidden, are eschewed, in order that neither the heavenly world nor hell may be obtained, and those works whose fruits are to be enjoyed in the current bodily existence are exhausted by just that fruition. Hence, as after the death of the present body, there is no cause for the origination of a new body, that blessed isolation which consists in the soul's abiding within its own nature will accomplish itself for a man acting in the way described above, even without the cognition of his



Self being identical with Brahman's Self.—All this is inadmissible, we reply, because there is no proof of it. For scripture nowhere teaches that he who desires release should conduct himself in the way described. To say that because the *Samsāra* state depends on works, it will cease when works are absent, is an altogether arbitrary style of reasoning. And (whether arbitrary or not) this reasoning falls to the ground, because the absence of the cause is something that cannot be ascertained. It may be supposed that each living being has, in its former states of existence, accumulated many works which have part of them pleasant, part of them unpleasant results. As these works are such as to lead to contrary results, which cannot be enjoyed all of them at the same time, some works whose opportunity has come, build up the present state of existence; others sit inactive waiting for a place, a time, and operative causes (favourable to them). As these latter works cannot thus be exhausted in the present state of existence, we cannot definitely assert, even in the case of a man who conducts himself as described above, that at the end of his present bodily existence all cause for a new bodily existence will be absent. The existence of a remainder of works is, moreover, established by scriptural and *Smṛiti* passages, such as, 'Those whose conduct has been good' (*Kh. Up.* V, 10, 7); 'Then with the remainder.'—But may not, an objection is raised, those remaining works be wiped out (even in the present existence) by the performance of works of permanent obligation and such works as are due to special occasions?—This may not be, we reply, because the two sets of works are not of contrary nature. Where there is contrariety of nature, one thing may be wiped out by another; but good deeds performed in previous states of existence, and works of permanent obligation and so on (performed in the present life), are both of them equally pure and therefore not of opposite nature. Bad works indeed, as being of impure nature, are opposed to works of permanent obligation, &c., and therefore may be extinguished by the latter. But even from this admission it does not follow that the causes for a new embodied existence

are altogether absent; for those causes may be supplied by good deeds, and we do not know that the evil works have been extinguished without a remainder. Nor is there anything to prove that the performance of works of permanent obligation, &c., leads only to the non-origination of harm, and not at the same time to the origination of new results (to be extinguished in future states of existence); for it may happen that such new results spring up collaterally. Thus Âpastamba says, 'When a mango tree is planted for the sake of its fruits, it in addition gives shade and fragrance; thus additional advantages spring from the performance of religious duty.'—Nor can anybody who has not reached perfect knowledge promise to refrain altogether, from birth to death, from all actions either forbidden or aiming at the fulfilment of special wishes; for we observe that even the most perfect men commit faults, however minute. This may be a matter of doubt; all the same it remains true that the absence of causes for a new existence cannot be known with certainty.—If, further, the soul's unity with Brahman's Self—which is to be realised through knowledge—is not acknowledged, the soul whose essential nature it is to be an agent and enjoyer cannot even desire the state of blissful isolation; for a being cannot divorce itself from its true essence, not any more than fire can cease to be hot.—But, an objection is raised, what is of disadvantage to the soul is the state of agentship and fruition in so far as actually produced, not its mere potentiality. Release of the soul may, therefore, take place if only that actual condition is avoided while its potentiality remains.—This also, we reply, is not true; for as long as the potentiality exists it will inevitably produce the actuality.—But, our opponent resumes, potentiality alone, without other co-operative causes, does not produce its effect; as long therefore as it is alone it cannot, though continuing to exist, do any harm!—This also, we reply, is not valid; for the co-operative causes also are, potentially, permanently connected (with the acting and enjoying soul). If, therefore, the soul whose essence is acting and enjoying is not considered to possess fundamental identity with Brahman

—an identity to be realised by knowledge—there is not any chance of its obtaining final release. Scripture, moreover (in the passage, ‘There is no other way to go,’ *Svet. Up. III, 8*), denies that there is any other way to release but knowledge.—But if the soul is non-different from the highest Brahman, all practical existence comes to an end, because then perception and the other means of right knowledge no longer act!—Not so, we reply. Practical life will hold its place even then, just as dreamlife holds its place up to the moment of waking. Scripture, after having said that perception and the rest are operative in the sphere of those who have not reached true knowledge (‘For where there is duality, as it were, there one sees the other,’ &c.; *Bṛi. Up. IV, 5, 15*), goes on to show that those means of knowledge do not exist for those who possess that knowledge (‘But when the whole of him has become the Self, whereby should he see another,’ &c.). As thus for him who knows the highest Brahman all cognition of something to be gone to, &c. is sublated, his going cannot in any way be shown to be possible.

To what sphere then belong the scriptural texts about the soul’s going?—To the sphere of qualified knowledge, we reply. Accordingly the soul’s going is mentioned in the chapter treating of the knowledge of the five fires, in the chapter treating of the knowledge of Brahman’s couch, in the chapter treating of the knowledge of Agni Vaisvânara (*Kṛ. Up. V, 3–10*; *Kau. Up. I*; *Kṛ. Up. V, 11–24*). And where the soul’s going is spoken of in a chapter treating of Brahman—(as e.g. in the passages, ‘He leads them to Brahman,’ &c., *Kṛ. Up. IV, 15, 6*, in a chapter treating of Brahman, as shown by ‘Breath is Brahman,’ &c., *IV, 10, 5*; and ‘He departs upward,’ &c., *Kṛ. Up. VIII, 6, 5*, in the chapter beginning ‘There is this city of Brahman,’ *VIII, 1, 1*)—such attributes as ‘vāmanî,’ i.e. Leader of blessings (*Kṛ. Up. IV, 15, 3*), and ‘satyakâma,’ i.e. having true wishes, show that there the qualified Brahman has to be meditated upon, and to that Brahman the soul can go. No passage, on the other hand, speaks of the soul’s going to the highest Brahman; while such going is specially

denied in the passage, 'Of him the *prâṇas* do not depart.' In passages, again, such as 'He who knows Brahman obtains the Highest' (Taitt. Up. II, 1), we indeed meet with the verb 'to reach,' which has the sense of going; but because, as explained before, the reaching of another place is out of question, 'reaching' there denotes only the obtainment (realisation) of one's own nature, in so far as (through true knowledge) the expanse of names and forms which Nescience superimposes (on Brahman) is dissolved. Such passages are to be understood analogously to the text, 'Being Brahman he enters into Brahman' (*Bṛi.* Up. IV, 4, 6).—Besides, if the going were understood as connected with the highest Brahman, it could only subserve the purpose either of satisfying (the mind of him who knows) or of reflection. Now, a statement of the soul's going cannot produce any satisfaction in him who knows Brahman, since satisfaction is already fully accomplished through his perfect condition, bestowed on him by knowledge, of which he is immediately conscious. Nor, on the other hand, can it be shown that reflection on the soul's going in any way subserves knowledge, which is conscious of eternally perfect blessedness, and has not for its fruit something to be accomplished.—For all these reasons the soul's going falls within the sphere of the lower knowledge. And only in consequence of the distinction of the higher and lower Brahman not being ascertained, statements about the soul's going which apply to the lower Brahman are wrongly put in connexion with the higher Brahman.

But are there really two Brahman, a higher one and a lower one?—Certainly there are two! For scripture declares this, as e.g. in the passage, 'O Satyakâma, the syllable Om is the higher and also the lower Brahman' (*Pr.* Up. V, 2).—What then is the higher Brahman, and what the lower?—Listen! Where the texts, negating all distinctions founded on name, form, and the like, designate Brahman by such terms as that which is not coarse and so on, the higher Brahman is spoken of. Where, again, for the purpose of pious meditation, the texts teach Brahman as qualified by some distinction depending on name, form, and so on, using terms such as

‘He who consists of mind, whose body is *prāṇa*, whose shape is light’ (*Kṛ. Up. III, 14, 2*), that is the lower Brahman.—But is there not room here for the objection that this distinction of a higher and a lower Brahman stultifies the scriptural texts asserting aduality?—Not so, we reply. That objection is removed by the consideration that name and form, the adjuncts (of the one real Brahman), are due to Nescience. Passages such as ‘If he desires the world of the fathers’ (*Kṛ. Up. VIII, 2, 1*), which the text exhibits in proximity to a meditation on the lower Brahman, show that the fruit of such meditation is lordship over the worlds; a fruit falling within the sphere of the *Samsāra*, Nescience having not as yet been discarded. And as that fruit is bound to a special locality, there is nothing contradictory in the soul’s going there in order to reach it. That the soul, although all-pervading, is viewed as going because it enters into connexion with the buddhi and the rest of its adjuncts, just as general space enters into connexion with jars and the like, we have explained under II, 3, 29.

For all these reasons the view of Bādari as set forth in Sūtra 7 is the final one; while Sūtra 12, which states Gaimini’s opinion, merely sets forth another view, to the end of the illumination of the learner’s understanding.

15. Those who do not take their stand on symbols he leads, thus Bādarāyaṇa (opines); there being no fault in the twofold relation (resulting from this opinion); and the meditation on that (i.e. Brahman) (is the reason of this twofold relation).

It is a settled conclusion that all going has reference to the effected Brahman, not to the highest Brahman. Another doubt now arises here. Does that person who is not a man lead to the world of Brahman all those who take their stand on the effected Brahman, without any difference; or only some of them?

The pûrvapakshin maintains that all those who possess knowledge—provided that knowledge be not of the highest Brahman—go to the world of Brahman. For in Sūtra III,

3, 31 that going was put in connexion with all the different vidyās (of the qualified Brahmins), without any distinction.

To this the Sūtrakāra replies, 'Those who do not take their stand on symbols.' That means: Excepting those who take their stand on symbols (i. e. who meditate on certain things as symbolically representing Brahman), that person who is not a man leads all others who take their stand (i. e. who meditate) on the effected Brahman, to the world of Brahman; this is the opinion of the teacher Bādarāyaṇa. For in acknowledging in this way a twofold relation there is no fault; since the argumentation as to the non-restriction of going (Sūtra III, 3, 31) may be understood as referring to all meditations with the exception of those on symbols. The words, 'and the meditation on that,' state the reason for this twofold relation. For he whose meditation is fixed on Brahman reaches lordship like that of Brahman, according to the scriptural relation, 'In whatever form they meditate on him, that they become themselves.' In the case of symbols, on the other hand, the meditation is not fixed on Brahman, the symbol being the chief element in the meditation.—But scripture says also that persons whose mind is not fixed on Brahman go to it; so in the knowledge of the five fires, 'He leads them to Brahman' (*Kh. Up. V, 10, 2*).—This may be so where we observe a direct scriptural declaration. We only mean to say that where there is no such declaration the general rule is that those only whose purpose is Brahman go to it, not any others.

16. And scripture declares a difference (in the case of meditations on symbols).

With reference to the meditations on symbols, such as name and so on, scripture declares that each following meditation has a different result from the preceding one, 'As far as name reaches he is lord and master;—speech is greater than name;—as far as speech reaches he is lord and master;—mind is greater than speech' (*Kh. Up. VII, 1, f.*).

Now this distinction of rewards is possible because the meditations depend on symbols, while there could be no such distinction if they depended on the one non-different Brahman.—Hence those who take their stand on symbols cannot have the same reward as others.

## FOURTH PÂDA.

## REVERENCE TO THE HIGHEST SELF!

1. (On the soul's) having entered (into the highest light), there is manifestation (of its own nature); (as we infer) from the word 'own.'

'Thus does that serene being, having risen out of this body and entered into the highest light, manifest itself by its own nature' (*Kh. Up. VII, 12, 3*). Regarding this text a doubt arises whether the Self<sup>1</sup> manifests itself through some adventitious distinction—as the Self (of him who possesses the lower knowledge only) does in the world of the gods and other abodes of enjoyment—or only through its own Self.—The *pûrvapakshin* maintains that, as in other places, here also the manifestation takes place through some adventitious characteristic; because release also is a fruit (like other fruits, e.g. *svarga*), and because 'manifestation' means as much as origination. If the manifestation took place only through the Self's own nature, it would already appear in the Self's former states; for a thing's own nature is never absent from it. The Self therefore manifests itself by means of some adventitious distinction.

To this we make the following reply. It manifests itself through its Self only, not through any other attribute.—Why so?—On account of the word 'own' in the clause 'by its own nature.' For on the other view the qualification conveyed by 'own' would be unmeaning.—But may not the term 'own' merely indicate that that form belongs to that which manifests itself?—Not so, we reply. This is a point which would not require to be stated. For as in

<sup>1</sup> *Samprati katurthe pâde paravidyâphalaikadeso brahmabhâvâvirbhâvaḥ, sagunavidyâphalam ka sarvesvaratulyabhogatvam avadhârayishyate, tatrâparavidyâprâpyam uktvâ paravidyâprâpyam âha sampadyeti. Ân. Gi.*



whatever form a thing manifests itself that form necessarily belongs to it, the qualification 'own' would be devoid of purport. It has a meaning, on the other hand, if it denotes the Self, the sense conveyed then being that the manifestation takes place only through the nature of the Self, not through any other, adventitious, nature.—But, as a thing cannot be without its own nature, what difference is there between the Self's former states and its present state (after the manifestation)?—To this question the next Sūtra replies.

2. (The Self whose true nature has manifested itself is) released ; according to the promise (made by scripture).

That soul, of which the text says that it manifests itself, is released from its former bondage and abides in its own pure Self ; while previously its Self was stained by the three states (i. e. the state of waking, dreaming, and dreamless sleep), according to *Kṛ. Up. VIII, 9-11*, 'It is blind ;' —'it weeps as it were ;'—'it goes to utter annihilation.' This is the difference.—But how is it known that in its present condition the soul is released?—'On account of the promise,' the Sūtra says. For after the teacher has promised to give further instruction about the Self as free from the imperfections of the three states ('I shall explain him further to you,' *Kṛ. Up. VIII, 11, 3*), he introduces the topic (of the released Self) in the words, 'Him being free from the body neither pleasure nor pain touches,' and concludes, 'By his own nature he manifests himself ; that is the highest Person.' The words at the beginning of the tale also, 'The Self which is free from sin' (*VIII, 7, 1*), make a promise regarding the released Self. And release is a fruit in so far only as it is a cessation of all bondage, not as implying the accession of something new. And with reference to the assertion that manifestation is the origination of something new we remark that it is so only with regard to a former condition (which ceases to be), as when we say of a convalescent person that he now manifests

himself free from sickness. Hence there is no room for objections.

3. (The light into which the soul enters is) the Self; owing to the subject-matter of the chapter.

But how can the soul be called 'released,' considering that the clause 'having entered into the highest light' speaks of it as within the sphere of what is a mere effect? For the word 'light,' according to general usage, denotes physical light. And none who has not passed beyond the sphere of what is effected can be released, it being known that whatever is an effect is tainted with evil.—This objection is without force, we reply; because in the passage referred to the word 'light' denotes the Self, in accordance with the subject-matter of the chapter. For as such the highest Self is introduced in the words, 'The Self which is free from sin, old age, death,' &c., and we therefore may not all at once pass over to physical light; incurring thereby the fault of abandoning the topic under discussion and introducing a new one. Besides, the word 'light' sometimes denotes the Self, as e.g. in the passage, 'That the gods meditate on as the light of lights' (*Bri. Up. IV, 4, 16*). We have discussed this at length under I, 3, 40.

4. (The released soul abides) in non-division (from the highest Self); because that is seen from scripture.

A doubt here arises whether that soul of which the text says, 'Having entered the highest light it manifests itself by its true nature,' remains separate from the highest Self, or abides in the state of non-division from it.—Somebody might be inclined to think that—because in the passage, 'He moves about there,' a distinction is made between the abode and him who abides; and because the clause, 'Having entered the highest light,' mentions an agent and an object (of the agent's activity)—the soul remains distinct from the highest Self.—This view the Sûtra sets aside. The released soul is non-separate from the highest Self.—Why so?—Because

that is seen from scripture.] For passages such as 'Thou art that' (*Kh. Up.* VI, 8, 7); 'I am Brahman' (*Bri. Up.* I, 4, 10); 'Where he sees nothing else' (*Kh. Up.* VII, 24, 1); 'But there is then nothing second, nothing else different that he could see' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 3, 23), show that the highest Self abides in the state of non-division. And the fruit must be assumed to correspond to the cognition, according to what was explained under IV, 3, 15. And also such passages as 'Just as pure water poured into pure water remains the same, thus, O Gautama, is the Self of a thinker who knows' (*Ka. Up.* II, 4, 15), whose object it is to describe the nature of the released soul, declare that there is non-separation only. The same follows from the comparisons (of the soul entering Brahman) to rivers falling into the sea. Passages where separation (of abode and abiding thing, &c.) is expressed, may be explained as, in a secondary sense, expressing non-separation; so e.g. *Kh. Up.* VII, 24, 1, 'In what does the Infinite rest?—In its own greatness;' and *Kh. Up.* VII, 25, 2, 'Loving the Self, playing with the Self.'

5. By (a nature) like that of Brahman (the soul manifests itself); (thus) Gaimini (opines); on account of reference and the rest.

It has been concluded that the clause, 'by its own nature,' means that the soul manifests itself by its own Self only, not by some other adventitious character. What has now to be inquired into is the specific qualities of that nature. Here the Sūtra at first states the opinion of the teacher Gaimini. According to him the soul's own nature is 'like that of Brahman,' i.e. it comprises all the qualities beginning with freeness from sin and concluding with truthfulness of conception (i.e. the qualities enumerated in *Kh. Up.* VIII, 7, 1), and also omniscience and omnipotence; and in this nature the soul manifests itself.—Why so?—Because this is known from reference<sup>1</sup> and the rest. For the reference

<sup>1</sup> The commentators say that the 'and the rest' of the Sūtra comprises vidhi and vyapadera, and give the following definitions.

to certain qualities made in VIII, 7, 1, teaches that the Selfhood of the Self is such (i.e. such as made up of those qualities).—Again, the passage, ‘He there moves about eating, playing, rejoicing,’ shows that the Self possesses lordly power; so also the passage, ‘For him there is free movement in all worlds’ (*Kh. Up. VIII, 1, 6*).—And thus also there is justification for such designations as ‘All-knowing; all-powerful.’

6. By the sole nature of intelligence (the soul manifests itself), as that is its Self; thus *Auḍulomi* (opines).

Although the text enumerates different qualities, such as freeness from sin, &c., these qualities rest only on fanciful conceptions due to difference of words; for what the text intimates is only absence in general of all qualities such as sin and the rest. Intelligence alone constitutes the nature of the Self, and hence it is proper to conclude that it manifests itself in a nature consisting of that only. This conclusion will also agree with other scriptural texts, such as *Bri. Up. IV, 5, 13*, ‘Thus this Self has neither inside nor outside, but is altogether a mass of knowledge.’—Qualities, on the other hand, such as having true wishes, are indeed mentioned by the text as real (positive) attributes, the meaning being that his wishes are true, i.e. truly existent; but all the same they, as depending on the connexion with limiting adjuncts, cannot constitute the true nature of the

*Upanyāsa* is the reference to something known (established elsewhere), which reference is made with a view to a *vidhi*, i.e. the establishing of something not yet known (*upanyāso nāmoddēśaḥ sa kâṇyatra gñâtasyâṇyavidhânâyânuvâdaḥ*). Thus here the qualities—freeness from sin—are referred to as known, for the purpose of establishing the *vidhi*, ‘That it is which we must search out.’—The passage, ‘He there wanders about,’ &c., is a *vidhi*; for it teaches what is not already known from elsewhere.—The mentioning of such qualities as omniscience and omnipotence is *vyapadeśa*, i.e. simple expression of something known without reference to a *vidhi*.

Self, as intelligence does. For all manifoldness of character has to be denied of Brahman, as we have shown under III, 2, 11. For the same reason the mention made of eating and so on, means only the absence of all pain in general, and aims at glorification, just as the passage about 'loving the Self' (*Kh. Up. VII, 25, 2*). For love, play, and the like cannot in their literal sense be ascribed to the action of the Self, because they presuppose something second (beyond the Self). Hence the soul manifests itself in the nature of pure intelligence, free from all manifoldness, calm, not capable of being expressed by any terms. This is the view of the teacher Auḍulomi.

7. Thus also, on account of the existence of the former (qualities), (admitted) owing to reference and so on, there is absence of contradiction, (as) Bādarāyana (thinks).

Thus also, i. e. although it be admitted that intelligence only constitutes the true nature of the Self, also the former nature, i. e. lordly power like that of Brahman, which is intimated by reference and the rest, is—with a view to the world of appearances—not rejected; and hence there is no contradiction. This is the opinion of the teacher Bādarāyana.

8. But by mere will (the released effect their purposes); because scripture states that.

In the meditation on Brāhman within the heart we read as follows: 'If he desires the world of the fathers, by his mere will the fathers rise,' &c. (*Kh. Up. VIII, 2, 1*).—A doubt here presents itself whether the will alone is the cause of the rising of the fathers, or the will joined with some other operative cause.—The pūrvapakshin maintains that although scripture says 'by his mere will,' some other cause must be supposed to co-operate, as in ordinary life. For as in our ordinary experience the meeting with one's father is caused by one's will, and, in addition, by the act of going and so on, so it will be in the case of the released soul also; and

thus we do not assume something contrary to observation. When the text says 'by his mere will,' it implies, as in the case of a king, the whole apparatus of other easily procurable instrumental causes by which the desired object is obtained. Besides, if the fathers and so on rose owing to a mere wish, they would be of unstable nature, like the imaginary representation of some desired object, and thus not be able to procure any solid enjoyment.—To this we reply that the rising of the fathers and so on is due to the will only.—Why so?—Because scripture declares this. If any other cause were required, the direct scriptural statement 'by his will only' would thereby be contradicted. And even if we admit some other cause accompanying the act of will, it cannot be a cause to be realised by an effort; for therefrom it would follow that before the realisation of that cause the will would be barren. Nor can the analogies of ordinary experience be applied to something to be learned from scripture. For as the will of the released differs in nature from the will of ordinary men, it may have the power of effecting something that possesses as much stability as the special purpose requires.

9. And for this very same reason (the released soul is) without another lord.

For this very same reason, i.e. owing to the fact of the will of the released person not being barren, he who knows has no other lord over himself. For not even an ordinary person when forming wishes will, if he can help it, wish himself to be subject to another master. And scripture also declares this when saying, 'Those who depart from hence, after having discovered the Self and those true desires, for them there is freedom in all worlds' (*Kh. Up. VIII, 1, 6*).

10. The absence (of a body and sense-organs, on the part of the released) Bâdari (asserts); for thus scripture says.

The passage, 'By his mere wish the fathers rise,' shows that the released possesses a mind (internal organ, *manas*) whereby he wills. A question however arises whether he

who knows, after having reached lordly power, possesses a body and senses, or not. Here the teacher Bādari is of opinion that the glorified possessor of knowledge is without body and sense-organs.—Why so?—Because scripture declares this, ‘With the mind seeing those wishes he rejoices’ (*Kh. Up.* VIII, 12, 5). If he rejoiced with the mind, the body, and the senses, scripture would not specially say ‘with the mind.’ Hence there are neither body nor sense-organs in the state of release.

11. The presence (of a body and senses) Gaimini (asserts); because the text records option (of the released person multiplying himself).

The teacher Gaimini is of opinion that the released person possesses a body and sense-organs as well as a mind. For passages like ‘He is onefold, he is threefold’ (*Kh. Up.* VII, 26, 2) declare that the Self has the option of manifold existence which cannot be brought about without manifoldness of body.—The capability of optionally multiplying one’s self is, indeed, mentioned in the knowledge of plenitude (*bhūman*) which refers to Brahman as devoid of qualities, but this lordly power which is valid only for the qualified state is there mentioned only in order to glorify the knowledge of the (unqualified) plenitude; and it therefore presents itself as constituting the fruit of qualified knowledge<sup>1</sup>.

12. For this reason Bādarāyana (opines that the released person is) of both kinds; as in the case of the twelve days’ sacrifice.

The teacher Bādarāyana, again, thinks that for this reason, i.e. because scripture contains indications of both kinds, the proper conclusion is that the released person exists in both

---

<sup>1</sup> Manifoldness of the Self is mentioned in a *vidyā* referring to the highest Brahman; but its introduction there is not due to the wish of teaching something about that state, but merely of, rhetorically, glorifying it. We, therefore, are entitled to view that passage as teaching something about him who possesses the lower knowledge.

conditions. When he wishes to have a body, he appears with one; when he wishes to be disembodied, he is without one. For he has various wishes, and all his wishes are realised.—‘As in the case of the twelve days’ sacrifice.’ As the soma sacrifice extending over twelve days may be viewed either as a *sattra* or as an *ahîna* sacrifice, because both alternatives are indicated by scriptural passages<sup>1</sup>; so it is here also.

13. When there is no body, (the process) may take place as in the dreaming state.

When there is no body and no sense-organs, the process in the state of release may be viewed as analogous to that in the state of dream, when objects wished, such as a father and so on, have a perceptual existence only while body, senses, and objects do not really exist.

14. When there is (a body), (it may be) as in the waking state.

When, on the other hand, the released person has a body, then the objects of his wishes—fathers and so on—may have real existence, as in the waking state.

15. The entering (of one soul into several bodies) is like (the multiplication of) the flame of a lamp; for thus scripture declares.

Under Sûtra 11 it has been shown that the released person is embodied. The question now arises whether the bodies which the released create for themselves when rendering themselves threefold and so on are soulless like wooden figures, or animated by souls like the bodies of us men.—The *pûrvapakshin* maintains that as neither the soul nor the *manas* can be divided they are joined with one body only, while the other bodies are soulless.—To this the *Sûtrakâra* replies, ‘Like the flame of a lamp is their entering,’ i. e. just as the one flame of a lamp can pass over into several flames (lighted at the original flame), because it possesses

<sup>1</sup> See *Pûrva Mîmâṃsâ-sûtras* II, 3, 5th *adhikarana*.



the power of modifying itself, thus the soul of him who knows, although one only, multiplying itself through its lordly power, enters into all those bodies. For scripture declares that in this way one may become many, 'He is onefold, he is threefold, fivefold, sevenfold' (*Kh. Up. VII, 26, 2*). And this is not possible, if we should accept the simile of the wooden puppets, or the entering of other souls into those additional bodies<sup>1</sup>. Nor again can there be any motion on the part of bodies destitute of souls.—Nor is there any force in the objection that, because the Self and the Manas cannot be divided, they cannot be in connexion with more than one body. For the Self, because possessing the quality of having true wishes (i. e. wishes which become real), may be supposed to create other bodies with internal organs, conformable to the original one organ; and, the Self dividing itself through the division of its limiting adjuncts, it may be possible to give a soul to each created body. This is the topic which the books on Yoga treat, in the chapters explaining the connexion of one soul with several bodies.—But how can lordly power, enabling the released soul to enter into several bodies, be admitted, if we consider that different scriptural texts declare that the soul in that state has not any specific cognition? so e.g. 'Whereby should he know another?' 'For there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could know;' 'An ocean is that one seer, without any duality' (*Bri. Up. II, 4, 14; IV, 3, 30; 32*).

To this objection the next Sūtra replies.

16. (What scripture says about absence of all specific cognition) refers either to deep sleep or union (release); for this is manifested (by the texts).

By 'entering into one's own Self' is meant dreamless

---

<sup>1</sup> I. e. the scriptural statement about one Self rendering itself manifold can neither be reconciled with the hypothesis of the other bodies being moved by the one soul as puppets are moved by one person through strings, nor with the hypothesis of a new separate soul entering each new body.

sleep ; according to the text, 'He is gone to his own Self, he sleeps they say' (*Kh. Up.* VI, 8, 1). 'Union' means blissful isolation (final release), according to the text, 'Being Brahman he goes to Brahman' (*Bri. Up.* IV, 4, 6). What the texts say about absence of specific cognition is said with reference to either of those two states, dreamless sleep or final release.—How do we know this?—Because this is 'manifest,' owing to the fact that those two states form the topic there (where absence of all cognition is mentioned). Compare the passages, 'Having risen from out of these elements it perishes again after them. Having departed there is no more knowledge;' 'But where the Self only is all this;' 'Where when asleep he desires no more desires, and dreams no more dreams' (*Bri. Up.* II, 4, 12 ; IV, 5, 15 ; IV, 3, 19).—Those passages, on the other hand, which describe lordly power refer to an altogether different condition, which—like the heavenly world and so on—is an abode where qualified knowledge produces its results.—Thus there is no contradiction.

17. With the exception of world-business (the released possess all lordly power), (the Lord) being the topic (where world-business is referred to), and (the souls) not being near (to such business).

The following doubt here presents itself. Do those who through meditations on the qualified Brahman enter, together with their manas, into a condition of equality with the Lord, possess unlimited lordly power, or power limited to some extent?—The *pûrvapakshin* maintains that their power must be unlimited, because we meet with texts such as 'He obtains Self-lordship' (*Taitt. Samh.* I, 6, 2); 'All the gods bring an offering for him' (*Taitt. Samh.* I, 5, 3); 'For them there is freedom in all worlds' (*Kh. Up.* VIII, 1, 6).—To this the *Sûtra* replies, 'Excepting the world-business.' With the exception of the origination and so on of the world all other lordly powers, as e. g. rendering one's self of atomic size, must belong to the released. The world-business, on the other hand, can belong to the everlastingly

perfect Lord only.—Why so?—Because there (where the origination and so on of the world are referred to) the Lord forms the general topic, and because the other (souls) do not stand near (to the world-business). The highest Lord only is appointed to do all work referring to the entire world; for the world's origination and so on are taught only where he constitutes the general subject-matter, and moreover he (only) is eternal, and described in scripture (as the creator, &c. of the world)<sup>1</sup>. The lordly power of the other souls, on the contrary, scripture shows to have a beginning, because it depends on their searching for and striving to know the Lord. They are therefore remote from all world-business. And just because they have minds, they might be of different minds, and one might have the intention of preserving the world while another might wish to destroy it. Such conflicts can only be avoided by assuming that the wishes of one should conform to those of another, and from this it follows that all other souls (but the Lord) depend on the highest Lord.

18. (Should it be said that the souls must possess unlimited power) on account of manifest teaching; we reply No, because scripture states him who, entrusted with office, abides in the spheres (of the sun and so on), (to be that one on whom the soul's obtaining lordly power depends).

It remains to refute the remark, made by the pûrvapakshin, that absolute power on the part of those who know must be inferred from texts directly asserting such power, as e.g. 'He obtains self-lordship.'—This refutation the above Sûtra undertakes. Scripture declares that the obtaining of rulership on the soul's part, depends on the

<sup>1</sup> *Kim ka paraisyaiva nityatvena svahetvanapekshanasya klipta-saktitvâg gagatsarganam prati kalpyasâmarthyâk ka vidushâm îsvara-vishayaiva gagatsrîshîr eshtavyâ, kim ka paurvâparyâlokanâyâm îsvarasyaiva gagatsargañ sabdâd gamyate ganmâdisûtram ârabhya kaitad upapâditam. Ân. Gi.*

highest Lord who, as entrusted with definite offices, abides in certain definite abodes, such as the sphere of the sun, &c. This is shown by the text going on to say (after the clause quoted above), 'He obtains the lord of Mind.' For that means that he obtains the lord known to be the lord of all minds. In accordance herewith the text later on says that he becomes lord of speech, lord of the eye, lord of the ear, lord of understanding.—Similarly in other passages also the lordly power of the other souls has to be viewed, according to circumstances, as depending on the eternally perfect Lord.

19. And (there is also a form of the highest Lord) not abiding in effected things ; for thus scripture declares his abiding.

Moreover, according to scripture, there is also an eternal form of the highest Lord which does not abide in effects ; he is not only the ruling soul of the spheres of the sun and so on which lie within the sphere of what is effected. For the text declares his abiding in a twofold form, as follows : ' Such is the greatness of it ; greater than it is the Person. One foot of him are all beings ; three feet of him is what is immortal in heaven ' (*Kh. Up. III, 12, 6*). And it cannot be maintained that that form of him which is divorced from all effects is reached by those who put their trust on his other form ; for their minds are not set on the former. Hence as he who does not reach that form of the double-natured highest Lord which is divorced from all qualities stops at that form which is distinguished by qualities, so also, unable to reach unlimited power within the latter form, he stops at limited lordly power.

20. And thus perception and inference show.

Scripture and *Smṛiti* both declare that the highest light does not abide within effected things, 'The sun does not shine there, nor the moon and the stars, nor these lightnings, and much less this fire' (*Mu. Up. II, 2, 10*). 'The sun does not illumine it, nor the moon, nor fire' (*Bha. Gîtâ XV, 6*).—The *Sûtra* is meant to show that the non-abiding of the

highest light within effected things is a well-known circumstance.

21. And on account of the indications of equality of enjoyment only.

The lordly power of those who take their stand on the effected Brahman is not absolute, for that reason also that scripture teaches that their enjoyment only is equal to that of the eternally perfect Lord. For scripture contains statements and indications of the difference (of the Lord and the released soul); compare 'To him he says, Water indeed is enjoyed<sup>1</sup> (by me); that world (is to be enjoyed by thee also)' (Kau. Up. I, 7); 'As all beings honour that deity, so do all beings honour him who knows that' (Bṛi. Up. I, 5, 20); 'He obtains through it equality (in body) and sameness of abode with that deity' (Bṛi. Up. I, 5, 23). But from the circumstance of the lordly power of the released souls not being absolute it follows that it comes to an end, and then they will have to return from the world of Brahman!—To this objection the reverend Bādarāyaṇa replies in the following Sūtra.

22. (Of them) there is non-return, according to scripture; non-return, according to scripture.

Those who, in following the road of the gods, to which the vein and the ray are leading, and on which light is the first stage, reach the world of Brahman as described by scripture—where 'there are the two lakes Ara and Nya in the world of Brahman, in the third heaven from hence,' and where 'there is the lake Airammadiya and the Asvattha tree showering down Soma, and the city of Brahman Aparāgitā and the golden hall built by Prabhu' (Kā. Up. VIII, 5, 3)—and set forth at length in mantras,

<sup>1</sup> All the commentators explain the reading 'mīyante.'—Ān. Gi. says—*taṁ brahmalokagatam upāsakam hiraṇyagarbhaḥ svasamīpam upāgatam sânunayam âha mayâ khalv âpa evâmṛitamayyo mīyante drīsyante bhugyante tavâpy asāv amṛitarūpodakalakshano loko bhogyo yathāsukham bhugyatām.*

arthavâdas, and so on; those, we say, who reach that world do not return from there after having finished the enjoyment of their deeds; as those do who have gone to the world of the moon and other places.—Why so?—Because scriptural passages teach that they do not so return. Compare 'Moving upwards by it he reaches the immortal' (*Kh. Up. VIII, 6, 6*); 'For them there is no return' (*Bri. Up. VI, 2, 15*); 'Those who proceed on that path do not return to the life of man' (*Kh. Up. IV, 15, 6*); 'He reaches the world of Brahman and does not return' (*Kh. Up. VIII, 15, 1*). That the finality of their lordly power does not imply their return to the life of man, we have shown under IV, 3, 10. It is a settled matter that those who through perfect knowledge have dispelled all mental darkness and are devoted to the eternally perfect Nirvâṇa do not return. And as those also who rely on the knowledge of the qualified Brahman in the end have recourse to that (Nirvâṇa), it follows that they also do not return<sup>1</sup>—The repetition of the words, 'Non-return, according to scripture,' indicates the conclusion of this body of doctrine.



# INDEX OF QUOTATIONS

TO

VOLUMES XXXIV (i) AND XXXVIII (ii).

## Aitareya- âranyaka

- II, 1, 2, 1 . . . ii, 272, 303  
 1, 2, 6 . . . i, 56; ii, 304  
 1, 3, 1 . . . ii, 206  
 2, 4, 6 . . . i, p. lxxii; ii, 244  
 3, 2, 1 . . . i, 63  
 4, 1 . . . ii, 205-208  
 4, 1, 1 . . . i, p. lxix, 22, 332  
 4, 1, 1; 2 . . . i, 265  
 4, 1, 2 . . . i, 48  
 4, 1, 2; 3 . . . i, 263  
 4, 2, 2 . . . ii, 206  
 4, 2, 4 . . . i, 304; ii, 91, 257  
 4, 3, 4; 6;  
 7; 10 . . . ii, 208  
 6, 1, 5; 6 . . . ii, 208  
 III, 2, 3, 12 . . . i, 94; ii, 190

## Aitareya- brâhmana

- III, 8, 1 . . . i, 35, 222

## Âpastamba- dharma-sûtra

- I, 7, 20, 3 . . . ii, 399  
 8, 23, 2 . . . i, 293  
 9, 26, 8 . . . ii, 318 n.

## Ârsheya- brâhmana

- I . . . . . i, 214

## Bhagavad-gîtâ

- II, 24 . . . . . ii, 180  
 39; 49 . . . ii, 361  
 54 . . . . . i, 43, 282  
 III, 12 . . . . . ii, 337  
 13 . . . . . i, 111  
 35 . . . . . ii, 318

- IV, 11 . . . . . i, 359  
 V, 14; 15 . . . i, 330  
 17 . . . . . ii, 302  
 VI, 11 . . . . . ii, 350  
 45 . . . . . ii, 316  
 VII, 6 . . . . . i, 293  
 19 . . . . . i, 282  
 21 . . . . . ii, 183  
 VIII, 6 . . . . . i, 63; ii, 281, 352  
 10 . . . . . ii, 352  
 23 . . . . . ii, 380  
 24 . . . . . i, 128  
 24; 25 . . . ii, 381  
 26 . . . . . ii, 234  
 X, 2 . . . . . i, 307  
 4 . . . . . ii, 22  
 41 . . . . . i, 63, 80  
 42 . . . . . i, 96  
 XIII, 2 . . . . . i, 113, 122, 282  
 12 . . . . . ii, 157  
 27 . . . . . i, 282  
 31 . . . . . i, 187  
 XIV, 17 . . . . . i, 46  
 XV, 3 . . . . . i, 361  
 6 . . . . . ii, 417  
 6; 12 . . . . . i, 195  
 7 . . . . . ii, 63  
 20 . . . . . i, 36  
 XVIII, 61 . . . . . i, 113, 330

## Bṛihad-âraṇyaka- upanishad

- I, 1, 4 . . . . . i, p. cv  
 2, 2 . . . . . ii, 24  
 2, 4 . . . . . i, 203  
 3, 1 . . . . . ii, 192  
 3, 2 . . . . . i, 303; ii, 95  
 3, 12 . . . . . ii, 92  
 3, 19 . . . . . ii, 89  
 3, 22 . . . . . ii, 91, 154





# INDEX OF QUOTATIONS

TO

VOLUMES XXXIV (i) AND XXXVIII (ii).

## Aitareya- âranyaka

- II, 1, 2, 1 . . . ii, 272, 303  
 1, 2, 6 . . . i, 56; ii, 304  
 1, 3, 1 . . . ii, 206  
 2, 4, 6 . . . i, p. lxxii; ii, 244  
 3, 2, 1 . . . i, 63  
 4, 1 . . . ii, 205-208  
 4, 1, 1 . . . i, p. lxix, 22, 332  
 4, 1, 1; 2 . . . i, 265  
 4, 1, 2 . . . i, 48  
 4, 1, 2; 3 . . . i, 263  
 4, 2, 2 . . . ii, 206  
 4, 2, 4 . . . i, 304; ii, 91, 257  
 4, 3, 4; 6;  
 7; 10 . . . ii, 208  
 6, 1, 5; 6 . . . ii, 208  
 III, 2, 3, 12 . . . i, 94; ii, 190

## Aitareya- brâhmana

- III, 8, 1 . . . i, 35, 222

## Âpastamba- dharma-sûtra

- I, 7, 20, 3 . . . ii, 399  
 8, 23, 2 . . . i, 293  
 9, 26, 8 . . . ii, 318 n.

## Ârsheya- brâhmana

- I . . . . . i, 214

## Bhagavad-gîtâ

- II, 24 . . . . . ii, 180  
 39; 49 . . . ii, 361  
 54 . . . . . i, 43, 282  
 III, 12 . . . . . ii, 337  
 13 . . . . . i, 111  
 35 . . . . . ii, 318

- IV, 11 . . . . . i, 359  
 V, 14; 15 . . . i, 330  
 17 . . . . . ii, 302  
 VI, 11 . . . . . ii, 350  
 45 . . . . . ii, 316  
 VII, 6 . . . . . i, 293  
 19 . . . . . i, 282  
 21 . . . . . ii, 183  
 VIII, 6 . . . . . i, 63; ii, 281, 352  
 10 . . . . . ii, 352  
 23 . . . . . ii, 380  
 24 . . . . . i, 128  
 24; 25 . . . ii, 381  
 26 . . . . . ii, 234  
 X, 2 . . . . . i, 307  
 4 . . . . . ii, 22  
 41 . . . . . i, 63, 80  
 42 . . . . . i, 96  
 XIII, 2 . . . . . i, 113, 122, 282  
 12 . . . . . ii, 157  
 27 . . . . . i, 282  
 31 . . . . . i, 187  
 XIV, 17 . . . . . i, 46  
 XV, 3 . . . . . i, 361  
 6 . . . . . ii, 417  
 6; 12 . . . . . i, 195  
 7 . . . . . ii, 63  
 20 . . . . . i, 36  
 XVIII, 61 . . . . . i, 113, 330

## Bṛihad-âranyaka- upanishad

- I, 1, 4 . . . . . i, p. cv  
 2, 2 . . . . . ii, 24  
 2, 4 . . . . . i, 203  
 3, 1 . . . . . ii, 192  
 3, 2 . . . . . i, 303; ii, 95  
 3, 12 . . . . . ii, 92  
 3, 19 . . . . . ii, 89  
 3, 22 . . . . . ii, 91, 154

I, 3, 23 . . . ii, 193	III, 2, 11 . . . i, pp. lxxxi, lxxxix
3, 24 . . . ii, 195	2, 13 . . . i, 359; ii, 105
4, 1 . . . ii, 206	seq., 369
4, 6 . . . i, 117	4 . . . i, p. lxxii, 231
4, 7 . . . i, 25, 242, 264, 267; ii, 32, 42	4, 1 . . . ii, 173, 238, 242, 291, 339, 394
4, 10 . . . i, 29, 31, 219, 282; ii, 32, 46, 66, 101, 111, 173, 238, 339, 408	4, 2 . . . i, 32, 133, 169; ii, 18
4, 15 . . . i, 25	5 . . . i, p. lxxii; ii, 291, 322
5, 2 . . . ii, 361	5, 1 . . . i, p. lxxvi; ii, 242, 291
5, 3 . . . ii, 49, 56, 90, 95	6, 8 . . . ii, 315
5, 13 . . . ii, 257	7 . . . i, p. xxviii
5, 20 . . . ii, 93, 418	7, 1 seqq. . . i, 130
5, 21 . . . ii, 87 n., 94, 256	7, 2 . . . i, 154
5, 22 . . . ii, 18, 258	7, 3 . . . i, p. xxxv, 125; ii, 339
5, 23 . . . ii, 257, 258, 418	7, 4 . . . i, 370
II, 1, 1 . . . ii, 168	7, 9 . . . i, 81
1, 16 . . . i, 273; ii, 146	7, 15 . . . ii, 173
1, 17 . . . ii, 42, 50, 144	7, 22 . . . i, 134
1, 18 . . . ii, 50, 56, 135	7, 23 . . . i, 51, 70, 113, 115, 133, 282; ii, 46, 54, 62, 66, 174
1, 19 . . . ii, 141	8, 7; 8 . . . i, 169
1, 20 . . . ii, 30, 74, 75, 147	8, 8 . . . i, 62, 99, 171, 327, 349, 355; ii, 17, 152, 155, 239, 329, 335, 394
2, 3 . . . i, 254	8, 9 . . . i, 170, 181, 355, 370; ii, 290
2, 4 . . . i, 217	8, 11 . . . i, 171, 243, 282; ii, 46, 335
3 . . . ii, 167	9, 1; 2 . . . i, 200
3, 3 . . . ii, 6	9, 4 . . . ii, 79, 83
3, 6 . . . i, 62; ii, 157, 175	9, 9 . . . i, 269
4, 5 . . . i, p. xl, 17, 25, 26, 297, 344, 356; ii, 52, 77, 288, 291, 331	9, 16 . . . i, 131
4, 6 . . . i, 36, 282, 309, 311, 321; ii, 10, 179, 329, 339	9, 26 . . . i, 37, 299, 327, 349; ii, 171, 329, 395
4, 10 . . . i, 20; ii, 291	9, 28 . . . i, 65, 75, 83; ii, 34, 335
4, 11 . . . ii, 79	IV, 1, 3 . . . ii, 281
4, 12 . . . i, 154, 349; ii, 160, 415	2, 4 . . . i, 29, 194, 327, 352; ii, 395
4, 13 . . . i, 22, 31, 323, 329	3, 5 . . . i, 91
4, 14 . . . ii, 414	3, 6 . . . i, 194
5, 1 . . . ii, 154	3, 7 . . . i, p. xxxviii, 234; ii, 39, 46, 53, 208
5, 18 . . . i, 178; ii, 159	3, 8 . . . ii, 29
5, 19 . . . i, 22, 31, 36, 100; ii, 32, 155, 161, 175, 180	3, 9 . . . ii, 133, 138
III, 1, 1 . . . ii, 288	
1, 9 . . . i, 30	
2 . . . i, 239	
2, 1 . . . ii, 79	
2, 8 . . . ii, 80, 83	

IV, 3, 9; 10 . . . ii, 133  
 3, 10 . . . i, 353; ii, 133  
 3, 11 . . . ii, 34, 36  
 3, 12 . . . ii, 49 seq., 89,  
 135  
 3, 13 . . . ii, 56  
 3, 14 . . . ii, 34, 134  
 3, 14; 15 . . . ii, 248  
 3, 14-16 . . . i, 235  
 3, 15 . . . i, 28  
 3, 16 . . . i, 298; ii, 148  
 3, 19 . . . ii, 415  
 3, 21 . . . i, 60; ii, 141, 176  
 3, 21-32 . . . ii, 54  
 3, 22 . . . i, 235; ii, 151,  
 337, 340  
 3, 23 . . . ii, 34, 408  
 3, 30 . . . i, 188; ii, 34, 414  
 3, 32 . . . i, 74, 168; ii, 414  
 3, 33 . . . ii, 112  
 3, 35 . . . i, 345  
 3, 38 . . . ii, 367  
 4, 1 . . . ii, 36, 377  
 4, 1-4 . . . ii, 102  
 4, 2 . . . ii, 36, 82, 83, 93,  
 105, 289, 352,  
 367, 377  
 4, 3 . . . ii, 103, 352  
 4, 5 . . . i, pp. lxxx, lxxxi,  
 lxxxix; ii, 32,  
 46, 119, 369  
 4, 6 . . . i, p. cxii; ii, 35,  
 113, 173, 363,  
 373, 396, 401,  
 415  
 4, 6; 7 . . . i, p. cix  
 4, 7 . . . i, 43, 157; ii,  
 144, 375  
 4, 8; 9 . . . i, pp. cvii, cviii  
 4, 9 . . . ii, 317  
 4, 12 . . . i, 36  
 4, 16 . . . i, 91, 193; ii, 407  
 4, 17 . . . i, p. xl, 257  
 4, 18 . . . i, 84, 87, 230  
 4, 19 . . . i, 66, 262, 282,  
 323; ii, 154,  
 180, 339  
 4, 20 . . . ii, 37  
 4, 21 . . . i, 157; ii, 331  
 4, 22 . . . i, p. lxxiii, 79,  
 182, 234, 330;  
 ii, 37, 42, 62,  
 141, 247, 294,  
 295, 307, 337,  
 356, 359, 361  
 4, 23 . . . ii, 308, 390

IV, 4, 24 . . . i, 92, 282; ii, 181  
 4, 25 . . . i, 321, 327; ii,  
 31, 209, 330,  
 335, 395  
 5, 1 . . . ii, 305  
 5, 6 . . . i, 274, 285; ii, 9  
 5, 6-15 . . . ii, 285  
 5, 8 . . . i, 285  
 5, 13 . . . i, 156; ii, 32, 34,  
 156 seq., 409  
 5, 15 . . . i, 36, 62, 123,  
 168; ii, 54,  
 145, 248, 292,  
 295, 330, 400,  
 415  
 V, 1 . . . i, 84  
 4 & V, 5 . . . ii, 245-247  
 4, 1 . . . ii, 245  
 4, 5 . . . i, p. lxxii  
 5 . . . i, p. lxx; ii, 216  
 5, 2 . . . i, 124; ii, 245  
 5, 3 . . . i, 89; ii, 245  
 6 . . . i, p. lxvii  
 8 . . . i, 257  
 9 . . . i, 144  
 10 . . . i, p. cvii  
 10, 1 . . . ii, 382, 383 seq.,  
 385  
 10, 6 . . . ii, 214  
 VI, 1, 1 . . . ii, 186  
 1, 6 . . . ii, 188  
 1, 7 . . . i, 303  
 1, 13 . . . i, 304; ii, 85  
 1, 14 . . . ii, 211, 309  
 2, 9 . . . i, 257  
 2, 14 . . . ii, 187  
 2, 15 . . . i, p. cix; ii, 383,  
 386, 389, 390,  
 391, 419  
 2, 15 seqq. . . i, pp. cvii, cviii  
 2, 16 . . . ii, 110, 113, 234

## Gābāla-upanishad

? . . . ii, 244, 249, 251,  
 295, 297, 302  
 seq., 338

I . . . i, 153

IV . . . i, 298

Gaimini-(pūrva-  
mīmāṃsā)-sūtra

I, 1, 1 . . . i, 24, 26, 44  
 1, 2 . . . i, 24, 291 n.  
 1, 5 . . . i, 24  
 1, 25 . . . i, 24

I, 2, 1 . . . .	i, 20 seq., 24	I, 3, 2 . . . .	ii, 241
2, 7 . . . .	i, 21	3, 3 . . . .	i, 121
3, 3 . . . .	i, 293	3, 3 seqq. . .	i, 239
3, 8 . . . .	ii, 319	3, 3 ; 4 . . .	ii, 27
II, 2, 1 . . . .	ii, 278	3, 4 . . . .	i, 34 ; ii, 53
2, 22 . . . .	ii, 185 n.	3, 9 . . . .	i, 121
2, 23 . . . .	ii, 185 n.	3, 10 . . . .	i, p. cxix, 252 ; ii, 204
3, 5 . . . .	ii, 413 n.	3, 10 ; 11 . .	i, pp. xxxix, lxix
4, 9 . . . .	ii, 186	3, 11 . . . .	i, 37, 237 seq.
4, 10 seqq. . .	ii, 187	3, 12 . . . .	ii, 205
III, 3, 9 . . . .	ii, 240	3, 13 . . . .	ii, 205
3, 14 . . . .	ii, 224, 260	3, 15 . . . .	i, 246 ; ii, 153, 155, 205
4, 32 . . . .	ii, 75	II, 4, 1 . . . .	ii, 172
IV, 1, 1 . . . .	i, 44	4, 4 . . . .	i, 250
3, 8 . . . .	ii, 246 n.	4, 10 . . . .	i, 250 ; ii, 396
3, 29 . . . .	ii, 223 n.	4, 11 . . . .	i, 156
VI, 1 . . . .	i, 197	4, 12 . . . .	i, pp. xxxvii, xxxviii, xliiv
5, 1 . . . .	ii, 195 n.	4, 12 ; 13 . .	i, 195
8, 22 . . . .	ii, 318	4, 15 . . . .	ii, 408
X, 8, 15 . . . .	ii, 228	5, 3 . . . .	ii, 154
<b>Gauḍapāda-kārikā</b>		5, 5 . . . .	i, 104, 230
I, 16 . . . .	i, 312	5, 6 ; 7 . . .	i, 248
III, 15 . . . .	i, 266	5, 7 . . . .	ii, 371
<b>Īśā-upanishad</b>		5, 8 . . . .	ii, 87 n., 133, 134
2 . . . .	ii, 289	5, 11 . . . .	ii, 65
7 . . . .	i, 29, 282, 295 ; ii, 395	5, 15 . . . .	i, pp. xxxvi, xxxviii, 192
8 . . . .	i, 34	6, 2 . . . .	i, p. xxxvii, 229 ; ii, 190, 290
<b>Kaṭha-upanishad</b>		6, 2 ; 3 . . .	i, p. xxxviii
I, 1, 13 . . . .	i, 248	6, 11 . . . .	i, 297
1, 13 ; 20 ; 2, 14 . . . .	i, 116 n.	6, 13 . . . .	ii, 160, 168
1, 15 . . . .	i, 248	6, 17 . . . .	i, p. xxxviii, 198
1, 20 . . . .	i, 118, 248, 249, 251, 252	6, 18 . . . .	i, 297
1, 23 ; 24 . . .	ii, 134	<b>Kaushītaki-brāhmaṇa-upanishad</b>	
2, 4 . . . .	i, 250	I . . . . .	i, p. cxxi seq. ; ii, 400
2, 6 . . . .	ii, 123	2 . . . . .	ii, 35, 122, 384
2, 7 . . . .	ii, 328	2 seqq. . . .	i, pp. cvii, cviii
2, 9 . . . .	i, 307	3 . . . . .	ii, 230, 382, 385
2, 12 . . . .	i, 120, 121, 251	3, 15 . . . .	i, 78
2, 14 . . . .	i, 28, 118, 196, 231, 248, 251, 252 ; ii, 134, 241, 392	4 . . . . .	ii, 225, 230
2, 15 . . . .	ii, 190, 307	7 . . . . .	ii, 418
2, 18 . . . .	i, 118, 248 ; ii, 31	II, 5, 15 . . .	i, 91
2, 22 . . . .	i, 28, 187, 252	6 . . . . .	ii, 263
2, 25 . . . .	i, p. xxxv, 116	14 . . . . .	i, 304 ; ii, 200
3, 1 . . . .	i, pp. xxxv, xlii, lxxii, 118 ; ii, 240	III, 1 . . . .	ii, 305
		1-3 ; 8 . . .	i, 97
		2 . . . . .	i, p. xxxiv, 100 n., 164

Digitized by Google

IV, 3, 1; 3 . . .	i, 30
3, 3 . . .	ii, 87 n., 256, 277
3, 5 . . .	i, 226
3, 6 . . .	ii, 257
3, 8 . . .	i, 95; ii, 258
4, 5 . . .	i, 228
10 seqq. . .	i, 126 n.
10, 5 . . .	i, 84; ii, 277, 400
14, 3 . . .	ii, 354
15 . . .	i, pp. cvii, cviii
15, 1 . . .	i, p. xxxv, 124; ii, 219
15, 2 . . .	i, 125; ii, 203
15, 3 . . .	ii, 400
15, 4 . . .	ii, 219
15, 5 . . .	i, 128
15, 6 . . .	ii, 391, 400, 419
17, 1 . . .	ii, 361
17, 10 . . .	ii, 284
18, 3 . . .	ii, 92
V, 1, 1 . . .	ii, 85, 186, 277
1, 2 . . .	ii, 309
1, 7 . . .	i, 304
2, 2 . . .	ii, 211
3-10 . . .	ii, 101-132, 400
3, 3 . . .	ii, 103, 368
3, 10 . . .	ii, 108
4, 1 . . .	ii, 267
7, 1; 8, 1 . . .	i, 35
9, 1 . . .	ii, 122
9, 2 . . .	ii, 188
10 . . .	i, pp. cvii, cviii
10, 1 . . .	i, 27; ii, 233, 295, 297, 382, 385
10, 2 . . .	ii, 403
10, 4 . . .	ii, 110
10, 5-7 . . .	ii, 112 seq.
10, 6 . . .	ii, 130
10, 7 . . .	ii, 398
10, 8 . . .	ii, 384
10, 10 . . .	ii, 187
11 seqq. . .	i, pp. lxxiii, lxxv, 143
11-24 . . .	ii, 400
11, 2 . . .	ii, 154
11, 5 . . .	ii, 288
11, 6 . . .	i, p. xxxv
11, 7 . . .	i, 227
12-17 . . .	ii, 275
18 . . .	i, 143; ii, 275
18, 1 . . .	ii, 191
18, 2 . . .	i, 146
19, 1 . . .	i, 146; ii, 249
24, 2; 4 . . .	ii, 249

V, 24, 3 . . .	i, 145; ii, 354
VI, 1 . . .	ii, 7
1, 3 . . .	i, 285, 341 seq., 343; ii, 9, 79
1, 4 . . .	i, 266, 285, 320; ii, 12
2 . . .	i, 47 seq., 53 n.
2 seqq. . .	i, 53, 55
2, 1 . . .	i, 22, 267, 282, 332, 341; ii, 163
2, 1; 2 . . .	i, 264
2, 1; 3 . . .	i, 265
2, 2 . . .	ii, 20
2, 3 . . .	i, 263; ii, 22, 25, 74, 290
2, 3; 4 . . .	i, 52, 303; ii, 24
2, 4 . . .	ii, 23, 366
3, 1 . . .	ii, 126
3, 2 . . .	i, 233, 268, 329, 343, 361; ii, 32, 140, 159
3, 2; 3 . . .	ii, 96
3, 3 . . .	i, 88 n.
4 . . .	i, 332
4, 1 . . .	i, 321
5, 4 . . .	ii, 79
6, 1 . . .	ii, 364
6, 5 . . .	ii, 27, 366
8 . . .	ii, 370
8, 1 . . .	i, 59, 180, 345; ii, 47, 141, 151, 176, 179, 415
8, 2 . . .	i, 59 n., 84, 87, 272; ii, 142
8, 3 . . .	ii, 396
8, 3; 5 . . .	i, 59
8, 4 . . .	i, 155, 266
8, 7 . . .	i, 23, 31, 54, 321, 343; ii, 9, 32, 46, 66, 79, 163, 173, 339, 408
8, 7 &c.-16, 3 . . .	ii, 243
9, 2; 3 . . .	i, 313; ii, 48
10, 2 . . .	ii, 147, 148
11, 3 . . .	ii, 28, 31
14, 2 . . .	i, 17; ii, 236, 237, 285, 357, 363
16 . . .	i, 56, 323
VII, 1 . . .	i, 189
1 seqq. . .	ii, 403
1, 1 . . .	i, 227
1, 3 . . .	i, 29, 167, 266

- VII, 1, 5 . . . ii, 281, 341  
 11, 1 . . . ii, 386  
 12, 3 . . . ii, 405  
 15, 1 . . . i, 162, 164, 261;  
 ii, 277  
 16 . . . i, 166  
 18, 2 . . . i, 326  
 23 . . . i, p. xxxv, 163  
 23; 24 . . . i, 162  
 24 . . . i, 74  
 24, 1 . . . i, 62, 78, 163,  
 168, 329; ii,  
 329, 392, 408  
 25, 1; 2 . . . ii, 179  
 25, 2 . . . i, 282, 311, 321;  
 ii, 180, 394,  
 408, 410  
 26, 1 . . . i, 60, 167  
 26, 2 . . . i, 29, 167, 440;  
 ii, 237, 311,  
 414  
 VIII, 1 . . . i, pp. xxxvi, lxxiii  
 1, 1 . . . i, 174, 274; ii,  
 219, 247, 378,  
 400  
 1, 3 . . . ii, 180, 219  
 1, 6 . . . i, 12, 178; ii,  
 248, 409, 411,  
 415  
 2 . . . i, pp. lxxiii, lxxv  
 2, 1 . . . ii, 402, 410  
 3, 2 . . . i, 180; ii, 148  
 3, 3 . . . i, 59; ii, 39  
 3, 4 . . . i, p. xxxvi, 182,  
 191  
 4, 1 . . . ii, 144, 151, 175,  
 356  
 4, 2 . . . ii, 175  
 4, 3 . . . ii, 384  
 5, 1 . . . ii, 307  
 5, 3 . . . ii, 315, 393, 418  
 6, 2 . . . ii, 379  
 6, 3 . . . ii, 141  
 6, 5 . . . i, pp. cvii, cviii,  
 232; ii, 378,  
 380, 382, 391,  
 393 n., 400  
 6, 6 . . . ii, 419  
 7 . . . ii, 61 seq.  
 7 seqq. . . ii, 291  
 7, 1 . . . i, p. lxxxiv, 25,  
 79, 110, 184,  
 232, 344, 355;  
 ii, 52, 203,  
 285, 330, 406,  
 408, 409  
 VIII, 7, 2 . . . i, 219  
 7, 3 . . . i, 184; ii, 277  
 9-11 . . . ii, 406  
 9, 1 . . . i, 129  
 9, 3 . . . i, 184  
 9, 3 seqq. . . i, 232  
 10, 1 . . . i, 184  
 10, 4 . . . i, 184  
 11, 1 . . . i, 184  
 11, 2 . . . i, 184  
 11, 3 . . . i, 199; ii, 406  
 12, 1 . . . i, 27, 41, 232  
 12, 3 . . . i, pp. xxxvi,  
 xxxviii, lxxv,  
 231, 232, 277;  
 ii, 291  
 12, 4 . . . ii, 34  
 12, 5 . . . ii, 412  
 13 . . . ii, 225  
 14 . . . i, p. xxxviii, 82,  
 182; ii, 98  
 14, 1 . . . i, 233, 329; ii,  
 155, 393  
 15 . . . ii, 63, 289  
 15, 1 . . . ii, 419  
 Mahâbhârata  
 III, 16763 . . . i, 195  
 Maitrâyanîya-  
 samhita  
 I, 1, 6 . . . ii, 273 n.  
 Maitrâyanîya-  
 upanishad  
 VI, 30 . . . i, pp. cvii, cviii,  
 seq.  
 Manu  
 I, 5 . . . i, 133  
 21 . . . i, 204  
 27 . . . ii, 369  
 II, 87 . . . ii, 316  
 X, 4 . . . i, 227  
 126 . . . i, 227  
 XII, 91 . . . i, 294 seq.  
 105, 106 . . . i, 315  
 Mundaka-  
 upanishad  
 I, 1, 1 . . . i, 138  
 1, 3 . . . i, p. xxxv, 138,  
 159, 285; ii, 9,  
 76  
 1, 4 . . . i, p. cxvi  
 1, 5; 6 . . . i, 135; ii, 239



I, 1, 6 . . .	i, p. xliii, 288 ; ii, 171	Nyāya-sūtra	I, 1, 2 . . .	i, 30
I, 7 . . .	i, 285	I, 18 . . .	i, 435	
I, 9 . . .	i, 48, 136, 137, 158, 355 ; ii, 290	Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra, see Gaimini-sūtra		
2, 7 . . .	i, 138 seq.	Pañkadarī	I, 7 . . .	i, p. xcii
2, 9 seqq. . .	i, pp. cvii, cviii	Pāṇini	I, 4, 30 . . .	i, 285
2, 11 . . .	ii, 295, 382	II, 1, 50 . . .	i, 260	
2, 12 . . .	i, 139	VI, 4, 158 . . .	i, 162	
2, 13 . . .	i, 137			
II, 1, 1 . . .	ii, 30	Praśna- upanishad	I, 1 . . .	i, 227
I, 2 . . .	i, p. cxix, 28, 107 seq., 139, 243, 349 ; ii, 77, 85, 155, 335, 394	I, 9 seqq. . .	i, p. cvii	
I, 3 . . .	ii, 21, 27, 74-76, 85, 86, 94	10 . . .	i, p. cviii, 128	
I, 4 . . .	i, 140	II, 3 . . .	i, 102 ; ii, 89	
I, 4-9 . . .	i, 142, 142 n.	13 . . .	ii, 87 n.	
I, 8 . . .	ii, 74, 79	III, 3 . . .	i, 60	
I, 10 . . .	i, 142, 143 n., 155 ; ii, 76	6 . . .	ii, 39	
2, 5 . . .	i, p. xxxv, 154, 194	9 . . .	ii, 365	
2, 6 . . .	ii, 52	10 . . .	ii, 352	
2, 8 . . .	i, 29, 31, 98, 157 ; ii, 237, 354, 356	IV, 2 . . .	i, 168	
2, 10 . . .	i, p. xliii, 192 ; ii, 417	2 ; 3 . . .	i, 163	
2, 11 . . .	i, 22, 155, 282, 311, 321 ; ii, 10, 180, 329, 394	6 . . .	i, 163	
III, 1 . . .	i, p. lxxii	8 . . .	ii, 79, 83	
I, 1 . . .	i, 34, 117, 119, 121, 159 ; ii, 65, 240	9 . . .	ii, 49, 55	
I, 3 . . .	i, 288 ; ii, 225, 232	V, 2 . . .	i, 171 ; ii, 401	
I, 8 . . .	ii, 171-173	4 . . .	ii, 112	
I, 9 . . .	ii, 38, 44	5 . . .	i, p. xxxv, 178	
2, 6 . . .	i, 282 ; ii, 302	7 . . .	i, 173	
2, 7 . . .	ii, 376	VI, 1 . . .	ii, 154	
2, 8 . . .	i, 157, 278 ; ii, 173	3 . . .	i, 48	
2, 9 . . .	i, 25, 29, 31, 186 ; ii, 173, 285	3 ; 4 . . .	i, 284 ; ii, 45, 89	
2, 10 . . .	ii, 186	4 . . .	i, 263 ; ii, 74, 78, 85	
Nirukta		5 . . .	ii, 376	
I, 2 . . .	i, 16	8 . . .	i, 29	
		Rig-veda-saṃhitā		
		I, 98, 1 . . .	i, 144	
		104, 1 . . .	i, 288	
		164, 39 . . .	i, 83 seq.	
		II, 12 . . .	ii, 274	
		IV, 26, 1 seqq. . .	ii, 37 n.	
		VIII, 53, 7 . . .	i, 262	
		IX, 46, 4 . . .	i, 242	
		X, 14, 1 . . .	ii, 123	
		71, 3 . . .	i, 211	
		88, 3 . . .	i, 147	
		88, 12 . . .	i, 144	

- X, 90 . . . . i, 95 seq.  
 121, 1 . . . . i, 142  
 129, 2 . . . . ii, 85  
 129, 6 . . . . i, 307  
 190, 3 . . . . i, 215, 361
- Sāṅkhya-kārikā**  
 3 . . . . i, 257, 364 n.  
 12, 13 . . . . i, 364 n.  
 15 . . . . i, 364 n., 367 n.
- Sāṅkhya-sūtras**  
 I, 129 seqq. . . . i, 364 n.  
 II, 31 . . . . ii, 86 n.
- Shadvimsa-brāhmaṇa**  
 I, 1 . . . . i, 219
- Satapatha-brāhmaṇa**  
 I, 3, 1, 26 . . . . ii, 321  
 VI, 1, 1, 1 . . . . ii, 74  
 1, 3, 2; 4 . . . . i, 303  
 X, 1, 2, 2 . . . . ii, 303  
 2, 6, 8 . . . . ii, 387  
 3, 3, 6 . . . . i, 85  
 5, 2, 3 . . . . ii, 267  
 5, 2, 23 . . . . ii, 267  
 5, 4, 1 . . . . ii, 272  
 5, 4, 16 . . . . ii, 234  
 6, 1, 11 . . . . i, 146, 148  
 6, 3 . . . . i, p. lxvii  
 6, 3, 1 . . . . ii, 352  
 6, 3, 2 . . . . i, 112, 177; ii, 180
- XI, 5, 3, 13 . . . . i, 227  
 6, 2, 6 . . . . ii, 109  
 XII, 4, 1, 1 . . . . ii, 290  
 XIV, 6, 7, 30 . . . . ii, 59
- Svetāśvatara-upanishad**  
 I, 1 . . . . i, 255  
 11 . . . . ii, 139  
 12 . . . . ii, 154  
 II, 8 . . . . i, 297  
 10 . . . . ii, 351  
 12 . . . . i, 223  
 III, 1 . . . . i, 98  
 8 . . . . i, 98, 252, 266, 298; ii, 47, 400  
 9 . . . . ii, 180  
 19 . . . . i, 51, 355
- IV, 3 . . . . i, 111; ii, 62  
 5 . . . . i, p. xxxix, 253  
 6 . . . . ii, 240  
 10 . . . . i, 243  
 10; 11 . . . . i, 255  
 19 . . . . ii, 18  
 V, 2 . . . . i, 292  
 8 . . . . i, 175; ii, 44  
 9 . . . . ii, 38, 44  
 VI, 8 . . . . i, 51, 347  
 9 . . . . i, 61; ii, 20  
 11 . . . . i, 34, 74; ii, 32, 242  
 12 . . . . i, 329  
 13 . . . . i, 298  
 15 . . . . i, 167, 231  
 18 . . . . i, 213, 240  
 19 . . . . i, 62, 284, 349; ii, 394
- Taittirīya-āraṇyaka**  
 III, 12, 7 . . . . i, 62, 278, 329; ii, 62  
 X, 64 . . . . ii, 220
- Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa**  
 II, 2, 4, 2 . . . . i, 204  
 III, 1, 4, 1 . . . . i, 215  
 12, 9, 7 . . . . i, 91, 299
- Taittirīya-saṃhitā**  
 I, 5, 3 . . . . ii, 415  
 6, 2 . . . . ii, 415  
 6, 2, 2 . . . . i, 258  
 6, 3, 3 . . . . i, 91  
 6, 8, 1 . . . . ii, 107  
 II, 2, 10, 2 . . . . i, 294  
 3, 6 . . . . ii, 259  
 5, 5, 2 . . . . ii, 195 n.  
 V, 1, 10, 3 . . . . ii, 267  
 3, 2, 3 . . . . ii, 79  
 3, 2, 5 . . . . ii, 79  
 3, 12, 1 . . . . ii, 354  
 VII, 1, 1, 6 . . . . i, 224  
 1, 9 . . . . ii, 240 n.  
 3, 1 . . . . ii, 261 n.  
 5, 5, 2 . . . . ii, 274
- Taittirīya-upanishad**  
 I, 6 . . . . i, p. cvii  
 11, 1 . . . . ii, 297  
 11, 2 . . . . ii, 120

II, 1 . . . . .	i, 12, 60, 68, 72, 76, 82, 120, 167, 263, 264, 266, 283, 328; ii, 4, 14, 21, 22, 24, 34, 37, 74, 207, 285, 335, 401	III, 2-6 . . . . .	ii, 7
1 seqq. . . . .	i, 264	6 . . . . .	i, 19, 65, 68, 70, 84
1-5 . . . . .	i, 64	10, 6 . . . . .	i, 141
4 . . . . .	ii, 168	<b>Tāndya-mahā- brāhmaṇa</b>	
5 . . . . .	i, p. xxxiii; ii, 50, 57, 202	IV, 9 . . . . .	ii, 261 n.
6 . . . . .	i, 65, 77, 264, 264 n., 283, 287, 303, 319; ii, 21, 25, 31, 66, 168	XX, 12, 5 . . . . .	i, 226
7 . . . . .	i, 67, 69, 71, 82, 263, 264 n., 266, 287; ii, 22, 25, 31, 171, 191	XXI, 10, 11 . . . . .	ii, 240
7; 8; 9 . . . . .	i, 65	XXV, 4 . . . . .	ii, 250 n.
8 . . . . .	i, 67, 75; ii, 290	<b>Vaiśeṣika-sūtras</b>	
9 . . . . .	i, 29, 74; ii, 157, 395	I, 1, 10 . . . . .	i, 396
III, 1 . . . . .	i, 13, 16, 19, 199; ii, 396	IV, 1, 1 . . . . .	i, 392
		1, 4 . . . . .	i, 392
		1, 5 . . . . .	i, 392 seq.
		2, 2 . . . . .	i, 385
		VII, 1, 9 . . . . .	i, 384
		1, 10 . . . . .	i, 384
		1, 17 . . . . .	i, 384
		1, 20 . . . . .	i, 382 n.
		<b>Vāgasaneyi- samhitā</b>	
		XXXII, 3 . . . . .	ii, 393
		<b>Yoga-sūtra</b>	
		II, 44 . . . . .	i, 223

# INDEX OF SANSKRIT WORDS

TO

VOLUMES XXXIV (i) AND XXXVIII (ii).

- amśa*, part, Part i, pages lvii, lviii, lxxv, xcvi seq.
- akshara*, the Imperishable, i, 169-171, 243; ii, 239 seq.
- syllable, i, 169.
- akhyâtivâdin*, i, 5 n.
- Agni* = *agrazî*, i, 150.
- fire, i, 255.
- fire-altar, ii, 260-268.
- agnikayana*, the building of the fire-altar, ii, 261 n., 264.
- agnihotra*, ii, 313.
- āṅga*, subordinate member (of a sacrificial act), i, 199.
- āṅgushṭhamâtra*, of the size of a thumb, i, pp. xxxvii, xxxviii, xlii.
- āṅgushṭhamâtratâ*, the being of the size of a thumb, i, 196 n.
- akid vastu*, non-sentient matter, i, p. lxxv.
- agâ*, its meaning discussed, i, 252-257.
- unborn, i, 253.
- she-goat, i, 253, 256 n.
- = *mâyâ*, i, 256 n.
- agîva*, non-soul, i, 428.
- anu*, of very minute size, i, pp. liv, lvi, lvii, lix, 384 n.; ii, 44.
- anutva*, minuteness, i, 382.
- smallness, subtlety, ii, 44.
- atigraha*, objects of the senses, i, p. cxi seq., 239; ii, 369.
- atirâtra*, i, 351.
- ativâdin*, i, 163, 165 seqq.
- atiraya*, reaching beyond itself, i, 334, 341.
- adrishṭa*, the unseen principle, i, p. li, 382, 406; ii, 70 seqq., 75, 115, 137 n., 166.
- adrishṭârtha*, ii, 378 n.
- adresya*, that which is not seen, i, p. xlii.
- advaita*, non-duality, monism, i, pp. xxx, cxxv.
- adharma*, demerit, i, 26, 429.
- adhika*, additional to, i, p. xcvi.
- adhikâra*, statement of claim, ii, 110.
- adhidaivata*, relating to the gods, ii, 91.
- adhipatipratyaya*, the defining cause (*Bauddha*), i, 409 n.
- adhishṭhâna*, superintendence, guidance, i, 7 n.
- adhyâtma*, relating to the Self, ii, 91.
- adhyâropita*, fictitiously ascribed, i, 130.
- adhyâsa*, superimposition, i, 3 n., 4 n.; ii, 197, 198.
- anârtha*, object of aversion, i, 378.
- anarthin*, the non-desiring person, i, 378.
- anârabdhakârya*, works which have not yet begun to produce their effects, i, p. lxxviii.
- anâsrama*, not belonging to any one of the four stages of life, i, p. lxxvi.
- anîṣâ*, impotence, i, 122.
- anubhava*, perception, i, 300 n.
- anuyâga*, ii, 287 n.
- anuvâkyâ*, ii, 259, 259 n.
- anuvâda*, a statement referring to something already known, i, 221; ii, 55, 66, 138, 216, 221, 308, 309, 322, 322 n.
- anuraya*, remainder of works, i, p. lix; ii, 113, 116, 119.
- anushṭhâna*, performance, ii, 121.
- antariksha*, ether, ii, 6.
- antaryamana*, ruling within, i, 131.

- antaryāmin, the ruler within, i, pp. xxviii, xxxv, xlii, lxii seqq., xcvi, c, cxiii, 131.
- antyeshti, funeral ceremony, ii, 109 n.
- anna, food, earth, ii, 23 seq.
- anyathākhyātivādin, i, 4 n., 5 n.
- aparam brahma, lower Brahman, i, pp. xxx, xxxiii n.
- aparā vidyā, lower knowledge, i, pp. lxxx, lxxxi, lxxxiv, cix, cxvi; ii, 19.
- aparokshatva, immediate presentation, i, 6 n.
- apavāda, sublation, ii, 197.
- apahatapāpmatva, i, p. lxxxiv.
- apahatapāpman, free from all evil, i, p. lxii.
- apāna, the descending vital air, i, 342; ii, 86, 89.
- apūrva, supersensuous principle, i, p. lxxv; ii, 109, 110 n., 181, 182, 183, 347 n.
- apratismākhyaivirodha, cessation not dependent on a sublative act of the mind, i, 412.
- abhāvamātra, of a merely negative character, i, 410.
- abhiḡamana, approach to the temple, i, 440.
- abhiḡvalana, kindling, i, 403.
- abhidhāyaka, i, 204 n.
- abhimimāna, i, 143, 153.
- abhyudaya, exaltation, i, p. lxxvi; ii, 233.
- amānava, not a man, ii, 388, 388 n.
- ayana, ii, 250, 250 n., 251, 314.
- ayutasiddha, incapable of separate existence, i, 396, 397.
- ayutasiddhatva, i, 396.
- ayutasiddhi, i, 395.
- artha, an object of desire, i, 377 n.
- arthadhihetu, i, 204 n.
- arthavattva, i, p. lxxi.
- arthavāda, glorifying passage, i, p. lxxv, 218, 220 seqq.; ii, 212 n., 213 n., 227, 235, 246, 246 n., 251, 254, 255, 261, 264, 286, 290, 299 n., 310, 311, 312.
- alpaśruti, i, p. xlii.
- avakāśbedavāda, the doctrine that the soul is the highest Self in so far as limited by its adjuncts, i, pp. lviii, xcvi.
- avabhāsa, consciousness, i, 418 n.
- avasthiti, permanent abiding, i, p. c.
- avāntaraprakṛiti, i, 256 n.
- avidyā, Nescience, i, pp. lxxix, xcvi, xcvi, 6, 357 n., 393 n.; ii, 48, 83 n., 102.
- ignorance as to Brahman, i, p. cxv.
- avidvān, destitute of knowledge of Brahman, i, pp. lxxix, lxxxii.
- avibhāga, non-separation, i, p. lxxxiv.
- avimukta, the non-released soul, i, 153.
- avimoksha, i, 316.
- avivākya, ii, 261.
- aveshi, an offering mentioned under the heading of the rāgasūya-sacrifice, ii, 266.
- avyakta, unevolved (matter), i, p. xxviii.
- the Undeveloped, i, p. xxxix, 237-242, 238 n., 245, 252.
- avyākṛita, the Undeveloped, i, p. cxix.
- aranāyā, hunger, i, 59.
- arvakarma, horse-ear, a certain plant, i, 261 n.
- arvamedha, horse sacrifice, ii, 305 n.
- asamyagdarśin, a person who has not risen to perfect knowledge, i, p. cxiii.
- asat, that which is not, non-existent, i, 333 n. See also General Index.
- asatkāryavādin, i, 334, 339.
- astikāya, category, i, 429.
- ahaṅkartri, principle of egoity, i, 34.
- ahaṅkāra, the principle of egoity, i, p. xxiii, 364 n., 376 n., 440, 441; ii, 81.
- aham, secret name of Brahman, ii, 216 seq., 246.
- ahampratyaya, self-consciousness, ii, 52.
- ahar, secret name of Brahman, ii, 216 seq., 246.
- ākāṅkshā, a desire of complementation, ii, 279 n.
- ākāśa, ether, or space, i, 81-84, 175, 232, 243, 412, 429; ii, 3 n., 6.
- ākṛiti, i, 202 n.
- ākāra, conduct, ii, 119.
- religious duty, ii, 121.
- ātmakhyātivādin, i, 4 n.
- ātman ānandamaya, the Self consisting of bliss, i, p. lxix seq.
- purushavidha, the Self in the shape of a person, i, p. cv seq.

- âtman prânamaya, i, p. lxix seq.  
 — vaivânara, i, p. xxxv.  
 âtmânusmarana, consciousness of personal identity, ii, 148.  
 âditya, sun, ii, 244.  
 âdravana, the rushing on, i, 225.  
 ânanda, bliss, i, 74.  
 ânandamaya, consisting of bliss, i, pp. xxxiii, xlii, lxix seq., 66-71.  
 — its true meaning, i, 71-76.  
 — kosa, involucre of delight, ii, 203.  
 âbhâsa, reflection, i, pp. lviii, xcvi.  
 — = hetvâbhâsa, a fallacious argument, i, pp. lviii seq., xcvi.  
 âyurveda, medicine, ii, 152.  
 ârabdhakârya, works which have begun to produce their effects, i, p. lxxvii.  
 ârtâb, Rîgvedins, ii, 228.  
 âlambanapratyaya, the substantial cause, i, 409 n.  
 âlayavigñâna, internal cognition, i, 426 seq., 426 n.  
 âlayavigñâna-pravâha, the train of self-cognitions, i, 403.  
 âvaranâbhâva, absence of any covering, i, 412 n.  
 âvirbhâva, i, p. xxxvi.  
 âvirbhûtasvarûpa, i, 185 n.  
 âsrama, stage of life, ii, 300-303, 306 seq., 309, 315 seq., 317, 324 seq.  
 âsramakarmâni, duties of the four stages of life, i, p. lxxv.  
 âsra, the issuing outward, i, 428, 428 n.  
 igyâ, oblation, i, 440.  
 itara, the other one, i.e. the individual soul, i, p. xcvi.  
 iti, so, ii, 167, 169, 344.  
 indriya, sense-organ, ii, 94.  
 iva, i, p. cxx seq.  
 ishri, sacrificial oblation, ii, 108-110, 259, 353 n.  
 îva, Lord, i, 122.  
 îvara, the Lords, i, 213.  
 — divine being, i, 307.  
 utkrânti, departure (of the soul from the body), i, p. lxxxi.  
 udanyâ, thirst, i, 59.  
 udâna, the ascending function of the chief vital air, ii, 86, 89 seq.  
 udgîtha. See General Index.  
 udgîtha-vidyâ. See General Index.  
 udbhid, name of a sacrifice, i, 261, 261 n.  
 upakurvâna, a Brahmatârin for a certain time only, not for life, ii, 318 seq.  
 upanishad, secret name, ii, 216.  
 upanyâsa, reference to something known, ii, 409 n.  
 uparati, discontinuance of religious ceremonies, i, 12 n.  
 upalabdhi, perception, ii, 57.  
 upalabdhi, the perceiving person, i, 413.  
 — perceiving principle, ii, 57.  
 upasad, ii, 239 seq.  
 upasthâna, ii, 252.  
 upâdâna, the material cause of the world, i, pp. xxv, xciii, xciv.  
 — activity, i, 405 n.  
 — procuring of things to be offered, i, 440.  
 upâdhi, limiting adjunct, i, pp. xxvi, lvii, lxii, lxiv, xcv, cxxi; ii, 153.  
 upâsanâ and upâsana, devout meditation, i, pp. lxxviii, xciv, 22; ii, 203 n., 253 n.  
 ubhayalingatva, i, pp. lxiii, lxiv.  
 ūrdhvaretas, ascetic, i, p. lxxv seq.  
 ekatva, unity, ii, 197.  
 evam, so, ii, 167.  
 omkâra, the syllable Om, i, p. lxxviii; ii, 194, 196-199, 283.  
 airvarya, lordly power, i, p. lxxxiv, 130.  
 audâśīnya, non-activity, ii, 69 n.  
 ka, pleasure, i, 126 seq.  
 kapila, i, 292 n.  
 karmakānda. See General Index.  
 karman, work, action, i, p. lxxi, 270, 357 n., 390 n.; ii, 83 n., 102, 103, 105, 121.  
 — motion, i, 387.  
 karmabheda, ii, 166 n.  
 karmāṅga, ii, 120 n.  
 karmāśaya, aggregate of works, ii, 113.  
 kâma, desire, ii, 83 n.  
 — desire, lovely thing, ii, 134.  
 — wish, for satyakâma, ii, 247.

kāranāvasthā, causal condition, i, p. xxix.  
 kārifreshī, a sacrifice offered to bring about rain, ii, 118, 118 n.  
 kāryam brahma, effected Brahman, i, p. lxxxii.  
 kāryāvasthā, condition of an effect, i, p. xxix.  
 kārshāpana, ii, 178.  
 kuṣā, small wooden rod, ii, 225, 227 seq., 227 n.  
 kūṣastha, absolutely changeless, i, 327.  
 kūṣasthanitya, eternal without undergoing any changes, i, 28.  
 kaivalya = sampatti, i, p. lxxxv.  
 kratu, determination, i, 107.  
 kratvartha, subordinate to action, i, p. lxxv, 291 n.  
 kshanikatva, momentariness, i, 403 n.  
 kshetragṇa, individual soul, i, 122 ; ii, 83.  
 kha, ether, i, 126 seq.  
 khadira, ii, 313.  
 gana, troop, i, p. lxxxiii.  
 guna, the three constituent elements of the pradhāna, i, 46, 48 seq., 364 n.  
 — the three qualities (Sāṅkhya), i, 254, 353.  
 — quality, i, 336 n., 390.  
 — secondary matter, ii, 187.  
 gunavāda, a statement of a quality, i, 221 ; ii, 112, 261, 299, 299 n.  
 gunavidhi, enjoining some secondary matter, i, 108 n. ; ii, 279.  
 godohana, a certain sacrificial vessel, ii, 253, 253 n., 255 seq., 284, 321, 347, 347 n.  
 gaunyasambhavāt, ii, 77.  
 graha, seizers, i. e. senses and organs, i, p. cxi seq., 239 ; ii, 79, 83, 369.  
 ghana = saṅghāta, i, 173.  
 — = mūrta, shape, i, 173 n.  
 kāmāsa, a sacrificial vessel, ii, 253 n., 347 n.  
 kāraṇa, conduct, ii, 114, 119 seq.  
 — 'remainder of works,' ii, 120 seq.  
 — 'good and evil works,' ii, 121.  
 karitra, conduct, ii, 119.  
 kit, intelligence, i, 3 n.

kitta, mind, thought, i, 402 ; ii, 48, 81.  
 kaitanya, pure intelligence, i, pp. xxiv, liv, lxxxiv.  
 — consciousness, ii, 269.  
 kaitta, mental, i, 402.  
 gagadvyâpâra, world-business, i, p. xxxix.  
 gana, i, 261 n.  
 garâ, decay, i, 405 n.  
 gâti, species, i, 405 n.  
 gîva, individual soul, i, p. xxxii and often.  
 — intelligent principle, i, 53.  
 gîvaghana, of the shape of the individual soul, i, 173.  
 gîvapura, city of the individual soul, i, 178.  
 gîvâtman, the living Self, i, p. cxxii, 62 n., 233 ; ii, 96, 140.  
 — the object of self-consciousness, i, 37.  
 guhî, sacrificial ladle, ii, 253, 253 n., 254, 256, 287 n.  
 gṇa, intelligent, intelligence, i, pp. liv, xcvi.  
 — individual soul, i, 122.  
 gṇâtri, knowing agent, i, pp. lv, lvii.  
 gṇâna, pure intelligence or thought, i, pp. xxv, lxv.  
 — knowledge, i, pp. lv, cxiv.  
 gyotishroma. See gyotis.  
 gyotis, light, also = gyotishroma, a certain sacrificial performance, i, pp. xxxviii, xlv, 54 seq., 57, 87, 88-93 ; ii, 185, 185 n.  
 taggalân, i, 108 ; ii, 21.  
 tat tvam asi, that art thou, i, p. lxxxiv.  
 tattva, category, i, 428.  
 tâdâtmya, identity, i, 436.  
 titikshâ, patience in suffering, i, 12 n.  
 trishnâ, desire, i, 405 n.  
 tegas, elementary fire, heat, i, 255 ; ii, 368.  
 tegomâtrâb, parts of light, ii, 102.  
 tyat, that, ii, 25, 167.  
 trasarenu, a combination of three atoms, lit. a speck of dust, ii, 41 n., 392 n.  
 tritva, the being three, i, 384 n.  
 dakshinâyana, southern progress of the sun, i, p. lxxxii.

- Datta for Devadatta, ii, 248.  
 dama, self-restraint, i, 12 n.  
 darsapūrnāmāsa, the full and new moon sacrifice, ii, 255, 275, 287 n., 309, 309 n., 313, 324.  
 daharavidyā. See General Index.  
 dir, place, ii, 14.  
 dubkha, pain, i, 405 n.  
 durmanas, mental affliction, i, 405 n.  
 devayāna, path of the gods, i, p. cvii.  
 dehin, the embodied Self, the individual soul, i, 33.  
 dravya, substance, ii, 15 n.  
 dvitva, the being two, i, 384 n.  
 dharma, religious duty, i, 26, 299, 300.  
 — merit, i, 429.  
 — qualifying particulars, ii, 186.  
 dhū, to shake, ii, 228 seq.  
 dhvani, tone, i, 208.  
 nāśī, vein. See General Index.  
 nāmarūpavyākaraṇa, evolution of names and forms, i, p. lix.  
 Nāśī, i, 153.  
 nitya, permanent, i, p. lxxviii.  
 nityatā, permanency, ii, 312 n.  
 nityānuvāda, ii, 216.  
 nididhyāsā, mental concentration, i, 297 n.  
 nimitta, operative cause, i, p. xl, 331 n.  
 niyogabhedā, ii, 166 n.  
 nirguṇa, non-qualified, i, pp. xxxiii, cxvi, cxxiv.  
 nirguṇam brahma, i, pp. xxx, lxxi, lxxii.  
 nirgara, destruction, i, 428, 428 n.  
 nirviśeṣatva, absence of distinctive attributes, i, p. lxi.  
 neti neti, 'not so, not so,' i, pp. lxiii, lxiv.  
 naimittika, i, 331 n.  
 naishṭhika, a Brahma-tārin for life, ii, 318 seq.  
 pañtāganāb, five-people, i, p. xl, 257-262, 258 n.  
 pañtāpūli, one bundle made of five bundles, i, 259.  
 pañtāgnividya, knowledge of the five fires, i, pp. lxxxiii, cviii; ii, 187.  
 pad, to go, ii, 393.  
 para, higher, highest, i, 173.  
 paramārthadr̥śhi, intuition, ii, 37 n.  
 param brahma, higher Brahman, i, pp. xxx, xxxiii n.  
 parāgrūpatva, externality, i, 130.  
 parā vidyā, highest knowledge, i, pp. lxxxiii, cix, cx, cxvi.  
 parināma, change, modification, i, pp. xxix, xl, xcv, cxviii, 393 n.  
 parināmavāda, i, p. xcv.  
 parizāminitya, eternal, although changing, i, 28.  
 parimandala, spherical, i, 382 n.  
 parivedana, lament, i, 405 n.  
 parnamayitva, the quality of being made of parna-wood, ii, 253 n.  
 pāṇḍitya, learning, i, p. lxxvi; ii, 322, 323.  
 pāramārthika, real, i, p. lxxiii; ii, 133.  
 pāriplava, recitation of certain stories at stated intervals during the year occupied by the aśvamedha sacrifice, ii, 305 seq., 305 n.  
 pārivrāgya, the state of the wandering mendicant, ii, 302.  
 pudgala, body, i, 429.  
 — atom (Gaiṇa), i, 431.  
 purijaya, dwelling in the city, i, 172, 178.  
 puritāt, pericardium, ii, 144.  
 puruṣa, the Person, i, pp. cxix, cxxiii seq., 298; ii, 205.  
 — purijaya, the person dwelling in the castle (of the body), i, 172, 178.  
 — soul, i, 36; ii, 167, 169.  
 — individual soul (in the Sāṅkhyasense), i, pp. xl, xlvi, 45, 238 n., 370.  
 puruṣhayagña, man-sacrifice, ii, 220.  
 puruṣhārtha, beneficial to man (soul), i, 291 n.; ii, 120 n.  
 puroḍāsa, cake, ii, 240, 259.  
 pūrva-pakṣa, the prima facie view, i, 22, 316 and often.  
 prīthagbhūta, separate, i, p. lxxxiv.  
 prakaraṇa, subject-matter, i, 68 n., 166, 256 n.; ii, 253 n., 254, 260-264.  
 prakāra, mode, i, pp. xxviii, liii, lxiv.  
 prakāra, luminousness, i, p. lxv.  
 prakāsarūpatā, i, p. lxiii.  
 prakṛiti, i, p. lxxxiii, 329.  
 — = pradhāna of the Sāṅkhyas, i, p. xciii, 16 n., 238 n., 253.  
 prakṛitaitāvattva, i, pp. lxiv, xcvi.



- prakāya, accumulation, i, 384 n.  
 pragñā, intelligence, i, 100, 103, 105.  
 pragātman, the intelligent Self, i, 97.  
 pranava, the syllable Om, ii, 282, 282 n.  
 pratibimbavāda, the doctrine that the soul is a reflection of the Self in the buddhi, i, pp. lviii, xcvi seq.  
 pratisamkhyāvirodha, cessation dependent on a sublative act of the mind, i, 412.  
 pratika, symbol, i, pp. lxxvii, lxxxii, lxxxiii, 147 n.  
 pratikopāsana, meditation in which Brahman is viewed under a symbol, i, p. lxxvii.  
 pratyaksha, intuition, i, 266.  
 pratyagātman, the interior Self, i, 5 n., 32; ii, 335.  
 pratyakṣa, internal, i, 133.  
 prathamagatva, i, p. lxxxiii.  
 pradesa, part, i, 388.  
 pradhāna, principal element, i, pp. lxiii, xcvi; ii, 278.  
 — as a Sāṅkhya term. See General Index.  
 prapañcaviśiṣṭatā, the quality of being differentiated by the world, i, p. lxv.  
 prabalakarmāntara, another very strong work, i, p. lxxvi.  
 pramāṇa, means of proof, i, p. xli.  
 pramātri, knowing subject, i, 418 n.  
 prayāga, five offerings made to the fuel, &c., ii, 255, 274, 274 n., 275, 287, 313, 331.  
 prayogana, final end, i, 38.  
 pralaya. See General Index.  
 pravṛttivigñāna, quasi-external cognition, i, 426 n., 427.  
 pravṛgīn, mendicant, i, p. lxxv.  
 prastāva, i, 84, 86, 87; ii, 254.  
 prākūrya, abundance, i, 77.  
 prāgñā, intelligent, i, 60, 234.  
 — (ātman), the highest Self, i, 192 seqq., 195; ii, 45, 134, 138, 141, 144.  
 prāṇa, vital air, a generic name denoting the sense-organs, and the manas, i, p. lix, 261, 269 seqq.; ii, 65 n., 94, 96. See also Prāṇas in the General Index.  
 prāṇa, (chief) vital air, breath, i, p. lxxix, 84-87, 97-106, 162 seqq., 172, 229-231. See also General Index.  
 — the forward-function of the chief vital air, i, 342; ii, 86, 89.  
 — air, i, 229.  
 prāṇabhṛt, individual soul, i, 158.  
 prāṇamaya (ātman), ii, p. lxix seq.  
 prāṇa-vidyā, i, p. lxxviii; ii, 200 seq., 212.  
 prāṇasarīratva, i, p. lxxvii.  
 prāṇasamvāda, the colloquy of the vital airs, i, p. lxx.  
 prādesamātra, measured by a span, i, 151.  
 priyasirastva, i, p. lxix.  
 bandha, bondage, i, 428.  
 bahutva, plurality, i, 384 n.  
 bālya, childlike state, i, p. lxxvi; ii, 322, 323, 325 seq.  
 bāhyārthavādin, i, p. li.  
 buddhi, intelligence, i, p. lv seqq., 239 seq.; ii, 27, 42-48, 50, 51, 56, 57, 65, 65 n., 81, 178, 336, 402.  
 — mind, i, 104, 118 seqq., 418.  
 — the apprehending agent, i, 206, 209, 210.  
 — ‘the great one’ (technical Sāṅkhya term), i, 238 n.  
 — internal organ, i, 331.  
 — the generic name for buddhi, ahankāra, and manas, i, 376 n.  
 bodha, thought, intelligence, ii, 160.  
 brahma bhrāntam, i, p. cxxii.  
 brahma māyopādḥikam, i, p. cxxii.  
 brahmaṭārya, ii, 307.  
 brahmapura, city of Brahman, i, 178.  
 brahmaloka, world of Brahman, i, 180.  
 brahmavidyā, knowledge of Brahman, i, pp. xxxvii, lxx, 216 seq.  
 brahmasamsthā, grounded on Brahman, ii, 296, 300, 301.  
 brahmasamsthatā, ii, 299 n.  
 bhakti, figurative identification, ii, 7.  
 bhagavat, holy, i, 440.  
 Bhāmanī, name of the Lord, i, 125.  
 Bhāmā for Satyabhāmā, ii, 248.  
 bhārūpatva, i, p. lxxvii.  
 bhāva, being, individual soul, ii, 30 n.  
 bhāvanā, ii, 69 n.  
 bhāvavikārāḥ, six forms of existence, i, 16 n.

bhûta, element, i, 402.  
— beings, moving and non-moving things, ii, 63.  
bhûtasûkshma, subtle material elements, i, p. lix.  
bhûman. See General Index.  
bheda, individual existences, i, p. xxv.  
bhedâbhedavâda, i, 277 n.  
bhoga, fruition, i, p. lxxviii.  
bhautika, elementary, i, 402.

madhu-vidyâ, 'knowledge of the (sun as) honey,' i, 216 seq.; ii, 233.

manana, thinking, ii, 323.

manas, internal organ, mind, i, pp. xxiii, xxvi, li, lxxix, cxxi, 175, 239, 376 n., 398 n., 440; ii, 14, 16, 27, 33, 48, 65 n., 69, 81, 82, 84, 89, 90, 260, 336, 411, 413 seq., 415.

mano-buddhi, mind, i, 113, 277.

manomaya, consisting of mind, i, 111.

manomayatva, i, p. lxvii.

-maya, the affix, 'abounding in,' i, 67.

maranam, death, i, 405 n.

mahat, great, i, 252.

— the great principle (of the Sâṅkhyas), i, 252, 364 n., 370.

— big, i, 384 n.

mahattva, bigness, i, 383, 384 n.

mahâpitriyagña, ii, 299.

mahâpralaya, general annihilation of the world, i, 212 seq.; ii, 238.

mâtrâ, the elements and the sense organs, i, 281.

mâna, knowledge, i, 418 n.

mânava, human being, ii, 388 n.

mânasa, mental, ii, 260, 266 seq.

mâyâ, illusion, i, pp. lx, xcvi seq., 243, 256 n., 329, 371; ii, 133, 134.

— wonderful nature (Râmânuga), i, p. lxi.

— creative power, i, p. cxvii n.

mâyâvâda, theory of illusion, i, p. xcvi.

mâyâvâdin, i, p. cxx.

mukti, final release, i, pp. lxxv, lxxvii, lxxxix.

mukhya prâṇa, the chief vital air, i, p. lix; ii, 79, 84, 93 seq., 95.

muni, derived from manana, 'thinking,' ii, 323.

muni. See General Index.

muhūrta, moment, ii, 136.

mūrta rūpa, i, p. cxx.

mūrti, solid size, i, 394.

moksha, final release, i, 27, 28, 283, 428; ii, 58.

mauna, muni-ship, i, p. lxxvi; ii, 322 n., 323.

yagamâna, sacrificer, i, p. lxxvi.

yâgyâ, ii, 259, 259 n.

yâvatsampâtam, ii, 112, 113.

yûpa, a wooden post, i, 261, 261 n.

yoga, devout meditation, i, 440.

yoni, source, i, 136, 288.

— place, i, 288.

— womb, ii, 132.

yaugika, etymological (meaning), i, 261 n.

ragas = avidyâ, i, 123 n.

râkshasa = rakshas, i, 150.

rûdhi, conventional meaning, i, 256 n., 261 n.

rûpa, form, ii, 185.

rûpaskandha, the group of sensation, i, 402, 402 n.

rûpopanyâsat, i, 142 n.

lakshana, indication, i, 258 n., 261 n.; ii, 127.

— implication, ii, 348.

laya, merging, i, p. lxxix.

lînga, indicatory or inferential mark, i, p. lxxv, 68 n., 196 n., 225 n.; ii, 224, 260, 261, 263, 264.

lîngâtman, the subtle Self, ii, 169.

lokâyatika, materialist, ii, 269.

Varanâ, 'that which wards off,' i, 153.

vasitva, i, p. lxxiii.

vâkya, syntactical unity, i, 196 n.; ii, 221, 224, 263, 287, 287 n.

vâkyabhedâ, split of the sentence, i, 108 n., 177 n.; ii, 279 n.

vâṭaka, i, 204 n.

vâmani, leader of blessings, i, 125; ii, 400.

vâyasa = vayas, i, 150.

vâsanâ, mental impression, i, 420 n.; ii, 56, 141.

vikalpa, optional procedure, ii, 228.

vikâra, modification, i, p. cxviii.

vikâra, expansion, i, pp. xxix, liii.

vikriti, ii, 309, 309 n.

- vigara, free from old age, i, p. lxii.  
 vigñāna, individual soul, i, p. lvi.  
 — knowledge (Baudha), i, 404 n.  
 — cognition, idea, i, 418.  
 — knowledge, internal organ, ii, 48, 82.  
 vigñānakosa, i, 66.  
 vigñānamaya, he who consists of knowledge, i, p. xxxviii, 273; ii, 33.  
 vigñānavādin, an idealist, i, p. li, 401, 418 n.  
 vigñānaskandha, the group of knowledge, i, 402, 402 n., 426 n.  
 vigñānātman, cognitional Self, soul, i, 70, 120, 124, 174, 329.  
 vidyā, knowledge, cognition, meditation, i, pp. lxvii-lxxvi, 6, 152; ii, 101, 187-284, 355, 378.  
 vidyāmāhātmya, i, p. lxxi.  
 vidyāvaidhi, ii, 279.  
 vidvān, he who knows, i, pp. lxxvii-lxxxiv.  
 vidhi, the establishing of something not yet known, ii, 408 seq. n.  
 vidhriti, a liminary support, i, 181.  
 vimṛityu, free from death, i, p. lxii.  
 vivakṣhita, desired to be expressed, i, 110 n.  
 vivarta, illusory manifestation of Brahman, i, pp. xcv, xcvi.  
 vivartavāda, i, p. xcv.  
 viśiṣṭa advaita, qualified non-duality, i, p. xxx.  
 viśeṣana, specification, ii, 197.  
 virvānara, i, 150.  
 vṛitti, function, ii, 84.  
 vedanā, feeling, i, 405 n.  
 vedanāskandha, the group of feeling, i, 402, 402 n.  
 vedi, a levelled spot, i, 261; ii, 252.  
 vairāgya, absence of all desire, ii, 102.  
 vailakṣhanya, difference of character, i, 308 n.  
 vyakta, developed, manifested, i, 242, 245.  
 vyapadeśa, expression of something known without reference to a vidhi, ii, 408 seq. n.  
 vyavahāra, the phenomenal world, i, p. xxvi, 326 n.  
 vyavahārāpekṣayā, with a view to the world of appearances, i, pp. lxxxiv, xc.  
 vyākriyāta, it became developed, i, 268.  
 vyāna, the cause of works of strength, ii, 86, 89 seq.  
 vyāpin, all-pervading, i, p. liv, 111 n.  
 vyūha, the four forms of Vāsudeva, i, p. xxiii, 440.  
 vyoman, ether, i, 84.  
 yakti, potentiality, i, 214.  
 — power, i, 329.  
 jabda, word, i, p. xxxvii, 196 n., 201.  
 jadbāntaram, difference of terms, ii, 166 n.  
 jama, tranquillity, i, 12 n.  
 jarvari, 'night' = earth, ii, 24.  
 jārīra, embodied, i, p. xcvi, 111.  
 jishṭa, honourable man, ii, 320.  
 jīla, conduct, ii, 119, 119 n.  
 juk, grief, i, 225.  
 sūnyavāda, hypothesis of a general void, ii, 14.  
 sūnyavādin, a nihilist, i, 401.  
 roka, grief, i, 405 n.  
 śaddhā, faith, also explained as water, ii, 12 n., 103, 106-108, 109 n., 110 n.  
 śruti, direct enunciation, i, 196 n.; ii, 262.  
 shadāyatana, the abode of the six (senses), i, 405 n.  
 shodasin, i, 351.  
 samyagdarśana, complete intuition, perfect knowledge, i, p. lxxvii, 172 n.; ii, 101.  
 samyag-vigñāna, perfect knowledge, ii, 12.  
 Samyadvāma, a name of the Lord, i, 125, 128, 130.  
 samyoga, conjunction, i, pp. lxxix, lxxx, 335 seq., 336 n., 385, 390, 396 seq., 436; ii, 128 n.  
 samrādhana, worship, i, p. lxxv.  
 samvara, restraint, i, 428, 428 n.  
 samvargavidyā, i, 224-226.  
 samvid svayamprabhā, the self-luminous principle of thought, i, p. xcii.  
 samśleṣa, intimate connexion, i, 399.  
 saṁsāra. See General Index.

- samsârin, the transmigrating soul, i, 51, 66.  
 samskâra, ceremonial purification, i, 33; ii, 120 n., 286, 286 n., 287 n., 347 n.  
 — impression, affection (Buddha), i, 404 n.  
 samskâraskandha, the group of impressions, i, 402, 402 n.  
 samskrîta, produced, i, 410.  
 samsthânavishesha, special arrangement, i, p. lxxv.  
 saguṇa, qualified, i, pp. xxxiii, lxxxii, ci, cxvi, 330.  
 saguṇam brahma, the qualified (lower) Brahman, i, pp. xxx, lxxvii, lxxi, lxxii.  
 saguṇa-vidyâ, qualified knowledge, i, pp. lxxii, lxxvi.  
 saṅkalpa, determination, wish, i, p. lxxxv; ii, 139.  
 saṅkoṭa, contraction or non-manifestation (of intelligence), i, pp. xxix, liii seq.  
 saṅghâta = ghana, i, 173.  
 sak-kid-ânanda, i, p. xcii.  
 samgñâskandha, the group of verbal knowledge, i, 402, 402 n.  
 sat. See General Index.  
 sattâ, the quality of being, i, 63 n., 306.  
 — essentiality, ii, 16 n.  
 sattva, goodness, i, 49 n.  
 — internal organ, i, 122 seq., 161.  
 — being, that which is, i, 333.  
 sattva-guṇa, the quality of goodness, i, 379.  
 satyakâma, having true wishes, i, pp. lxiii, lxxiii; ii, 247, 400.  
 satyakâmatva, i, p. lxxiii.  
 satyabhedavâda, i, 278 n.  
 satyaloka, the world of the True, i, 181.  
 satyasamkalpa, of truthful conception, i, pp. lxiii, lxxxv.  
 satyasamkalpatva, truthfulness of conception, i, pp. lxxvii, lxxxiv.  
 samnyâsa, ii, 222.  
 samnyâsin, an ascetic, a man in the fourth stage of life, ii, 322-324, 325, 326.  
 sanmâtṛa, 'only that which is,' i, p. lxiv.  
 saptabhaṅginaya, i, 429.  
 samanantarapratyaya, the immediate cause (Buddha), i, 409 n.  
 samavâya, inherence, i, 335 seq., 335 n., 336 n., 341, 389 seq., 396 seq.  
 samâdhâna, concentration of the mind, i, 12 n.  
 samâdhi, meditation, ii, 52.  
 samâna, the function of the chief vital air which conveys food equally through all the limbs of the body, ii, 86, 89 seq.  
 sampatti, combination, i, p. lxxix; ii, 209.  
 — = maraṇam, dying, i, p. lxxxv.  
 — = kaivalya, i, p. lxxxv.  
 sampâta, aggregate of works, ii, 113.  
 samprasâda, serene being, i, p. xxxvi.  
 — bliss, i, 164.  
 sarvagata, omnipresent, i, p. liv.  
 sarvavaritva, i, p. lxxvii.  
 sarvâstitvavâdin, realist, i, p. li, 401.  
 saviresha, distinguished by qualities, i, 74, 76, 78 n.  
 savireshatva, presence of distinctive attributes, i, p. lxi.  
 sahakâripratyaya, the auxiliary cause (Buddha), i, 409 n.  
 sâkshât-kâra, intuition, i, p. lxxv, 18 n., 300.  
 sâkshin, a witnessing principle, i, 49, 150.  
 sâmanâdhikaranyâ, co-ordination, ii, 196 n.  
 siddhânta, the final conclusion, i, pp. liv, lvi, 316; ii, 392.  
 sushupti, deep sleep, i, p. lxxxv.  
 sushumnâ, the vein passing through the crown of the head, i, pp. lxxxii, cvii, cix, cx.  
 sūkshmarîra, the subtle body, i, p. xxxix.  
 sūtrâtman, the lower Brahman, i, p. lxix, 172 n.  
 sṛishṭikrama, the order of creation, ii, 23.  
 setu, bridge, i, 156.  
 — bank, ii, 175.  
 skandha, group, i, 402 seq.  
 stuti, glorification, i, p. lxxv.  
 sparśa, touch, i, 405 n.  
 sphoṛa, manifestor, i, p. xxxvii, 204 seq., 204 n., 209, 210.  
 syâdvâda, sceptical doctrine, i, 431.  
 svapiti, to sleep, i, 59.  
 svabhâva, nature, i, 357 n.

- 
- svayamprakāśa, self-luminous, i, 5 n.  
 svāra, accent, i, p. lxxiv.  
 svarūpa, true nature, i, 186.  
 svarūpānyathābhāva, change of essential nature, i, p. liv.  
 svarga, heaven, ii, 405.  
 svargaloka, heavenly world, i, pp. cviii, cx.  
 svādhyāya, recitation, i, 440.  
 svāpyaya = sushupti, deep sleep, i, p. lxxxv.  
 hiraṇyagarbha. See General Index.  
 hṛdaya, heart, i, 59.  
 hetvābhāsa, fallacious argument, i, p. xcviil.

# GENERAL INDEX

TO

## VOLUMES XXXIV (i) AND XXXVIII (ii).

- Abhipratârin. See Kaitraratha.
- Accents, udâtta, anudâtta, svarita, depend on the tone, Part i, page 208.
- Action, five classes of, and five organs of, ii, 81.
- Actions (karman): birth, a. and death, i, p. xxvii.
- there is no confusion of a., or fruits of a., because there is no extension of the acting and enjoying Self, ii, 68.
  - the soul takes with itself the results of good and evil a., when leaving the body, ii, 102.
  - some single a. are the causes of more than one new existence, ii, 118.
  - not the fruits of all a. are brought about by death, the fruits of some a. being enjoyed in this life already, ii, 118, 119.
  - the fruits of, according to Gaimini, are brought about by the a. themselves, ii, 182.
  - see also Works.
- Adhikarâṇas, 'heads of discussion,' i, p. xxxi.
- Adhvaryu priest, ii, 240.
- Āditya, the sun, i, 216, 217.
- the ideas of Ā. &c. are to be superimposed on the members of the sacrificial action, i, p. lxxvii; ii, 345-349.
  - is Ā. to be meditated upon as Brahman, or Brahman as Ā.? ii, 342-345.
  - the reaching of Ā. constitutes the fruit of certain works, ii, 347.
  - Vāyu comes before Ā. (on the path of the gods), ii, 385.
- Ādityas, class of gods, i, 202, 216.
- Adṛishṭa. See Unseen principle.
- Advaita, non-duality or monism taught both by Śaṅkara and Rāmānuga, i, p. xxx.
- Agā does not mean pradhāna, i, p. xxxix, 252-257.
- the elements beginning with light are meant by, i, 254 seq.
  - denotes the causal matter metaphorically, i, 256 seq.
- Agātasatru, i, p. cv.
- dialogue of Bālāki and A., i, 268-274.
- Agent, every action requires an, i, 337 seqq.
- Aggregate, the seventeenfold, ii, 65, 65 note.
- Aggregates, the dyad of, assumed by the Bauddhas with its two causes, cannot be established, i, 400-409.
- the Gaina doctrine that a. are formed from the atoms, i, 430 seq.
- Agni, the eater of food, i, 116, 117.
- the highest Self, from the etymology agni = agraṇī, i, 150.
  - offers to Agni, i, 215.
  - fire, i, 217.
  - having become speech entered the mouth, ii, 91 seq.
  - speech enters into, at the time of death, ii, 105 seq.
  - and the man in the sun are not equal, though the term 'death' is applied to both, ii, 267.
  - means light, when mentioned on the path of the gods, ii, 385.
  - Vairvānara. See Vairvānara.
  - see also Fire.

Agnihotra, ii, 191.

— the permanent obligation of the, ii, 296, 296 n., 297.

— a text relating to the, which forms part of the mahāpitri-yagña, ii, 299 seq.

— offered to the prāṇas, ii, 249–252.

— offered during a whole month at the ayana of the Kunda-pâyins, ii, 250 n., 251, 314.

— transference of the fire from the Gârhapatya-fire to the two other fires, at the, ii, 251.

— the details of the fundamental A. are not valid for the Prânâgni-hotra, ii, 251 seq.

— the imaginary A. consisting of speech and breath, ii, 263.

— the A. and other works of permanent obligation enjoined by the Veda, tend towards the same effect as knowledge, i, p. lxxviii; ii, 358–360.

— and similar works are either connected with a special knowledge based on the constituent members of the sacrifice, or not, ii, 360 seq.

Agnirahasya, i, p. lxxiv.

— the Sândilya-vidyâ part of the, ii, 214, 216.

— of the Vâgasaneyins, ii, 260.

Agnishomau, a he-goat sacrificed to, ii, 274, 274 n.

Air, springs from ether, i, p. lii; ii, 18 seq.

— is it 'the abode of heaven, earth, and so on'? i, 154, 158.

— in the a., when it manifests itself in the form of Parganya, lightning, thunder, rain, and thunderbolts manifest themselves, i, 229.

— with its five forms, i, 229.

— is founded on space (ether), i, 413.

— origination of, ii, 3, 18 seq.

— is a product, ii, 18 seq.

— fire is produced from, ii, 20–22.

— fire is dissolved into, ii, 26.

— is dissolved into Ether, ii, 26.

— passing into the adhyâtma-state, dividing itself fivefold and thus abiding in a specialised condition is called prāṇa, ii, 87.

Âkâra. See Ether.

Akshara. See Imperishable.

Alms, less meritorious than sacrifices, i, 27.

— lead to the road of the fathers, ii, 124.

Ânandagiri mentions Dravidâkârya, i, p. xxii.

Ânandamaya. See Self consisting of bliss.

Animal sacrifice is an act of duty, as we know from Scripture, ii, 131.

— and the prohibition of doing harm to any living creature, ii, 310.

Animals and men compared, i, 7 seq.

— gods, and rîshis excluded from the study of the Veda, i, 197 n.

Aniruddha, a manifestation of the highest being, i, p. xxiii.

— a form of Vâsudeva, denotes the principle of egoity, i, 440.

— cannot spring from Pradyumna, i, 441, 442.

— taken as a Lord, i, 441 seq.

Antaryâmin brâhmana (i.e. Brîh. Up. III, 7), i, p. xxviii.

Anudâtta. See Accents.

Apântaratamas was born on this earth as Krishna Dvaipâyana, ii, 235.

— the bodily existence of A. and others who are entrusted with offices conducive to the subsistence of the worlds lasts as long as the office lasts, ii, 235–238.

Arhat = Gina, i, 430, 434.

Ârtabhâga, instructed by Yâgñaval-  
kya, i, pp. lxxx, cxii; ii, 373 seq.

Arthavâdas, i, 219 seq., 304, 348, 355.

— the corporeality of the gods appears from, i, 198, 217, 223.

— as means of knowledge, i, 218, 220 seq.

— are either anuvâda or gunavâda, i, 221.

— possess authoritative power, i, 222.

— have no authority if not connected with a corresponding injunctive passage, i, 225 n.

— have occasionally to be taken in a secondary sense, i, 318, 318 n.

- Arthavâdas, the non-return of the released soul is set forth in Mantras and A., ii, 418 seq.
- Asat (non-being, non-existent, non-entity, that which is not), the origin &c. of the world cannot proceed from it, i, 17 seq.
- the passages speaking of the A. do not intimate absolute non-existence, i, 266-268.
  - denotes 'Being' previous to the differentiation of names and forms, i, 267.
  - the term a. denotes another quality only, i, 332-334.
  - compared with 'the son of a barren woman,' i, 338 seq.
  - the cause of the world, i, 341.
  - entity does not spring from a. or non-entity, i, 415-418.
  - Brahman cannot spring from it, for the a. is without a self, ii, 20.
- Ascetic who has broken his vow of chastity, i, p. lxxvi; ii, 317-320.
- the passage enjoining a childlike state means that the a. is to live not manifesting himself, ii, 325-327.
  - see Muni.
  - see Samnyâsin.
- Ashvakâs, i, 297 n.
- Âsmarathya, i, pp. xix, xcix, 150 seq., 276 seq., 279, 280.
- Âsramas. See Stages of life.
- Asuras among the *pañcagāṇab*, i, 262.
- metres of the A., i.e. metres of less than ten syllables, ii, 228, 228 n.
- Âsuri, a Smṛiti writer, i, 291.
- Âsvapati Kaikeya, i, 227 n.; ii, 276.
- Âtharvanikas, their rite of carrying fire on the head before the study of the Veda, ii, 186, 189 seq.
- the seven libations (from the saurya libation up to the sataudana libation) are limited to the Â., ii, 189, 190.
- Atirâtra-sacrifice, Shodâsin-cup at the, i, 262 seq.; ii, 188.
- Âtman means the internal organ, ii, 81.
- see Self.
- Atomistic doctrine refuted, i, p. xlviii, 289, 317 seq., 354, 381, 394-400.
- Atoms, refutation of the Vaisesika 'tenet that the world originates from a. set in motion by the *adrishya*, i, p. 1 seq., 16, 381-400.
- conjunction of a. the material cause of the world, i, 46, 382, 382 n., 387 n.
  - conjunction cannot take place between the a., the soul, and the internal organ, because they have no parts, i, 398.
  - conjunction of the soul with the a. cannot be the cause of the motion of the a., i, 398 n.
  - during the period of each *pralaya* they are isolated and motionless, i, 382 n.
  - subsist during a certain period without producing any effect, i, 382.
  - possess the qualities of colour, &c., according as they are a. of earth, water, fire, or air, i, 382, 382 n., 386, 402.
  - are of spherical form, i, 382, 382 n.
  - the form of extension of an effect depends on the number of, not on their form of extension, i, 382 seq., 383 n.
  - cannot be divided themselves, i, 386 seq.
  - action of the a. is impossible, whether the *adrishya* is assumed to adhere in the a. or in the soul, i, 386-389.
  - Kanâda's reasons for the permanence of, i, 392 seq.
  - difficulties in the relation of the a. and the four elements, i, 393 seq.
  - may be decomposed by their passing back into the indifferenced condition of the highest cause, i, 400.
  - the cause of the aggregate of the elements and elementary things (Baudha), i, 403.
  - external things can neither be a. nor aggregates of, i, 419.
  - the Gaina doctrine that aggregates are formed from the a., refuted, i, 430 seq.



Ātreya, i, p. xix; ii, 320.

Audulomi, i, pp. xix, lxxxiv, xcix, 277 seq., 278 n., 279, 280.

— thinks that the meditations on subordinate members of the sacrifice are the work of the priest, ii, 321.

— thinks that the released soul manifests itself by the sole nature of intelligence, ii, 409 seq.

Aupanishadas or Vedāntins, i, p. xx seq.

Austerity, the path of the gods cannot be attained by faith and a., unaided by knowledge, ii, 234.

— the stage of life, in which a. is the chief thing, ii, 298.

— the term a. denotes the hermit in the woods, and not the mendicant, ii, 300 seq.

Avabhṛtha-ceremony, identification of the A. with death, ii, 221.

Avidyā. See Mâyā.

— see Nescience.

Avyakta. See Undeveloped.

Bādarāyaṇa, i, p. xi, 198, 218; ii, 182 seq., 285, 290, 297 seq., 318, 360, 402 seq., 410, 412 seq.

— and the chief distinguishing doctrines of Saṅkara and Rāmānuga, i, pp. lxxxvii-c.

— the system of B. had greater affinities with that of the Bhāgavatas and Rāmānuga than with that of Saṅkara, i, p. c.

— quotes the Bhagavadgītā as an authority, i, p. cxxvi.

Bādari, i, pp. xix, lxxxii seq., xc seq.

— on the highest Lord as 'measured by a span,' i, 151.

— on the meaning of *karana*, ii, 121.

— thinks that the souls are led to the lower Brahman, ii, 389-392, 393-402.

— asserts the absence of a body and sense-organs on the part of the released, ii, 411 seq.

Bāhva, questioned about Brahman by Vāshkalī, explained it to him by silence, ii, 157.

Bālāki and Agātaratru, dialogue of, i, 268-274.

Bauddha doctrines refuted, i, p. li, 340, 400-428.

— — three principal, i, 401.

Bauddha philosophers, i, 15 n.

— schools, their idealistic doctrine rejected, i, p. xxvi.

— sects, teach the eternal flux of everything that exists, i, 403 n.

Bauddhas deny the authoritativeness of Scripture, i, 412.

— the opinion of the B. that the Self alone begins to function in a new body, and that new sense-organs are produced in a new body, ii, 103 seq.

Beatitude, highest, not to be attained by the knowledge of the Sāṅkhya-smṛiti irrespective of the Veda, nor by the road of Yoga-practice, i, 298.

— — there is no other means of obtaining it but the knowledge of the unity of the Self which is conveyed by the Veda, i, 298.

Being. See Sat.

Bhagavadgītā, as an authority for Bādarāyaṇa, i, p. cxxvi.

— the doctrine of the Bh. a fusion of the Brahman theory of the Upanishads with the belief in a personal highest being, i, p. cxxvi.

Bhāgavatas, or Pāṇḍarātras, the fore-runners of the Rāmānugas, i, p. xxii seq.

— their views refuted according to Saṅkara, approved of according to Rāmānuga, i, p. li seq., 439-443.

— their system nearer to Bādarāyaṇa than that of Saṅkara, i, p. c.

— — and the Bhagavadgītā, i, p. cxxvi.

— — and the Mahābhārata, i, p. cxxvii.

— — contradictions in, i, 442 seq.

— the theory of the Bh. that Brahman carries within its own nature an element from which the material universe originates, i, p. cxvii.

— the doctrine of the Bh. stated, i, 440.

Bhāllavins, a mantra of the, ii, 227 seq.

Bharuḥ quoted by Rāmānuga, i, p. xxi.

Bhāshika-sūtra for the accentuation of the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa, i, 258 note.

- Bhâshyakâra, i. e. *Dramida*, i, p. xxii.  
 Bhedâbheda relation of the soul to Brahman, i, p. xix.  
 Bhîshma chooses the time of his death, ii, 380.  
 Bhrigu Vârûni, disciple of Varuna, i, 199.  
 — and other sons of Brahman's mind were again born at the sacrifice of Varuna, ii, 235.  
 Bhugyu Sâhyâyani, i, p. cv.  
 Bhûman (that which is much) is Brahman, i, p. xxxv, 162-169.  
 — is it the vital air? i, 162-168.  
 — is bliss, i, 163.  
 — is immortality, i, 163, 168.  
 — in it the ordinary activities of seeing, &c., are absent, i, 168 seq.  
 — knowledge of, ii, 412.  
 Birth, action, death, i, p. xxvii.  
 — when applied to the sprout, i, 340.  
 — the terms 'b.' and 'death,' if applied to the soul, have a metaphorical meaning, ii, 28 seq.  
 — may take place without the 'five oblations,' i. e. not in the ordinary way, ii, 125 seq.  
 Blind man who had caught hold of the ox's tail, i, 55.  
 Bliss is Brahman, i, 65, 75.  
 — of Brahman is absolutely supreme, i, 67.  
 — Brahman is the cause of b., i, 67.  
 — absolute b. the result of higher knowledge, i, 138.  
 — (Brahman as) the bhûman is b., i, 163, 168.  
 — attaches to the state of deep sleep, i, 163, 164, 168.  
 — constitutes the nature of the Self, i, 168.  
 — and other qualities ascribed to Brahman in different scriptural texts, have to be attributed to Brahman everywhere, ii, 201-204.  
 — see also Self consisting of b.  
 Bodhâyana, author of a *Vṛtti* on the Vedânta-sûtras, i, p. xxi.  
 Bodhâyana quoted by Râmânuga, i, p. xxi.  
 Body, the product of Nescience, i, 244.  
 — the Undeveloped, i, 246.  
 — is the b. the sufferer, or the soul? i, 379.  
 — the Sâṅkhya cannot admit a real connexion of the soul and the b., i, 379.  
 — consists of three elements, fire, water, and earth, ii, 104.  
 — water (liquid matter) preponderates in the b., ii, 104 seq.  
 — Brahman's secret names with reference to the Devas and to the b., ii, 216 seq.  
 — embodied soul and b. viewed as non-different, ii, 374.  
 — subtle, due to the soul's higher knowledge, not due to Karman or works, i, p. lxxi.  
 — — is beyond the soul, i, 244.  
 — — is meant by the term *avyakta*, i, 241 seq., 244.  
 — — and the gross b., i, 244, 245.  
 — — consisting of the ten sense-organs, the five *prâṇas*, *manas*, and *buddhi*, ii, 65 note.  
 — — is not destroyed by what destroys the gross b., ii, 372.  
 — — the warmth which we perceive in the living b. belongs to the s. b., ii, 372.  
 Brahmaṭârin, ii, 298, 300.  
 — who breaks the vow of chastity, ii, 318 seq., 320.  
 Brahmaṭârya, ii, 315.  
 Brahman<sup>1</sup>, according to Sâṅkara and Râmânuga, i, p. xxviii.  
 — a certain vague knowledge of B. common to all the Upanishads, i, p. civ seq.  
 — of Sâṅkara is impersonal, i, p. xxx.  
 — becomes a personal God through *Mâyâ*, i, p. xxx.  
 — with Râmânuga is a personal God, i, pp. xxx, cxxiii, cxxiv n.  
 — only exists, i, p. xxvii.  
 — is 'that which is,' and cannot have originated from anything else, i, p. lii, 266 seq., 332; ii, 19 seq.

<sup>1</sup> Arranged in the following order:—(1) names, definitions, and symbols of B.; (2) nature, qualities, powers, forms, parts, abodes of B.; (3) higher and lower B.; (4) unity of, and oneness with B.; (5) B. is everything; (6) B. and the world; (7) B. and the soul; (8) B. and Scripture; (9) knowledge of B.; (10) meditation on B.; (11) B. and final release; (12) world of B.

- Brahman is 'thought' and 'that which is,' ii, 160.
- cannot spring from that which is not, ii, 20.
  - is called Non-being, previously to the origination of the world, i, 267.
  - unborn, i, 349.
  - the highest Self is B., i, 79.
  - derivation of the word from *brāh*, i, 14.
  - identified with Vishṇu or Nārāyaṇa, i, p. xxxi note.
  - defined as that from which the origin, subsistence, and dissolution of this world proceed, i, pp. xxxii, xcii seq., 15-19, 107, 109, 117, 283.
  - in its causal condition, i, p. xxix.
  - in the condition of an effect, i, p. xxix.
  - later definitions of B., e.g. as *sak-tid-ānanda*, i, p. xcii.
  - is ānandamaya, or, the Self consisting of bliss, i, 65, 66-68, 75.
  - only is bliss as *bhūman*, i.e. in its plenitude, i, 169.
  - is called the tail, i.e. a member of the Self consisting of bliss, i, 72 seq., 75, 76 seq.
  - not a member, but the support or abode, the one nest of all worldly bliss, i, 73.
  - the bliss of B. is absolutely supreme, i, 67.
  - is declared to be the cause of bliss, i, 67.
  - neuter, can it be designated by a masculine noun? i, 76.
  - that which consists of mind, is B., i, 107-112.
  - whose Self is pleasure intimated by Ka and Kha, i, 126 seq.
  - that which is much (*bhūman*) is B., i, 162-169.
  - is the source of all beings, i, 135-139, 288.
  - the Imperishable is B., i, 169-171.
  - Bāhva explained B. by silence, ii, 157.
  - why it is called a bank, ii, 176 seq.
  - the two secret names of B. with reference to the gods and to the body, ii, 216-218.
  - is the True, i, 167, 267; ii, 216 seq., 234.
- Brahman, breath (*prāṇa*) is, i, 84-87, 97-106, 229-231, 272.
- ether is, i, 81-84, 144, 174-192, 232 seq.; ii, 8, 12, 248.
  - is like the ether, i, 110, 114; ii, 6 seq., 17 seq.
  - is the Self of the ether, i, 110.
  - before ether was produced, B. existed without ether, ii, 17.
  - ether is an effect of, ii, 18.
  - ether is dissolved into, ii, 26.
  - light is, i, 87-93, 96, 97, 185, 191, 194, 231 seq.
  - the gastric fire a symbol of, i, 92.
  - B.'s name a symbol of, i, 92.
  - denoted by the metre *Gāyatrī*, i, 93-95, 95 seq.
  - why it is compared to the images of the sun and the like, ii, 157-159.
  - nature of, i, pp. lxiv seq., xcv seq.; ii, 101, 133-183.
  - — uniformity of it, i, 156.
  - — does not resemble the world, i, 284.
  - the break in it is a mere figment of Nescience, i, 352.
  - — matter and souls are real constituents of it, i, p. xxviii.
  - the only universal being, of an absolutely homogeneous nature, i, pp. xxiv, xxx.
  - is of the nature of intelligence, i, p. xxiv seq., 68, 264; ii, 156 seq., 168.
  - is an intelligent principle and cannot be identified with the non-intelligent *pradhāna* of the *Sāṅkhyas*, i, p. xxxii, 47-64, 300.
  - superior to the gods, i, p. xiv.
  - is incapable of receiving any accretion and eternally pure, i, 34.
  - is all-knowing, i, 19, 25, 47, 49, 362.
  - is the internal ruler over the *Devas* and so on, i, 130-132.
  - that which possesses the attributes of invisibility and so on is B., i, 135-139.
  - is the bridge of the Immortal, i, 154, 156.
  - a cause of fear, i, 230 seq.
  - eternal and changeless, i, 25, 327.
  - is all-knowing, all-powerful, and possessing the great power of *Mâyā*, i, 362.

- Brahman is not apprehended, because it is unevolved, ii, 171.
- is omnipresent, i, 91, 120, 125, 172; ii, 180.
  - is altogether unchanging, ii, 397.
  - there is nothing either beneficial to be done by it or non-beneficial to be avoided by it, i, 344.
  - qualities of, i, 107, 328; ii, 101, 201-204.
  - without any distinctive qualities, i, p. xxv; ii, 239, 394 seq.
  - endowed with auspicious qualities, i, p. xxviii.
  - the limiting adjuncts of B. are presented by Nescience merely, ii, 153.
  - is endowed with various powers, i, 354 seq.
  - is not devoid of powers though it is devoid of organs of action, i, 355 seq.
  - powers of B. which are connected with the Devas, ii, 219.
  - is devoid of form, i, pp. lxiii, lxiv, 306 seq.; ii, 154-166, 166-175.
  - is different from name and form, i, 232 seq.
  - is devoid of parts, i, 349-352; ii, 396.
  - represented as comprising sixteen parts, ii, 219.
  - has four feet (quarters), i, 90, 95.
  - the idea of place does not apply to B., i, 89.
  - a special locality may be ascribed to the omnipresent B., i, 91, 120, 125.
  - a multiplicity of abodes ascribed to B., i, 92.
  - spoken of as in heaven and beyond heaven, i, 96 seq.
  - its abode in the heart, i, 113 seq., 350.
  - the smallness of, i, 113 seq.
  - as abiding within the sun, and within the eye, i, p. lxx, 123-128; ii, 216-218.
  - 'city of B.' may mean the body, or the city of the highest B., i, 174, 175, 178.
  - described as residing within the body, ii, 219.
  - statements as to B. being connected or separated are only made with a view to difference of place, ii, 178 seq.
- Brahman, highest and lower B. distinguished, i, pp. xix, xx, xxxii seq., xxxvi (masc. and neut.), 61-64, 171-174; ii, 7, 166, 202 seq., 401 seq.
- — — Sāṅkara's distinction between, not valid, i, pp. xci-xciv.
  - — — not distinguished by Rāmānuga, i, p. xxxi.
  - — — not distinguished by Bādarāyaṇa, i, p. c.
  - — — not distinguished in the Upanishads, i, pp. cxiii, cxv seq.
  - to which B. does the soul of the worshipper repair on death? i, p. xc seq.
  - the highest, all beings spring from it, i, 83, 85.
  - — — is a place of rest, i, 83.
  - — — endlessness a characteristic mark of it, i, 83.
  - — — the highest Person is nothing but the h. B., i, 174.
  - — — the vital airs are the effects of it, ii, 76.
  - — — is the agent in the evolution of names and forms, ii, 97.
  - — — is inside of the limiting adjuncts, ii, 158 seq.
  - — — the Yogins, in the state of perfect conciliation, apprehend it, ii, 171 seq.
  - — — the sense-organs and the elements of him who knows the h. B. are merged in that same h. B., ii, 376 seq.
  - — — with it we cannot connect the idea of going, or of one who goes; for that B. is present everywhere and is the inner self of all, ii, 390, 391, 394, 396.
  - — — immortality is possible only in the h. B., not in the effected one, ii, 392.
  - — — to it the souls are led, Gaiṇi opines, ii, 392 seq.; refutation of this view, ii, 393-402.
  - — — glory is a name of it, ii, 393.
  - — — the lower, associated with Māyā, i, p. xxv.
  - — — called Īvara, the Lord, i, pp. xxv, xxvii.

- Brahman, the lower, to it the departed soul is led by the guardians of the path of the gods, i, p. lxxxii; ii, 389-402.
- is the vital principle in all creatures, i, 172 n.
  - the world of the l. B. is called Satyaloka, i, 181.
  - is fundamentally one with the unqualified B., ii, 248.
  - for the purpose of worship or meditation, i, 330; ii, 155, 156, 161 seq., 391.
  - is the object of the discussion on the difference or non-difference of the cognitions of B., ii, 185.
  - worlds of B. can only refer to the l. B., ii, 390.
  - on account of its proximity to the higher B., can be designated by the word 'B.,' ii, 391.
  - also may be spoken of as being the Self of all, ii, 394.
  - sons of B.'s mind, ii, 235.
  - is one and undivided, i, p. l, 349-354, 395 seq.
  - one only without a second, i, p. xxviii, 286; ii, 12, 13.
  - has in itself elements of manifoldness, so that unity and manifoldness are both true of him, i, 321 seqq., 345 seq.
  - although one only, is, owing to the plurality of its powers, meditated upon in more than one way, ii, 220.
  - there cannot be any plurality in B., ii, 158, 160, 202, 327 seq., 329, 410.
  - comprises elements of plurality, i, p. xxviii.
  - is free from all difference, and two-fold characteristics cannot belong to him, ii, 152-154, 156 seq.
  - oneness with B., i, 319 seq.; ii, 355, 362 seq.
  - I am B., i, 31, 44, 104, 115, 185, 326; ii, 32, 46, 66, 173, 339, 408.
  - is the real giver of the gifts bestowed by princes on poets and singers, i, 80 n.
  - Indra declares that he is one with B., i, 101 seq.
  - the fishermen, the slaves, the gamblers are B., ii, 61, 62.
- Brahman, union with B. is the reason for the absence of all contact with evil, ii, 144.
- there is absolute non-division from B., of the parts merged in it, ii, 376 seq.
  - whatever is, is B., i, p. xxx, 94.
  - all things are effects of B., or are B. itself, i, p. cxix seq.
  - all this indeed is B., beginning, ending, and breathing in it, i, 107, 109, 156.
  - is the Self of everything, i, 23, 110 seq., 267, 357; ii, 138, 165, 208, 341.
  - is the abode of heaven, earth, &c., i, 154-162, 230.
  - the ten objects and the ten subjects cannot rest on anything but B., i, 104.
  - some metaphorical expressions, seemingly implying that there is something different from B., explained, i, p. lxxv; ii, 175-180.
  - the existence of anything apart from B. distinctly denied by Scripture, i, 321; ii, 168-171, 179 seq.
  - there is nothing further beyond B., ii, 175-179.
  - subsists apart from its effects, i, 350.
  - not only the operative but also the material cause of the world, i, pp. xl, xciv seq., 49, 60 seq., 264 seq., 283-288, 317, 320-330, 346 seq., 361 seq.
  - creates the world without instruments, i, p. xlix seq., 346-349, 354-356.
  - — from a mere sportive impulse, i, p. l, 356 seq.
  - — by means of a modification of itself, i, p. xcvi.
  - creative power of, i, p. l, 233, 344, 361 seq.
  - 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, i, p. l, 357-361.
  - the origin of the world from B. proved on the ground of the system of the Vaisheshikas, i, 381-386.

- Brahman, the world originates from, i, p. xl, 202, 267, 268-274; ii, 13, 16, 21, 22.
- — objections against this view refuted, i, p. xlvii seq., 299-317, 352 seq., 381-386.
- and the world, i, pp. xxx, lii, 50; ii, 3-73, 391 seq.
- — see also Cause and effect.
- compared to a magician, i, p. xxv.
- relation of the non-sentient matter to, i, p. lxxv.
- the source of Fire, ii, 20-22.
- the order in which the elements are retracted into B. is the reverse of that in which they are created, ii, 25 seq.
- relation of the individual soul to, i, pp. xix, lvii seqq.; ii, 61-73.
- — — according to *Ṣaṅkara* and *Bādarāyana*, i, pp. xcvi-c.
- broken up, as it were, into individual souls, i, p. xxv.
- only is real in each *giva*, i, p. xxv.
- discussions as to whether certain passages refer to B. or to the individual soul, i, p. xxxii seq., 64-289.
- the souls are parts of B., according to *Rāmānuga*, i, p. lviii.
- the identity of the individual soul with it, i, pp. xx, xxvii, 104, 114-116, 322, 343 seq.; ii, 30, 31, 33, 34, 42 seqq., 138, 146, 149.
- *Ṣaṅkara's* individual soul is B. through *Mâyā*, i, p. xxx.
- *Rāmānuga's* individual soul has sprung from B. and is never outside B., i, p. xxxi.
- the Self is B., i, 14, 30 seq., 36, 45, 105, 241, 264 seq.; ii, 209, 288.
- is 'that,' the inward Self is 'thou,' ii, 335.
- the soul cannot be a part of B., nor an effect of B., nor different from B., ii, 396 seq.
- and the individual soul, difference of nature between, i, 114-116.
- — both different and non-different, i, 277 n., 345.
- the individual souls go to, i, 178, 180 seq., 191.
- Brahman, separate from the individual souls, is the creator, i, 344 seq.
- is superior to the individual soul, i, 345.
- and the released soul, i, p. xxx; ii, 408 seq.
- in which the individual soul is merged in the state of deep sleep, i, p. lxi seq., 180, 273; ii, 144-149, 152-166, 176.
- the only real topic of Scripture, i, p. xxxii, 22-47, 265 seq.
- is the source of the Veda, i, p. xxxii, 19-22.
- Scripture does not contradict itself on the all-important point of B., i, p. xl, 263-268.
- is not the object of any other means of proof but Scripture, i, p. lxiv seq., 22-47, 307, 350-352, 355.
- the Veda intimates B. only as the object of certain injunctions, i, 23 seqq.
- not the subject of injunctions, ii, 162-166, 185.
- the attainment of the Self of B. lies outside the sphere of sacred precept, ii, 359.
- knowledge of, i, pp. x, lxxviii seq., 9-15, 19, 31, 73, 138, 157, 159, 324; ii, 8, 162 seqq., 378, 393.
- — its fruit or result, i, 11, 14, 18, 24 seqq., 26 seqq., 29, 231, 266, 300, 327; ii, 117 n., 229 seq., 236, 353-363, 372-375, 419.
- — is not subordinate to action, but independent, i, p. lxxv, 10-12, 29; ii, 285-295.
- — the purpose of man is effected through it, ii, 285, 290-306.
- — reading of the Veda an antecedent for those desirous of it, i, 10.
- he who knows B. becomes B., i, 25, 29, 31, 186; ii, 375.
- — — to be the Self is free from his body, i, 41-43.
- the body is an abode for the perception of, i, 178.
- texts exhorting us to strive to see B., i, 349.
- some persons although knowing B. yet obtained new bodies, ii, 235.

- Brahman, the state of being grounded in B. belongs to the wandering mendicant, ii, 300-303.
- meditation on, i, pp. lxxvi-lxxv, 31, 94, 105 seq., 107-111; ii, 19 n. (as Vāyu), 177 seq., 184-284, 333-337, 342-345.
  - its result, i, p. lxv, 25, 174; ii, 402.
  - see also Meditation.
  - only those who have not worshipped B. under a symbol, are led to B., i, p. lxxxii; ii, 402-404.
  - the state of final release is nothing but B., i, 28 seq., 34; ii, 329.
  - the released have to resort to, i, 157.
  - has to be inquired into because it is the cause of absolute beatitude, i, 283.
  - on the attainment of B. there take place the non-clinging and the destruction of sins, ii, 353-356.
  - world of, i, p. xxix, 173, 174; ii, 383. See also Brahma-world.
  - see also Self, highest.
  - see also Lord.
- Brāhmaṇa-accent, i, 258.
- Brahmanical studentship, ii, 303 n.
- Brahmans, he to whom the B. and the Kshatriyas are but food is the highest Self, i, p. xxxv, 116-118.
- are not qualified for the rāgasūya-sacrifice, i, 218.
  - the world with its, i, 275 seq.
- Brahma-sūkta of a jākhā of the Atharva-veda quoted, ii, 62.
- Brahma-sūtras, another name for Vedānta-sūtras, i, p. xiv n.
- Brahma-upanishad = Veda-upanishad, i, 94.
- Brahma-vidyā, Gaimini maintains the non-qualification of the gods for it, i, 216 seq.
- gods are qualified for, i, 218-223.
- Brahmavidyābharana on the three Bauddha sects, i, 401 n.
- on the Bauddha series beginning with Nescience, i, 404 seq. n.
- Brahma-world applied to the small ether, i, 180.
- Brahma-world, not 'the world of Brahman,' but 'the world which is Brahman,' i, 180 seq.
- see Brahman, world of.
- Breath (Prāṇa) is the highest Brahman, i, p. xxxiv, 84-87, 97-106.
- in which everything trembles, is Brahman, i, p. xxxvii, 229-231.
  - is the deity of the Prastāva, i, 84, 86.
  - of b., i, 87.
  - beings enter into and proceed from it, i, 85, 86.
  - is most beneficial for man, i, 98.
  - strength is, i, 99.
  - denotes either the individual soul or the chief vital air or both, i, 102 seq.
  - is the abode of the power of action, i, 105.
  - is prāṇā, i, 105.
  - is the one god, the gods are all forms of, i, 200.
  - one of the pañcagāṇāḥ, i, 260-262.
  - spoken of as a 'person,' i, 261.
  - speech, b., and mind presuppose fire, water, and earth, ii, 78 seq.
  - acts under the guidance of Vāyu, ii, 91 seq.
  - meditation on all food as food of, ii, 211, 213.
  - water is the dress of, ii, 211-214.
  - is water, ii, 366.
  - may be viewed as the causal substance of mind, ii, 366.
  - mind is merged in, ii, 366 seq.
  - is merged in the individual soul, on the departure of the soul, ii, 367 seq.
  - is merged in heat, ii, 367, 368.
  - the soul, with the b., goes to the elements, ii, 368.
  - see Prāṇa, and Vital air, chief.
- Bṛihadāraṇyaka-upanishad, germs of Māyā doctrine in the, i, pp. cxvii, cxx seq.
- on the embodied soul, i, 134 seq.
  - the Udgītha-vidyā of the, ii, 192-199.
- Bṛhaspatisava, an offering enjoined for one who is desirous of Brahmavarkas, ii, 223, 223 n., 224.
- Buddha, variety of Bauddha doctrines due either to the dif-

- ference of the views maintained by B., or else to the difference of capacity on the part of the disciples of B., i, 401.
- Buddha, though he propounded the doctrine of the reality of the external world, was himself an idealist, i, 418.
- teaches three mutually contradictory systems, i, 428.
- Buddhi. See Intelligence.
- Castes, men only of the three higher c. entitled to the study of the Veda, i, 197.
- all the four c. are fit for the knowledge of the *itihâsas* and *purâṇas*, i, 229.
- *pañcagāṇab* = the four c. and the *Nishâdas*, i, 262.
- Categories, twenty-five, of the Sâṅkhya system, i, 257-260.
- difficulties with regard to the six c. of the *Vaiśeshikas*, i, 394 seqq.
- seven, two, or five c. of the *Gainas*, i, 428 seq., 430.
- five, of the *Saivas*, i, 435.
- Caterpillar, soul compared to a, ii, 103, 352.
- Causal matter is metaphorically represented as a she-goat, i, 256 seq.
- Cause, only the one highest c. is true, i, 322.
- and effect are non-different, i, pp. xxix, xlix, 300-305, 309, 311, 320-343, 399, 436; ii, 9.
- their absolute equality impossible, i, 305 seq.
- real effects may sometimes arise from unreal (imaginary) causes, i, 324 seq.
- the internal organ is affected by them jointly, i, 331.
- connected by *samavâya*, i, 335 seq., 396 n.
- difference of, i, 350.
- the relation of, is no reason for assuming that all effects whatever have a non-intelligent principle for their antecedent, i, 367.
- — — according to the *Vaiśeshikas*, i, 396 seq.
- — — impossible on the assumption of the Bauddha that everything has a momentary existence only, i, 407 seq., 409.
- Cause and effect, the relation of, requires some superiority on the part of the cause, i, 442; ii, 20.
- between them conjunction and disjunction do no longer take place, i, 397.
- chain of causes and effects, beginning with Nescience (*Baudha*), i, 404 seq., 410, 410 n.
- Causes, whatever is originated, the Sâṅkhyas say, is originated from inherent c., non-inherent c., and operative c., i, 5 seq.
- four kinds of, admitted by the Bauddha, i, 409, 409 n.
- Cave, the two entered into the c. are Brahman and the individual soul, i, pp. xxxv, xlii, 118-123.
- Ceremonial purifications, the *Sûdras* excluded from them, i, 227.
- referred to in the *Vidyâs*, i, 227.
- Cessation, the two kinds of c. which the Bauddhas assume cannot be proved, i, 410 seq., 413.
- Chariot, the simile of the, i, 121, 239 seq., 244, 246.
- Chastity, knowledge belongs to those who are bound to, ii, 295 seq.
- the stages of life for which ch. is obligatory, established by Scripture, ii, 297-303.
- he who has entered them cannot fall from them, ii, 317 seq.
- expiatory sacrifice for a Brahman who breaks his vow of, ii, 318 seq.
- persons bound to ch. who have broken their vow condemned, ii, 320.
- Chief vital air. See Vital air, chief.
- Childlike state, which is enjoined for the ascetic, means absence of strong sensual passions, absence of guile, pride, and the like, ii, 325-327.
- Cognition, the Self whose nature is unchangeable, eternal c., i, 185 seq.
- Cognitions (*vidyâs*), discussion on the separateness or non-separateness of the c. of Brahman,



- which form the subject of the different Vedānta-texts, ii, 101, 184-279.
- Cognitions, in the same Sākhā also there is unity of, ii, 214-216.
- connected with members of sacrificial acts, are not permanently connected with those acts, ii, 252-256.
  - — — are valid for all Sākhās and Vedas, ii, 274.
  - compared with sacrifices, ii, 280.
  - should there be cumulation of the different c. or option between them? ii, 280-284.
  - the fruit of all c. is the intuition of the object meditated upon, ii, 281.
  - which have the qualified Brahman for their object, ii, 330.
- Colebrooke, i, p. cxvi.
- Conjunction (*samyoga*), the distinction of the Vaiśeṣikas between c. and inherence, i, 390, 396 seq.
- the connexion between the Lord and the souls and *pradhāna* cannot be c., i, 436.
- Consciousness of external things, i, 418-424.
- Crane, female, conceives without a male, i, 348; ii, 126.
- conceives from hearing the sound of thunder, i, 348.
- Creation owing to an act of volition on the Lord's part, i, p. xxix.
- according to Rāmānuja, i, pp. l, liii seq.
  - accounts given in the Upanishads of the c., their divergence, i, p. cv seq.
  - — — have no mention of *Mâyā*, i, p. cxviii.
  - — — discussion of, i, 263-266; ii, 3, 22.
  - has thought for its antecedent, i, 47 seq.; ii, 206.
  - Brahman, before the c., i, 50, 286; ii, 8.
  - cannot possibly belong to any Self different from the highest Self, i, 69.
  - Brahman the cause of it, i, 117; ii, 183.
  - description of it in the *Mundaka*-upanishad alluded to, i, 140-142.
- Creation is preceded by the word, i, 203 seq.
- each new c. is the result of the religious merit and demerit of the animated beings of the preceding c., i, 214.
  - the relation of senses and sense-objects is the same in different creations, i, 214 seq.
  - the world was evolved at the beginning of the c. 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, i, 268.
  - Scripture when relating the c. of the elements, does not mention a separate c. of the individual soul, i, 279; ii, 31.
  - a multiform c. exists in the individual Self, and in gods, &c., i, 352 seq.
  - the scriptural doctrine of c. refers to the apparent world only, i, 357.
  - the c. of this world is mere play to the Lord, i, 357.
  - in consequence of the Lord's conjunction with *Mâyā*, the c. is unavoidable, i, 357 n.
  - neither c. nor *pralaya* could take place, if the atomic theory were adopted, i, 386-389, 391.
  - according to the Vaiśeṣika system, i, 387.
  - order of, ii, 3-24.
  - the origination of the organs does not cause a break in it, ii, 26-28.
  - passage on the c. in the *Kbāṇ*-dogya-upanishad, ii, 4.
  - Brahman and ether before and after, ii, 8.
  - is the c. taking place in dreams a real one, or does it consist of illusion? ii, 133-141.
  - the so-called real c. is not absolutely real, ii, 138.
  - accomplished by *Pragāpati*, ii, 206.
  - of the worlds is accomplished by some inferior Lord different from, and superintended by, the highest Self, ii, 206.
  - of the elements, different from the c. of the worlds, ii, 206, 207 seq.

- Creator, the Vedānta-texts differ with regard to the order of creation, but not with regard to the C., i, 264.
- described as all-knowing, the Lord of all, the Self of all, without a second, i, 264 seq.
  - is non-different from the created effects, i, 265.
  - see also Brahman.
- Daharavidyā, the knowledge of Brahman within the heart, i, p. lxxv; ii, 219, 233, 393 n., 410.
- Daksha, assumed a new body, ii, 235.
- Darkness is called black on account of its covering and obscuring property, i, 253.
- Goodness, Passion, and Darkness, the three *gunas*, i, 353.
  - — the three constituent elements of the *pradhāna*, i, 364 n., 36 seq.
  - the *guṇa* D. is eternal, i, 380.
  - see also *Guṇas*.
- Death, the round of birth, action, and, i, p. xxvii.
- the fate after d. of those whom their good works do not entitle to pass up to the moon, i, p. lx; ii, 121-126.
  - — of him who possesses knowledge, i, p. lxxviii seq.; ii, 364-419.
  - not necessary for the condition of being free from the body, i, 41, 43.
  - is a condiment, i, 116, 117.
  - release from the jaws of d. by knowledge of the highest Self, i, 247.
  - — not by perceiving the *pradhāna*, i, 247.
  - when applied to the sprout, i, 340.
  - the terms 'birth' and 'death,' if applied to the soul, have a metaphorical meaning, ii, 28 seq.
  - has the power of manifesting those works whose fruit has not yet begun, ii, 113, 117-119.
  - the state of swoon is the door of, ii, 152.
  - identification of the *Avabhṛitha*-ceremony with, ii, 221.
  - the term 'd.' applied to Agni, and to the man in the sun, ii, 267.
- Death, the d. of the body is the term of the attainment of final release, ii, 357 seq., 363.
- see Departure.
  - see also Yama.
- Debts, the three, ii, 295.
- Deceased, the, on his way to Brahman, shakes off his good and evil deeds, ii, 229-231.
- Deeds. See Works.
- Deities, if the elements and the sense-organs are spoken of in Scripture as of an intellectual nature, the superintending d. are denoted, i, 303-305.
- the particular intelligent d. who represent light, &c., on the soul's journey to Brahman, are appointed as personal conductors of the soul, ii, 388 seq.
  - see also *Devas*, *Divinities*, *Gods*.
- Departure (from the body), the highest Self different from the individual soul in the state of, i, 233-236.
- Deussen, 'System des Vedānta,' i, pp. xxiv, xxiv n., xxxiii n., xxxiv n., xxxv n., xli, xlv, xlvii, lxxvii.
- Devala, author of a *Dharma-sūtra*, i, 289.
- Devas, the eternal ruler over the, &c., is Brahman, i, 130-132.
- Brahman's secret names with reference to the D. and to the body, ii, 216 seq.
  - powers of Brahman which are connected with the, ii, 219.
  - metres of the D., i. e. metres of ten and more syllables, their priority to those of the *Asuras*, ii, 228, 228 n.
  - the powers of the D. constitute the Self of the organs of the body, ii, 257.
  - see also *Deities*, *Divinities*, *Gods*.
- Dhṛishadyumna*, not born in the ordinary way, ii, 125, 126.
- Digambara* *Gainas*, their opinion that the individual soul only flying away from the old body alights in the new one as a parrot flies from one tree to another, ii, 104.
- Divinity, highest. See Brahman.

- Divinities, in meditations connected with constitutives of sacrificial works the idea of the d. is to be transferred to the sacrificial items, not vice versa, i, p. lxxvii; ii, 345-349.
- intelligent presiding d. are connected with everything, i, 304.
  - the vital airs act under the guidance of, ii, 91 seq.
  - who act as the guides of the vital airs and co-operate with them, stop their co-operation at the time of death, ii, 106.
  - even priests who do not know the d. of sacrifices, perform them, ii, 254.
  - the organs of the body and the d. are non-different, ii, 257.
- Dramida* quoted by Rāmānuga, i, pp. xxi, xxii.
- preceded Saṅkara, i, p. xxii.
- Dramida-bhāṣhya*, i, p. xxii.
- Dramidabhāṣhyakāra* quoted by Rāmānuga, i, p. xlix.
- Draupadī*, not born in the ordinary way, ii, 125.
- Dravida* or *Dramida*, i, p. xxii n.
- Dravidātārya*. See *Dramida*.
- Dreams, Rāmānuga on d. as the work, not of the individual soul, but of the highest Lord, i, p. lx seq.
- the unreal phantom of a d. may have a real result, i, 325.
  - some d. are auspicious omens, others the reverse, i, 325; ii, 136 seq.
  - variety of d. while the dreaming person remains one, i, 346.
  - the idealist's example of the ideas in, i, 420.
  - the ideas of the waking state are not like those of, i, 424 seq.
  - in the state of d. the instruments of the Self are not altogether at rest, ii, 56.
  - place of d. = intermediate place, ii, 133.
  - the soul in the state of, i, p. lx; ii, 133-141.
  - the Self is the shaper of lovely things in, ii, 133 seq., 137 seq.
  - the world of d. is mere illusion, ii, 134-136, 140 seq.
  - moving about in, ii, 135.
- Dreams are outside the body, ii, 135.
- experts in the science of, ii, 136.
  - their purpose and cause, ii, 137 n.
  - in d. we have perceptions while the body lies motionless, ii, 272.
- Droṇa*, not born in the ordinary way, ii, 125, 126.
- Duties. See Works.
- Dvaipāyana*, ii, 43.
- Dying, certain times for, ii, 379-381.
- Earth, springs from water, i, p. lii; ii, 23 seq.
- called 'night' (sarvaṁ) by the Paurāṇikas, ii, 23 seq.
  - is meant by the word 'anna' ('food'), ii, 23 seq.
  - (predominant) colour of e. is black, ii, 23 seq.
  - is dissolved into water, ii, 26.
  - is the *Rik*, ii, 345-349.
- Eater, the e. who is the highest Self, i, pp. xxxv, xlii, 116-118.
- Effect. See Cause and effect.
- Ego and Non-Ego, the spheres of the object and subject, i, 3.
- Egoity, the principle of, Aniruddha identical with it, i, p. xxiii, 440.
- accomplishes all actions and enjoys their results, i, 34.
- Elements, the origination of the e. is due to Brahman acting in them, i, p. lii; ii, 24 seq.
- the reabsorption of the e. into Brahman takes place in the inverse order of their emission, i, p. lii; ii, 25 seq.
  - the subtle e. are completely merged in Brahman only when final emancipation is reached, i, p. lxxix seq.; ii, 371 seq.
  - the three e., fire, water, earth, denoted by the three colours red, white, black, i, 254 seq.
  - and the sense-organs, the product of Nescience, i, 281.
  - the atoms and their respective, i, 393 seq., 402.
  - origin of the three, fire, water, earth, according to the *K'bāṇ-dogya Upanishad*, ii, 4.
  - usual order of the five e.: ether, air, fire, water, earth, ii, 4, 4 n.

- Elements spoken of as endowed with intelligence, ii, 24 seq.
- the origin, the subsistence, and the retraction of the e. all depend on Brahman, ii, 25 seq.
  - the order of the creation of the e. is not broken by the origination of the organs, ii, 26-28.
  - in obtaining a different body the soul goes enveloped by subtle parts of the, ii, 101-104, 371 seq.
  - the aggregate of the five e. in the body, ii, 242.
  - the soul, with the breath, goes to the, ii, 368 seq.
  - the aggregate of the e. continues to exist up to the final union with Brahman, ii, 371, 376 seq.
- Emancipation, final, i, p. xxix.
- depends on the true nature of the cause of the world, i, 316.
  - a being desirous of it becomes a deva, i, 223 n.
  - by degrees, i, 174, 223.
  - the Sāṅkhya doctrine about the e. of the Selfs, ii, 69 seq.
  - see also Release.
- Entity does not spring from non-entity, i, 415-418.
- Ether is the highest Brahman, i, pp. xxxiv, xxxviii, 81-84, 182, 232 seq., 273, 287; ii, 6 seq., 8, 12, 248.
- the small e. within the heart is Brahman, i, p. xxxvi, 174-192; ii, 144.
  - cannot mean the individual soul, i, 177.
  - spoken of as the place of sleep, ii, 144.
  - is not co-eternal with Brahman, but springs from it as its first effect, i, p. lii; ii, 3-18.
  - is the Udgītha, i, 83.
  - although all-pervading, is spoken of as limited and minute, if considered in its connexion with the eye of a needle; so Brahman also, i, 114.
  - the highest Lord is greater than, i, 177.
  - distinction between the outer and the inner, i, 175, 176 seq.
  - origination of, discussion of Vedānta-texts concerning it, ii, 3-18.
- Ether, origination of, the Sāṅkhyas deny it, ii, 5 seq.
- is divided, therefore must be an effect, ii, 14, 15.
  - is non-eternal, because it is the substratum of a non-eternal quality, viz. sound, ii, 17.
  - is the abode of air, ii, 18.
  - is dissolved into Brahman, ii, 26.
  - air is dissolved into, ii, 26.
  - the body consisting of water which the soul assumes in the moon, becomes subtle like e., but not identical with e., ii, 127.
  - the one e. is made manifold, as it were, by its connexion with different places, ii, 179.
  - see also Space.
  - see also Brahman, above, p. 446.
- Expiation cannot take place, if a Brahmañārin for life breaks his vow of chastity, ii, 318; can take place, according to some teachers, ii, 318 seq.
- Expiatory ceremonies and the results of works, ii, 117 n., 353, 354.
- Eye. See Person in the eye.
- Faith, the path of the gods cannot be attained by f. and austerities, unaided by knowledge, ii, 234.
- Fathers, among the pañḍaganāb, i, 262.
- create many things by their mere intention, i, 347 seq.
  - rise owing to their mere will, ii, 410 seq.
  - see Path of the fathers.
- Fire springs from air, i, p. lii, 20-22.
- has for its source that which is, i. e. Brahman, ii, 20-22.
  - water is produced from, ii, 22 seq.
  - water is dissolved into, ii, 26.
  - is dissolved into air, ii, 26.
  - gastric, within man, i, 89.
  - characterised by the noise it makes and by heat, i, 90.
  - as a symbol of Brahman, i, 92.
  - Vairvānara is the, i, 143 seq., 146 seq.
  - the perception of the highest Lord in the, i, 147.

- Fire, gastric, either the outward manifestation, or the limiting condition of the Lord, i, 149.
- the simile of the sparks and the f. (individual souls and Brahman), i, 277 n., 279; ii, 29, 30, 61, 62, 139.
  - the rite of carrying f. on the head is an attribute of the study of the Veda of the Ātharvānikas, ii, 186, 189 seq.
  - sacrificial, the lighting of it not to be observed, since man's purpose is effected by knowledge, ii, 306.
  - is Sāman, ii, 345-349.
  - see also Agni.
- Fire-altars made of mind, &c., do not constitute part of the sacrificial action, i, p. lxxiv; ii, 259-268.
- Fires, the fiction concerning the three sacred, i, 146.
- five, viz. the heavenly world, Parganya, the earth, man and woman, ii, 103.
  - — — raddhā the oblation in the first of them, ii, 106.
  - — — knowledge (vidyā) of the (=Kh. Up. V, 3-10), i, pp. lxxxiii, cviii; ii, 101-132, 186, 187 seqq., 233, 234 seq., 298, 383, 400, 403.
  - — — a sixth fire mentioned by the Vāgasaneyins in their, ii, 187-189.
- Fire-sacrifice, individual soul, and the highest Self, the three points of discussion in the colloquy between Yama and Nakiketas, i, 247-252.
- Five-people, five, of the Brīh. Up. are not the twenty-five principles of the Sāṅkhyas, i, p. xl, 257-263.
- are the breath and so on, i, 260-262.
  - explained as Gods, Fathers, Gandharvas, Asuras, and Rakshas, i, 261 seq.
  - as the four castes together with the Nishādas, i, 262.
  - created beings in general, i, 262.
- Flamingo, able to distinguish and separate milk and water when mixed, ii, 149.
- Food, certain relaxations of the laws regarding f. are allowed only for cases of extreme need, i, p. lxxv; ii, 309-312.
- Sruti and Smṛiti on lawful and unlawful, ii, 311 seq.
  - the word 'f.' denotes 'earth,' ii, 23 seq.
  - meditation on all f. as f. of the breath, ii, 211, 213.
- Fruition, Brahman is not, like the embodied Self, subject to, i, 114-116, 117, 119.
- not even the embodied soul is really subject to, i, 116.
  - is the figment of false knowledge, i, 116.
  - characteristic of the individual soul, i, 159 seq., 269.
  - see also Works.
- Gābāla was initiated by Gautama, i, 228.
- Gābālas, the, speak of the highest Lord in the interstice between the top of the head and the chin which is measured by a span, i, 152 seq.
- their text on the fourth stage of life, ii, 295, 297, 302 seq.
  - on the highest Lord as the Self, ii, 338.
- Gaimini, i, pp. xi, xc seq.
- quoted in the Vedānta-sūtras, i, pp. xix, lxxxii seq., lxxxiv, 149 seq., 151 seq., 216 seq., 272-274; ii, 295-297, 317 seq., 360, 392-402.
  - thinks that religious merit brings about the fruits of action, i, p. lxxv; ii, 180-182.
  - that the statements as to the fruits of the knowledge of the Self are arthavādas, ii, 285-288.
  - that the released soul manifests itself by a nature like that of Brahman, ii, 408 seq.
  - asserts the presence of a body and sense-organs, on the part of the released, ii, 412.
  - Sūtra, its subject is dharma, i, 26.
- Gainas, refutation of their doctrine, i, p. li, 428-434.
- acknowledge seven, two, or five categories, i, 428 seq., 430.

Gainas. See Digambara Gainas.

Gâmadagnya - ahîna - sacrifice, the upasad offerings for it are to consist of purodâśas, ii, 240, 240 n.

Ganaka, Sulabhâ entered into his body to carry on discussion with him, ii, 237.

Gânasrutî, Raikva called him Sûdra, i, 223-226.

— must have been a Kshattriya, not a Sûdra, i, 226 seq.

— legend of, ii, 305, 306.

Gandharva, possessing a maiden, teaches Bhugyu Sâhyâyani, i, p. cv.

— colloquy of the G. and Yâgñavalkya, i, 219.

Gandharvas, among the *pañkaganâb*, i, 262.

Gângya, i, p. cv.

Gârhapatya-fire, as the G. the highest Self may be represented, because it is the Self of all, i, 150.

Gâtakakarman, or gâta ceremony, the birth ceremony, ii, 28, 29.

Gaudapâda, i, pp. xcix, cxxvii.

Gautama, having ascertained Gâbâla not to be a Sûdra, proceeded to initiate and instruct him, i, 228.

Gâyatrî is everything whatsoever exists, i, 90, 93-95.

— Brahman denoted by the metre G., i, 93-95, 95 seq.

— has four feet, Brahman has four feet, i, 95.

— the beings, the earth, the body, and the heart are the feet of, i, 95.

Gina or Tîrthakâra, i, 429.

Gîva. See Soul.

Glory is a name of the highest Brahman, ii, 393.

Gñânakânda, systematised by the Uttara Mimâmsâ, i, pp. x, xii.

— necessity of systematising it, i, p. xi.

— two different parts of it, i, p. xxvii.

— final escape from the *samsâra* to be obtained by the, i, p. xxix.

Goat. See Agâ.

God, Sañkara's personal, is something unreal, i, p. xxx.

— Râmânuga's Brahman is a personal, i, pp. xxx, cxxiii, cxxiv n.

Gods capable of the knowledge of Brahman, i, p. xxxvii, 198 seq., 218-223; not capable according to Gaimini, i, 216 seqq.

— the soul is led by g. on the way up to Brahman, i, p. lxxxii; ii, 387-389.

— create many things by their mere intention, i, p. xciv, 347 seq.

— possess unobstructed knowledge, i, 99.

— their deathlessness only means their comparatively long existence, and their lordly power depends on the highest Lord, i, 130; ii, 17.

— cannot perform sacrifices, hence not entitled to the study of the Veda, i, 197 n.

— are qualified for the study and practice of the Veda, i, 198 seq.

— may have the desire of final release, i, 198.

— their corporeality appears from mantras, arthavâdas, itihâsas, purâṇas, and ordinary experience, i, 198, 217.

— involves no contradiction to sacrificial works, i, 199-201.

— to them the Veda is manifest of itself (without study), i, 199.

— undergo discipleship, i, 199.

— their number, i, 200.

— are all forms of Breath, i, 200, 269.

— naturally possess all supernatural powers, i, 200, 219.

— their power to render themselves invisible, i, 201.

— all comprised in the Vasus, Rudras, Âdityas, Viśvedevas, and Maruts, i, 202 n.

— the Vedic injunctions presuppose certain characteristic shapes of the individual g., without which the sacrificer could not represent the g. to his mind, i, 221 seq.

— Vyâsa and others conversed with the g. face to face, i, 222 seq.

— among the *pañkaganâb*, i, 262.

— multifiform creations exist in them, i, 353.

— possess bodily organs of action, i, 355.

- Gods exist in the state of highest power and glory, and cannot enter, in this wretched body, into the condition of enjoyers, ii, 93.
- the vital airs, at the time of death, enter into them, ii, 105 seq.
  - the souls are the food of the, ii, 110-112.
  - do not eat, ii, 111.
  - the performers of sacrifices are objects of enjoyment for the, ii, 111.
  - the souls of sacrificers enjoy themselves with the, ii, 112.
  - the soul goes from the world of the g. to Vāyu, ii, 386.
  - may be called light and so on, because they represent light and so on, ii, 388.
  - are permanent, ii, 388.
  - see Path of the gods.
  - see also Devas, Deities, Divinities.
- Goodness, knowledge an attribute of the *guna* of, i, 46, 48 seq.
- by means of g. men are known to be Yogins, i, 46, 49.
  - is called white, because it is of the nature of Light, i, 253.
- Passion and Darkness, the three *gunas*, i, 353.
- — the three constituent elements (*guna*) of the *pradhāna*, i, 364 n., 366 seq.
  - see *Gunas*.
- Gough (A.) on Sāṅkara, i, p. xvii seq.
- his sketch of Sāṅkara Vedānta, i, p. xxiv.
  - on Māyā in the Upanishads, i, pp. cxvii, cxix.
  - on Virāg, i, p. cxiii.
- Great one, the, 'beyond the G. there is the Undeveloped, beyond the Undeveloped there is the Person,' i, 237 seq.
- is the technical Sāṅkhya term for buddhi, i, 238 n.
  - originates from the Undeveloped, if the G. one be the intellect of Hiraṇyagarbha, i, 244.
  - the individual soul, i, 244.
  - has a different meaning as a Sāṅkhya term, and in Vedic use, i, 252.
- Great principle, the, the Undeveloped (*pradhāna*), and the soul, are the three entities of the Sāṅkhyas, i, 238, 296.
- — of the Yoga-smṛiti, i, 296.
  - — the subtle elements of material things proceed from it, i, 376.
- Groups. See Skandhas.
- Guhadeva quoted by Rāmānuga, i, p. xxi.
- Gunas*, the three (Goodness, Passion, and Darkness) of the Sāṅkhyas, i, 28.
- the *pradhāna* is the state of equilibrium of the, i, 353, 370.
  - 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, i, 367.
  - the relation of principal and subordinate matter is impossible between them, i, 374 seq.
  - absolute independence their essential characteristic, i, 375.
- Gymnosophists. See Gainas.
- Hall, Fitz-Edward, i, p. xvi.
- Hari is contemplated in the sacred stone called Sālagrām, i, 114.
- Heaven, that within which the h., the earth, &c., are woven, is Brahman, i, p. xxxv, 154-162.
- Heavenly world, if the Gaina maintains that it exists or does not exist, and is eternal or non-eternal, nobody will act for the purpose of gaining it, i, 430.
- Hell, degree of pleasure and pain enjoyed by the inmates of, i, 27.
- Hells, there are seven, ii, 123.
- Hermit in the woods is referred to by the term 'austerity,' ii, 300 seq.
- when he has broken his vows, undergoes the *Krikkbra* penance for twelve nights, ii, 319.
- Highest being manifests itself in a fourfold form, i, p. xxiii.
- see Brahman, Lord, Self highest.
- Hiraṇyagarbha, i.e. the effected Brah-

- man, i, pp. lxxxiii, cix, cxxiii, 172 n.
- Hiranyagarbha = Pragâpati, i, 142, 142 n.
- is the Self of all organs, and dwells in the Brahma-world, i, 173.
  - Lords such as, i, 213.
  - the intellect of the first-born H., which is the basis of all intellects, may be called 'the great Self,' i, 240, 244.
  - a subordinate causal substance, ii, 77 n.
  - the Self of the prâna appears as H. in his double—universal and individual—form, ii, 91.
  - himself comes to an end, ii, 238.
  - the ruler of the Brahman world, ii, 391, 392.
- Honey means the sun by a metaphor, i, 256 seq.
- Hotri, by the meditation on the unity of prâna and udgîtha, the H. sets right any mistake he may commit in his work, ii, 282.
- Householder is everything, for the performance of many works belonging to his own âsrama is enjoined on him, and at the same time the duties of the other âsramas, ii, 324 seq.
- Householdership, the duties of, ii, 296 seqq.
- Idealists maintain that thought only is real, i, 401.
- are the Yogâcâras, i, 401 n.
  - controverted, i, 418-427.
- Ideas and mental impressions succeed each other as causes and effects, i, 420, 423.
- the variety of, explained by the idealist, i, 420.
  - cannot be explained from the variety of mental impressions, i, 425-427.
  - two, cannot apprehend, or be apprehended by, each other, i, 422.
  - require an ulterior intelligent principle, i, 424.
  - the i. of the waking state are not like those of a dream, as the idealist asserts, i, 424 seq.
- Ignorance, cessation of, the fruit of the cognition of Brahman, i, 31.
- Illusion, this apparent world an, i, 345.
- see Mâyâ.
- Immortality, of him who knows the lower Brahman only, is merely a relative, i, pp. lxxix, lxxx; ii, 369 seq.
- of him who knows Brahman, according to Râmânuga, i, pp. lxxix, lxxx.
  - bhûman is, i, 163, 168.
  - of all effected things is merely a relative one, i, 169.
  - is not to be reached but through the knowledge of the highest Self, i, 275.
  - the result of the knowledge of the soul, i, 279.
  - of ether is to be understood, like that of the gods, as a relative i. only, ii, 17.
  - is possible only in the highest Brahman, ii, 392.
- Imperishable, the, (akshara), is Brahman, i, p. xxxv, 169-171.
- that element in Brahman, from which the material universe springs, i, p. cxix.
  - the Indestructible is higher than the high I., i, 136, 137, 140.
  - the knowledge of the I. is the knowledge of Brahman, i, 138.
  - the term explained, i, 140.
  - cannot be the embodied soul, i, 171.
  - the denials of conceptions concerning the I. are to be comprehended in all meditations on the, ii, 238-240.
- Indestructible, the higher knowledge is this by which the I. is apprehended, i, 135-138.
- Indra, the legend of I. and Pratar-dana, i, 97-99, 101.
- may be called prâna, i, 99.
  - is the god of strength, i, 99.
  - is one with Brahman, i, 101 seq.
  - disciple of Pragâpati, i, 199.
  - with a thunderbolt, i, 217 n.
  - three cakes offered to, ii, 259.
  - above Varuṇa there come I. and Pragâpati, on the path of the gods, ii, 386.
- Inference denotes Smṛiti, i, 203.



- Inherence (*samavāya*), the distinction of the *Vaiśeṣikas* between conjunction (*samyoga*) and i., i, 389 seq., 396 seq.
- the connexion between the Lord and the soul and the *pradhāna* cannot be i., i, 436.
- Injunction is the sense of all potential, imperative, &c., verbal forms, ii, 304.
- Injunctions and prohibitions, what room is there for them, if there is only one internal Self of all beings? ii, 65-68.
- do not refer to him who has obtained perfect knowledge, ii, 67.
- are possible on account of the connexion of the Self with bodies, ii, 66-68.
- Intellect (*buddhi*) is higher than the mind, i, 239 seq.
- higher than the i. is the great Self, i, 240.
- the pervadingness of, ii, 40.
- abides in the heart, ii, 45.
- the connexion of the soul with the i. exists as long as the soul, ii, 45-48.
- is the first produced, ii, 57.
- there are five distinctions of i., and on their account five intellectual organs, ii, 81.
- Intelligence the substance of Brahman, i, p. xxv.
- Intermediate place, i.e. state of dreams, ii, 133.
- Internal cognition cannot be the abode of mental impressions, i, 426 seq.
- organ, *Pradyumna* identical with it, i, p. xxiii.
- (*sattva*), and the individual soul, i, 122 seq.
- conjunction cannot take place between the atoms, the soul, and the i, 398.
- conjunction of soul and i. o. cannot be the cause of cognition, i, 398 n.
- called by different names, *manas*, *buddhi*, *vigñāna*, *kitta*, ii, 48.
- if no i. o. existed there would result either constant perception or constant non-perception, or else a limitation either of the soul or of the senses, ii, 48 seq.
- Internal organ, called *Ātman*, ii, 81.
- organs, the *Sāṅkhyas* sometimes speak of three, sometimes of one only, i, 376.
- co-operate with the Self, according to *Kaṇāda*, ii, 69.
- Intuition a means of knowledge, i, 18.
- is the final result of the enquiry into Brahman, i, 18; ii, 332.
- vouched for by Scripture, i, 101 seq.
- the highest Self corresponds to the mental act of complete, i, 172.
- true knowledge cannot be de-stitute of its result, since that result is the object of immediate, ii, 238, 295.
- the fruit of all meditations is to be effected through, ii, 281.
- repetition not necessary to bring about, ii, 333.
- Invisibility, that which possesses the attributes of i. is Brahman, i, p. xxxv, 135-142.
- may be an attribute of the *pradhāna*, i, 136.
- Involucrum of delight, ii, 202 seq.
- Īvara*, the Lord, i, p. xxv.
- as a retributor and dispenser, i, p. xxvi.
- retracts the material world and sends forth a new one, i, pp. xxvi, xxvii.
- or the lower Brahman, i, pp. xxvii, xci, xcii.
- is something unreal according to *Sāṅkara*, i, p. xxx.
- no distinction between *Ī.* and Brahman, i, p. xxx.
- of *Rāmānuga*, i, p. cxxiv.
- see also Lord.
- Īvaragītā* = *Bhagavadgītā*, ii, 63.
- Ītihāsa*, ii, 315.
- and *Purāṇas*, i, 198, 217, 222, 223, 304, 348; ii, 235.
- are of human origin, hence do not constitute an independent means of authoritative knowledge, i, 218.

- Itihâsas and Purâṇas** based on  
 mantra and arthavâda, i, 222.  
 — based on perception, i, 222.  
 — all the four castes are qualified  
 for acquiring the knowledge of  
 the, i, 229.
- Kahola**, the questions of K. and  
 Ushasta constitute one vidyâ, ii,  
 242 seq.
- Kaitraratha Abhipratârin**, Gâna-ruti  
 being mentioned together with  
 the Kshattriya K. must have  
 been a Kshattriya himself, i, 226  
 seq.
- Kâkrâyana**, the Rîshi, when in danger  
 of life, ate unlawful food, but  
 refused to drink, ii, 311.
- Kalpas**, the great world periods, i,  
 p. xxvi, 212.  
 — there is no measure of the past  
 and the future, i, 361.
- Kalpa-sûtras**, i, p. xii.
- Kanabhug**. See *Kanâda*.
- Kanâda**, i, 315.  
 — his *Vaireshika-sûtras*, i, 384.  
 — his doctrine, i, 386 seq.  
 — his reasons for the permanence  
 of the atoms, i, 392 seq.  
 — his followers deny the origina-  
 tion of ether, ii, 5.  
 — declare the soul to be non-  
 intelligent, ii, 33.  
 — their doctrine about the unin-  
 telligent Selfs and the internal  
 organs, ii, 69.
- Kânâdas**. See *Vaireshikas*.
- Kânvas and Mâdhyandinas**, the two  
 râkhâs of the *Brihad-âraṇyaka*,  
 i, p. lxxxix, 134, 260 n., 262  
 seq.; ii, 214, 308.
- Kapardin** quoted by Râmânuga, i,  
 p. xxi.
- Kâpeya**, Kaitraratha Abhipratârin  
 connected with, i, 226.
- Kapila** and other supreme rîshis  
 maintain the doctrine of the  
 pradhâna being the general  
 cause only because it is based  
 on the Veda, i, 237.  
 — his *Sânkhya-âstra*, i, 291.  
 — his knowledge rîshi-like and un-  
 obstructed, i, 292, 293, 294,  
 315.  
 — the dvaitavâdin, not mentioned  
 in *Sruti*, i, 294.
- Kapila Vâsudeva** who burned the  
 sons of Sagara, another, i, 294.  
 — by acknowledging a plurality of  
 Selfs, does not admit the doc-  
 trine of there being one uni-  
 versal Self, i, 295.  
 — blamed by Manu, i, 295.  
 — his great principle, i, 296.
- Kâpila Smṛiti**, i, 291.
- Karmakânda**, systematised by the  
*Pûrva Mîmâṃsâ*, i, p. ix.  
 — concerned the higher castes only,  
 i, p. xi.  
 — cannot lead to final release, i, pp.  
 xxvii, xxix.  
 — its subject-matter, i, 21, 24.  
 — activity depends on the, i, 322.  
 — works enjoined in the, ii, 184,  
 314 n.
- Kârshnâgini**, i, p. xix.  
 — his view of the remainder of  
 works with which the soul re-  
 descends, ii, 119 seq.
- Kâsakritsna**, i, pp. xix, xcix.  
 — on the highest Self existing in  
 the condition of the individual  
 soul, i, 278-283.
- Kârbaka**, ii, 196.
- Karba-upanishad** quoted in the  
*Vedânta-sûtras*, i, p. xlii.  
 — its topic the boons granted by  
 Yama to *Nakiketas*, i, 249.
- Kaushîtaki-upanishad** quoted in the  
*Vedânta-sûtras*, i, p. xlii.
- Kbândogya-upanishad**, most of the  
 passages discussed in the *Ved-  
 ânta-sûtras* are taken from  
 the, i, pp. xli seqq., xlv seq.  
 — creation according to the, ii,  
 4 seq.  
 — the *Udgîtha-vidyâ* of the, ii, 192-  
 199.
- Kitragupta** and others are employed  
 by Yama as superintendents of  
 hells, ii, 123.
- Kitraratha** connected with the *Kâ-  
 peyas*, i, 226.
- Knowing**, repetition of the mental  
 functions of k., meditating, &c.  
 is required (even where the text  
 gives instruction once only), ii,  
 331-337.  
 — and 'meditating' are used one  
 in the place of the other, ii,  
 332.
- Knowledge**, he who consists of k. is

- not the individual soul, but Brahman, i, p. xxxviii, 233-236.
- Knowledge, when does it arise, in this life or in the next? i, p. lxxvi; ii, 327-330.
- defined, i, 6.
  - is not an activity, i, 35 seq.
  - an attribute of goodness, i, 46, 48 seq.
  - the individual soul consists of, i, 134.
  - 'when he has departed, there is no more,' i, 280 seq.
  - the act of k., the object of k., and the result of k., an internal process, i, 418.
  - the act of k. and the object of k. are simultaneous, hence in reality identical, i, 419.
  - the means of k., the object of k., the knowing subject, and the act of k. are all alike indefinite, i, 429.
  - nescience, work, and former k., limiting adjuncts of the soul, ii, 367.
  - and works are the two roads for entering on the road of the gods and the road of the fathers, ii, 123-125.
  - the path of the gods cannot be attained by faith and austerities, unaided by, ii, 234.
  - works inferior to, ii, 267, 307.
  - mere k. cannot effect the purpose of man, ii, 288 seq.
  - good works also are apt to obstruct the result of, ii, 356 seq.
  - works connected with k. are superior to those destitute of, ii, 361.
  - means of, sacrifices and other works are, i, p. lxxviii; ii, 292 seq., 306-309, 313-315, 358-362.
  - procured in a former existence, i, 228; ii, 316, 328.
  - discussion of the various, ii, 306-327.
  - calmness &c. are direct means of k., sacrifice &c. are indirect means, ii, 307-309.
  - Muniship is enjoined as, ii, 322-324.
- Knowledge belongs to those who are bound to chastity, ii, 295.
- works are co-operative for the origination of k., but not for the fruits of, ii, 313.
  - also persons 'standing between,' i.e. not belonging to one or other of the stages of life, are qualified for, ii, 315 seq.
  - works if joined with k. may effect final release, ii, 359.
  - higher and lower, distinguished by Sāṅkara, i, pp. xxxi, lxxviii, 137 seqq.; this distinction not valid, i, pp. lxxxviii-xci.
  - — not distinguished by Rāmānuga, i, pp. xxxi, lxxviii seq.
  - — not distinguished by Bādarāyana, i, pp. c, ci.
  - — not distinguished in the Upanishads, i, pp. cviii-cxi, cxv seq.
  - the lower, departure of the soul of him who possesses, i, p. lxxix; ii, 364-404.
  - the greater part of the Vedānta-sūtras is taken up with, i, p. ci.
  - comprises the *Rig-veda* and so on, i, 137, 138.
  - leads to mere worldly exaltation, the higher to absolute bliss, i, 138.
  - he who possesses it obtains lordly power and cessation of all sin, ii, 355.
  - the highest, the fate of the soul of him who has reached it, i, p. lxxx seq.; ii, 372-377.
  - is this by which the Indestructible is apprehended, i, 135, 137 seq.
  - true (or perfect, or k. of the highest Self), the practical world, perception, &c., vanishes in the sphere of, i, 135, 281; ii, 340, 400.
  - is irrefutable, i, 282.
  - cannot be founded on reasoning, i, 316 seq.
  - rests on the Veda, i, 317.
  - as long as it is not reached, the ordinary course of secular and religious activity holds on undisturbed, i, 324.
  - — injunctions and prohibitions

- do not refer to him who has obtained, ii, 67.
- Knowledge, true, will spring up of itself, it cannot be enjoined, ii, 163, 164 seq.
- has pious meditation for its antecedent, ii, 205.
  - there is no difference in it as there is between works, ii, 330.
  - there can be no successive stages in it, ii, 336.
  - when t. k. springs up, Scripture ceases to be valid, ii, 340.
  - it is impossible for any one who has not reached t. k. to refrain altogether, from birth to death, from all actions, ii, 399.
  - a man dying in the possession of t. k. shakes off his good and evil deeds, i, p. lxx; ii, 119, 225-229, 230, 294 seq., 357 seq.
  - even beings who have reached t. k. may retain a body for the discharge of certain offices, i, p. lxxii; ii, 235-238.
  - in all cases brings about its fruit, viz. final release, i, 229; ii, 235-238.
  - by means of it, there is effected the Self's dissociation from the *mātrās*, i, 281.
  - is the door to perfect beatitude, i, 283.
  - *Smṛitis* composed with reference to t. k. as the means of final release, i, 291.
  - is not purposeless, ii, 64.
  - the accomplishment of man's highest end by means of t. k., the different injunctions as to the means of t. k., and the absence of certain rules as to release which is the fruit of, ii, 101, 285-330.
  - for those who have risen to t. k. it would be purposeless to proceed on the path of the gods, ii, 232.
  - completely destroys the potentiality of action, ii, 237.
  - alone effects the purpose of man, ii, 285, 290-306.
  - its fruit, being present to intuition, does not manifest itself at a later time only, as the fruits of actions do, ii, 294.
- Knowledge, true, he who possesses t. k. cannot be born again, ii, 369 seq., 419.
- is the door of release, ii, 370, 371, 400.
  - owing to the power of t. k. the soul departs through the hundred and first vein, ii, 377 seq.
  - through t. k. the expanse of names and forms which *Nescience* superimposes on Brahman is dissolved, ii, 401.
  - see also Brahman, knowledge of, p. 449.
  - see also Self, knowledge of the.
  - (*vidyā*) of the *prāṇa*, ii, 186 seq.
  - of Brahman's couch, ii, 400.
  - of Brahman within the heart, ii, 410. See also *Daharavidyā*.
  - of *Agni Vairvānara*. See *Vairvānara-vidyā*.
  - of the five fires. See *Fires*.
  - of the *udgītha*. See *Udgītha-vidyā*.
- Kṛikkhṛa* penance, prescribed for hermits and mendicants who have broken their vows, ii, 319.
- Krishna* or *Vishnu*, and the *Bhagavadgītā*, i, p. cxxvi.
- Krishna* *Dvaipāyana*, *Apāntaratamas* was born again as, ii, 235.
- Kundapāyins*, the *ayana* of the, a great sacrifice lasting a whole year, ii, 250, 250 n., 251, 314.
- Legends recorded in the *Vedānta*-texts have the purpose of glorifying (as *arthavādas*) the injunctions with which they are connected, i, p. lxxv; ii, 305 seq.
- Libations, five l. in the form of *Sraddhā*, *Soma*, rain, food, seed are offered in the five fires, viz. the heavenly world, *Parganya*, the earth, man, and woman, ii, 103.
- the seven l. (from the *saurya* libation up to the *jataudana* l.) are limited to the *Ātharvavikās*, ii, 189, 190.
- Light is the highest Brahman, i,

- pp. xxxiv, xxxviii, 87-97, 185, 191, 231 seq.
- Light, Brahman is the l. of lights, i, 193, 194.
- of Brahman, by it everything is lighted, i, p. xxxvi, 192-195.
- is the cause of the manifestation of this entire world, i, 194.
- the first-born (original) l. which has not yet become tripartite, i, 88 seq.
- the highest l. identified with the gastric fire within man, i, 89.
- the *prāṇa* Self is the universal, i, 195.
- on the road beginning with l. the departed soul proceeds, ii, 382-384, 386.
- and the other stations on the soul's journey to Brahman are conductors of the souls, not marks of the road, nor places of enjoyment, ii, 387-389.
- the l. into which the soul enters is the highest Self, ii, 407.
- highest. See also Lord, highest.
- Lightning is the end of the road beginning with light, ii, 386.
- beyond l. there is *Varuṇa* (on the path of the gods), ii, 386.
- after the l. has been reached, the souls are led through the worlds of *Varuṇa*, &c., by the person, not a man, who follows immediately after the, ii, 389.
- Lokāyatikas, i, 14.
- Lord, the, or the highest Self, or Brahman, i, p. xxvii.
- matter and souls constitute his body, i, p. xxviii.
- pervades all things as their antaryāmin, i, p. xxviii.
- modes of him (*prakāra*), i, p. xxviii.
- creation owing to an act of volition on his part, i, p. xxix.
- is Brahman in the condition of an effect, i, p. xxix.
- highest, all-knowing, all-powerful, i, 15, 79, 136 seq., 329, 357.
- his knowledge does not require a body, i, 50 seq., 438.
- the one within the sun and the eye is the, i, 77-81, 124 seqq.; ii, 416 seq.
- Lord, highest, has no special abode, but abides in his own glory, i, 78.
- the sole topic of all worldly songs, i, 80.
- — — of Scripture, i, 160.
- may assume a bodily shape formed of *Mâyā*, i, 80, 370 seq.
- also resides in the body, but not in the body only, for he is all-pervading, i, 111.
- although present everywhere, he is pleased when meditated upon as dwelling in the heart, i, 114, 196.
- immortality and fearlessness ascribed to him, i, 125.
- free from all evil, i, 125.
- the lordly power of the gods is based on the, i, 130; so also that of other souls, ii, 416-418.
- is the source of all beings, i, 135-142.
- 'measured by a span,' i, 144, 150-153, 192, 195 seq.
- has a shape consisting of the threefold world, i, 145 seq.
- the perception of the h. L. is the gastric fire, i, 147, 149.
- has the heaven for his head &c., and is based on the earth, i, 148.
- forms the head &c., and is based on the chin of the devout worshipper, i, 148.
- is everlastingly free from Nescience, ii, 149.
- worship of the h. L. as *Vaiṣvānara*, i, 149 seq.
- the supporting of all things up to ether can be the work of the h. L. only, i, 170.
- is greater than ether, i, 177.
- is a limitary support, i, 181 seq.
- there is only one h. L. ever unchanging, whose substance is cognition, and who, by means of Nescience, manifests himself in various ways, i, 190.
- besides the h. L. there is no other substance of cognition, i, 190.
- is the absolute ruler of the past and the future, i, 196.

- Lord, highest, his nature is Mâyâ joined with time and karman, i, 357 n.
- cannot be reproached with cruelty, on account of his regarding merit and demerit, i, 357-360; ii, 180-183.
  - his essential goodness affirmed by Sruti and Smṛiti, i, 358.
  - his position analogous to that of Parganya, i, 358.
  - Scripture the production of the omniscient L., and the omniscience of the L. based on Scripture, i, 437.
  - we are to meditate on him, i, 441.
  - from him there result *samsâra* and *moksha*, ii, 58 seq.
  - is the evolver of names and forms, i, 328 seq.; ii, 96-98.
  - meant by the term 'he who renders tripartite,' ii, 97.
  - is free from all qualities, ii, 340.
  - there is also a form of the h. L. not abiding in effected things, ii, 417 seq.
  - the Bauddhas do not admit a ruling, i, 403.
  - on the Sāṅkhya and Yoga systems the L. acts as the ruler of the *pradhâna* and of the souls, i, 434 seq.
  - Parupati, Siva, i, 435.
  - the *pradhâna* cannot be ruled by the L. in the same way as the organs are ruled by the soul, i, 437 seq.
  - such terms as L. and the like cannot be applied to the individual soul, i, p. xxxix.
  - highest, is not, like the individual soul, the cause of evil, i, p. xlix, 343-346.
  - who abides within the soul, is not affected by the imperfections clinging to the soul, i, pp. lxii-lxiv.
  - the intelligent Self is the, i, 15, 234, 290; ii, 337-340.
  - different from the individual soul, i, p. xcvi, 70, 81, 159 seq., 187, 234; ii, 290 seq.
  - the released soul, ii, 418.
  - is himself the individual soul, not anything else, i, 279; ii, 65 seq., 138 seq., 140, 244 seq., 291, 338, 339 seq.
- Lord, highest, stands in the realm of the phenomenal in the relation of a ruler to the individual souls, i, 329.
- with a view to the efforts made by the soul the L. makes it act, ii, 59-61.
  - as the soul is affected by pleasure and pain not so the, ii, 63-65.
  - refutation of the view that a h. L. is not the material but only the operative cause of the world, i, p. li, 284, 434-439, 440.
  - the world, according to the Upanishads, is nothing but a manifestation of the h. L.'s wonderful power, i, p. cxix.
  - the cause of the world, i, 16, 17, 46, 48, 49, 61, 243, 254, 263-266, 270, 271, 328; ii, 183.
  - dependency of the world on him, i, 242-245, 290, 370; ii, 415 seq.
  - arranged at the beginning of the present kalpa the entire world just as it had been arranged in the preceding kalpa, i, 215.
  - the creation of this world is mere play to him, i, 357.
  - may, although himself unmoving, move the universe, i, 369.
  - is the creative principle abiding within the elements, ii, 24 seq.
  - is a causal agent in all activity, ii, 59.
  - only is eternal and the creator of the world, ii, 416.
  - see also *Īvara*.
  - see also Brahman, and Self.
- Lords, such as *Hiranyagarbha*, &c., are able to continue their previous forms of existence in each new creation, i, 213, 215.
- Lotus, as the L. wanders from one pond to another without any means of conveyance, so Brahman creates the world, i, 348.

- Madhu-vidyā, i, 216 seq.; ii, 233.
- Mādhymikas, or nihilists, believe that everything is void and nothing whatever is real, i, p. li, 5 n., 401 n.
- Mādhyaṇḍinas. See Kāṇvas.
- Magician, Saṅkara's illustrative instance of the m. producing illusive sights is not known to Bādarāyaṇa, i, pp. xxv, xciv n.
- Magicians, multiform creations exist in them, i, 353.
- Mahābhārata, Vedāntic portions in it referred to by the Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa, i, p. cxxvii.
- there is one universal Self according to the, i, 295.
- quoted to show that those who know Brahman do not go or depart, ii, 375.
- Māheśvaras. See Saivas.
- Maitrāyaṇīya-upanishad, Mâyā in the, i, pp. cxvii n., cxxi n.
- Maitreyī, dialogue of M. and Yâgñavalkya, i, 274 seqq.
- Maitreyī-brāhmaṇa, ii, 305, 306.
- Man, fancifully identified with the sacrifice, ii, 220, 221, 265.
- Man-sacrifice, the particulars of it given in the *Khândogya* are not to be inserted in the *Taittirīyaka*, ii, 220-222.
- Manas. See Mind.
- see Internal organ.
- Mantras, certain m. and brāhmaṇa passages, met with in the beginning of some Upanishads, do not belong to the brahmavidyā, i, p. lxx; ii, 222-225.
- do not constitute an independent means of authoritative knowledge for anything, i, 218.
- though subserving other purposes, are also independent means of knowledge, i, 220-222.
- have occasionally to be explained in a secondary sense, i, 318.
- which are enjoined in one Sākhā are taken over by other Sākhās also, ii, 273 seq.
- enjoined in one Veda are valid for other Vedas also, ii, 274.
- and arthavādas as authorities on the gods, i, 198, 203, 217, 219 seq., 223, 304, 348, 355.
- — stories about men who obtained new bodies, in the, ii, 235.
- Mantras and arthavādas on the non-return of the released Soul, ii, 418 seq.
- Manu mentioned in *Sruti*, i, 294, 294 n.
- 'Whatever M. said is medicine,' i, 294.
- blames the doctrine of Kapila, i, 294 seq.
- recommends reasoning, i, 315.
- the doctrine of pradhāna accepted by, i, 394.
- Manu-smṛiti opposed to the Sāṅkhya-smṛiti, i, p. xlvii, 291.
- Maruts, i, 202, 216.
- Materialists, i, p. lxxiv.
- consider intelligence to be a mere attribute of the body, i, 368.
- assert that a Self separate from the body does not exist, ii, 269.
- do not admit the existence of anything but the four elements, ii, 270.
- Matter, unevolved (avyakta), i, p. xxviii.
- — becomes gross, i, p. xxix.
- and souls constitute the body of the Lord, i, p. xxviii.
- Mâyā or Avidyā, the appearance of the world due to it, i, p. xxv.
- is neither sat nor asat, i, p. xxv, 243.
- a principle of illusion, i, p. xxv.
- constitutes the upādāna, i, p. xxv.
- belongs to Brahman as a *śakti*, i, p. xxv, 362.
- modifies itself into all the individual existences, i, p. xxv.
- bodily organs and mental functions the offspring of, i, p. xxvi.
- the non-enlightened soul is unable to look through it, i, p. xxvi.
- the material world merged into it, i, p. xxvi.
- he whose soul has been enlightened withdraws from the influence of, i, p. xxvii.
- the world is not unreal M., i, p. xxx.
- Brahman becomes a personal God through, i, p. xxx.
- the soul is Brahman in so far as

- limited by the unreal upâdhis due to, i, p. xxx.
- Mâyâ, the doctrine of, unknown to Bâdarâyana, i, pp. xci-xcvii, c.
- not in the Upanishads, i, pp. cii, cxvi-cxxi.
  - though not part of the teaching of the Upanishads, does not contradict it openly, i, p. cxxv.
  - is of a non-intelligent nature, and the world does not spring from Brahman as being intelligence, but from Brahman as being associated with, i, p. xciii.
  - occurrence of the word M. in the Upanishads, i, p. cxvii n.
  - the highest Lord may assume a shape formed of, i, 81.
  - the nature of the Lord is M. joined with time and karman, i, 357 n.
  - in consequence of the Lord's conjunction with M. the creation is unavoidable, i, 357 n., 369.
  - emitted by the omniform Nârâyana, ii, 157.
  - see also Nescience.
- Meditating, repetitions of the mental functions of knowing, m., &c., is required even where the text gives instruction once only, ii, 331-337.
- and 'knowing' are used one in the place of the other, ii, 332.
- Meditation on Brahman as possessing certain attributes, i, p. lxvii, 107-109.
- the devotee engaged in it is to view it as constituting his own Self, i, p. lxxvi; ii, 337-340.
  - on the lower Brahman may have different results, ii, 161 seq., 185.
  - — its fruit lordship over the worlds, ii, 402.
  - is an action, knowledge is not, i, 35.
  - the threefoldness of, i, 102-106, 272.
  - as taught in the Vedânta-texts, is possible only if the soul is an agent, ii, 52.
  - presentation before the mind of
- the highest Self is effected through, ii, 171 seq.
- Meditation as a means of the knowledge of the highest person, ii, 204 seq.
- the double enunciation 'I am thou' and 'Thou art I,' points to a twofold m. on the oneness of the Self, ii, 244 seq.
  - owing to the might of the m. on the unity of prajñā and udgîtha, the Hotri sets right any mistake he may commit in his work, ii, 282.
  - on the udgîtha viewed as the sun, ii, 333.
  - is in itself of the nature of work, and thus capable of producing a result, ii, 348.
  - by the application of m. the soul departs by the vein passing through the skull, ii, 377 seq.
- Meditations (vidyās), discussions as to whether certain m. have to be combined or to be kept apart, i, pp. lxvii seq., lxx, lxxii seq.; ii, 184-192, 216-222, 240-249.
- certain m., such as that on the udgîtha, are really separate, although apparently identical, i, p. lxviii; ii, 192-196.
  - on Brahman, in all of them are all its qualities included, or only those mentioned in the special m.? i, p. lxviii seq.; ii, 201-204.
  - the form under which the Self of the meditating devotee has to be viewed in them, i, p. lxxiv.
  - for which the texts assign one and the same fruit are optional, i, p. lxxv; ii, 280 seq.
  - not m. on symbols, are the cause of being led to the world of Brahman, ii, 403 seq.
  - on constituent parts of sacrifices, are not to be considered as permanently requisite parts of the latter, i, p. lxxiv; ii, 252-256.
  - — — are valid for all jâkhâs, i, p. lxxiv; ii, 272-274.
  - — — and m. which refer to special wishes may be cumulated or optionally employed, i, p. lxxv; ii, 281-284.



- Meditations on constituent parts of sacrifices, are to be carried on by the sacrificer, ii, 320 seq.
- — — by the priest, ii, 321.
  - certain clauses forming part of the m., are not mere glorifications, but enjoin the m., i, p. lxxv; ii, 303-305.
  - which refer to one subject, but as distinguished by different qualities, have to be held apart as different m., i, p. lxxv; ii, 277-279.
  - on the Self are to be repeated again and again, i, p. lxxvi; ii, 331-337.
  - are to be carried on in a sitting posture, i, p. lxxvii; ii, 349 seq.
  - may be carried on at any time, and in any place, favourable to concentration of mind, i, p. lxxvii; ii, 350 seq.
  - are to be continued until death, i, p. lxxvii; ii, 351 seq.
  - are themselves acts, but not subordinate members of the sacrifices, ii, 256.
  - subserve the end of man, not of sacrifice, ii, 283.
  - the fruit belongs to him who carries out the, ii, 320.
  - — — to the sacrificer, ii, 321.
- Mendicant, religious, meditation only is prescribed for him, not action, i, p. lxxv; ii, 295-303, 306.
- — — and Brāhmanas, ii, 27.
  - — — not afflicted by pain, ii, 64.
  - — — the term 'austerity' cannot refer to him, ii, 300 seq.
  - — — the state of being grounded in Brahman belongs to him, ii, 300-303.
  - — — enjoys immortality, ii, 301.
  - — — penance prescribed for the m. who has broken his vow, ii, 319.
- 'Mental' cup, offered on the tenth day of Soma sacrifices, ii, 260 seq., 263, 266 seq.
- Mental impressions, the variety of ideas is due to m. i. of former ideas, i, 420, 420 n.
- — — their existence is not possible on the Bauddha view, i, 425-427.
- Mental impressions, internal cognition cannot be their abode, i, 426 seq.
- Metres, by means of the m. the direction of the mind on Brahman is declared, i, 93-95.
- their names used to denote other things resembling those m. in certain numerical relations, i, 95.
  - statements about the order of succession of m. supplementing each other, ii, 225, 228.
  - of the Asuras and of the Devas, ii, 228, 228 n.
- Milk, as milk transforms itself into curds, so Brahman is the cause of the world, i, 346 seq.
- Mīmāṃsā, i, p. ix.
- its two branches, pūrva and uttara, i, p. ix.
  - the word employed already in the Brāhmanas, i, p. x.
  - its various means of proof, as determining the proper meaning and position of Scriptural passages in the Vedānta-sūtras, i, p. xli.
  - the Vedānta-sūtras as well as the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtras are throughout M., i, p. xlv.
- Mīmāṃsā-śāstra, a short name for the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-śāstra, i, p. xi.
- Mīmāṃsā-sūtras not intelligible without a commentary, i, p. xiii seq.
- Mind (manas), the being which consists of m. & c. is Brahman, not the individual soul, i, p. xxxiv seq., 107-116.
- Brahman as it differentiates itself through the m. is called individual soul, i, 104.
  - is the abode of the power of cognition, i, 105.
  - the embodied Self is connected with the, i, 107.
  - the 'two entered into the cave,' are they the m. and the individual soul, or the individual soul and the highest Self? i, 118 seqq.
  - constitutes the limiting adjunct of the individual soul, and chiefly abides in the heart, i, 175.

- Mind is superior to the sense-objects, i, 239.
- intellect is higher than the, i, 239 seq.
  - presupposes the existence of an aggregate of atoms, viz. the body (Baudha), i, 403 n.
  - Pradyumna denotes the, i, 440.
  - speech, breath, and m. presuppose fire, water, and earth, ii, 78 seq.
  - has all things for its objects and extends to the past, the present, and the future, ii, 81.
  - on account of the plurality of its functions we find it designated as *manas* or *buddhi* or *aham-kâra* or *âtta*, ii, 81.
  - has five functions, ii, 89 seq.
  - accompanies the soul when leaving its body, ii, 102.
  - six and thirty thousand different energies of the m. identified with the fire-altars, the cups, &c., ii, 265.
  - speech is merged in, ii, 364 seq.
  - all sense-organs are merged in, ii, 365 seq.
  - breath may be viewed as the causal substance of, ii, 366.
  - is earth, ii, 366.
  - i. e. the function of m., is merged in breath, on the departure of the soul, ii, 366 seq.
- Mitra and Varuna, *Vasishtha* again procreated by them, ii, 235.
- Moksha. See Release.
- Moksha Sâstras, ii, 158.
- Momentariness, the Baudha doctrine of universal m., i, 403 n., 407, 408, 427.
- — — is impossible on account of remembrance of the perceiving person, i, 413-415.
- Monism. See Advaita.
- Moon, men who perform sacrifices &c. ascend after death to the, i, p. cvii, 108, 110, 112, 114, 121-125.
- the soul's ascent to, and descent from the, ii, 101-132.
  - the body of the soul in the m. consists of water, which had originated in the m. for the purpose of enjoying the fruits of works, ii, 114, 115, 127.
- Moon, the soul's descending from the, ii, 126-128.
- Mother-of-pearl mistaken for silver, simile, i, 4 n., 5, 43.
- Mundaka-upanishad and the rite of carrying fire on the head, ii, 186, 189 seq.
- Muni, the state of the, enjoined by the side of learning and childlike state, i, p. lxxvi; ii, 322-327.
- Nâdis, veins or arteries of the body, by means of them the soul departs from the body, i, pp. lxxix, lxxxii.
- deep sleep takes place in them, i, 191; ii, 141-146.
  - glorified, ii, 143.
  - light contained in them, ii, 144.
  - and pericardium are, in deep sleep, merely the limiting adjuncts of the soul, ii, 145.
  - see also Veins.
- Nâdiketa, legend of, ii, 123.
- Nâdiketas, colloquy between Yama and, i, 247-252.
- Names, the two secret, applied to the deva-abode of Brahman and to its bodily abode, are to be held apart, ii, 216-218.
- and forms, i, p. xxv.
  - their evolution is the work, not of the individual soul, but of the Lord, i, pp. lix, lxiii; ii, 96-100.
  - — — was preceded by the tripartition, ii, 98.
  - — the object of Brahman's knowledge before the creation, i, 50.
  - — attributed to Brahman, i, 125.
  - — presented by Nescience, i, 140, 282, 328 seq., 345, 369; ii, 64, 140, 401, 402.
  - — on account of their equality, there is no contradiction to the eternity of the Veda in the renovation of the world, i, 211-216.
  - — the world periodically divests itself of them, i, 212.
  - — Brahman only is different from, i, 232 seq.
  - — the entire world of effects is evolved exclusively by, i, 233, 242, 268, 357.

- Names and forms, 'Being' is that which is differentiated by, i, 267.
- abide in the individual soul, i, 277 seq.
  - cannot abide in the soul, i, 279.
  - non-existence of the effect previous to its production only means the state of n. and f. being unevolved, i, 333.
  - the element of plurality characterised by, i, 352.
  - in Bauddha terminology, i, 404, 404 n.
  - the apparent world of n. and f. to be dissolved by knowledge, ii, 162 seq.
- Nārada, dialogue between N. and Sanatkumāra, i, 166 seq.
- instructed by the omniform Nârâyana, ii, 157.
  - assumed a new body, ii, 235.
- Nârâyana, another name of Brahman, i, p. xxxi n.
- the omniform N. instructed Nârada about Mâyâ being the cause of Nârada's seeing him, ii, 157.
  - who is higher than the Undeveloped, who is the highest Self, and the Self of all, reveals himself by dividing himself in multiple ways, i, 440.
- Nâsadiya-sûkta quoted, ii, 85.
- Nescience (avidyâ), superimposition is, i, 6.
- perception &c. have for their object that which is dependent on, i, 7.
  - the seed of the Samsâra, destroyed by knowledge of Brahman, i, 14, 300; ii, 68 seq.; but not by the lower knowledge, ii, 370.
  - distinctions fictitiously created by, i, 32.
  - Brahman as the object of, i, 62.
  - the limiting adjunct, consisting of the organs of action, presented by, i, 134.
  - the whole practical world exists only in the sphere of, i, 135, 155; ii, 294.
  - names and forms presented by, i, 139 seq., 282, 328 seq., 345, 357, 369; ii, 64, 67, 140, 163, 401, 402.
- Nescience, the conception that the body and other things contained in the sphere of the Not-self are our Self, constitutes N., i, 157.
- from it there spring desires, aversions, fear, and confusion, i, 157, 167.
  - compared to the mistake of him who in the twilight mistakes a post for a man, i, 185.
  - the unreal aspect of the individual soul, as different from the highest Self, is a mere presentation of, i, 189, 241, 244, 251, 252; ii, 68, 139, 173, 179, 340.
  - by means of N., the highest Lord manifests himself in various ways, i, 190, 352.
  - the causal potentiality is of the nature of, i, 243.
  - the body the product of, i, 244.
  - all the kinds of specific cognition belonging to the sphere of N., are absent in the sphere of true knowledge, i, 281.
  - the elements and the sense-organs the product of, i, 281.
  - the effects both at the time of creation and reabsorption are the mere fallacious superimpositions of, i, 312.
  - element of plurality the figment of, i, 355.
  - naturally tends towards effects without any purpose, i, 357 n.
  - cannot be the cause of inequality, as it is of a uniform nature, i, 360.
  - the relation of causes of suffering and of sufferers is the effect of, i, 380.
  - in the Vâisheshika-sûtra, i, 392 seq.
  - the mutual causality of N. and so on (Bauddha) cannot explain the formation of aggregates, i, 404-409, 404 n.
  - Bauddha doctrine of the distinction, owing to the influence of N., of the attributes of existence and non-existence, i, 423.
  - the rising from deep sleep is due to the existence of potential N., ii, 48.

- Nescience, the conditions of being agent and enjoyer presented by N. only, ii, 54, 55.
- the soul being engrossed by N., identifies itself as it were with the body &c., and imagines itself to be affected by the experience of pain which is due to N., ii, 63 seq., 65.
  - the soul when leaving its body takes N., with itself, ii, 102.
  - the Lord is everlastingly free from, ii, 149.
  - a soul which has freed itself from N. cannot possibly enter into phenomenal life, ii, 149.
  - limiting adjuncts presented by, ii, 67, 153, 156.
  - the primeval natural N. leaves room for all practical life and activity, ii, 156.
  - the bondage of the soul due to N. only, ii, 174.
  - a limiting adjunct of the soul, ii, 367.
- Nihilist = Bauddha, i, 415.
- Nihilists are the Mādhyamikas, i, 401 n.
- maintain that everything is void, i, 401.
  - are contradicted by all means of right knowledge, and therefore require no special refutation, i, 427.
- Nimi, Vasishṭha cursed by, ii, 235.
- Nirvāṇa, the eternally perfect, ii, 419.
- Nishādas and the four castes, the *pañcagāṇāḥ*, i, 262.
- Non-being. See Asat.
- Non-duality, taught both by Saṅkara and Rāmānuga, i, p. xxx.
- with a difference, taught by Rāmānuga, i, p. xxx.
- Non-ego, the object has for its sphere the notion of the, i, 3.
- Non-entity, non-existent. See Asat.
- Nyāya philosophy, i, 15 n.
- Object and subject cannot be identified, i, 3.
- are not distinguished in consequence of wrong knowledge, i, 4.
  - the relation of, cannot exist in the Self, i, 378 seq.
- Objects, the ten, and the ten subjects cannot rest on anything but Brahman, i, 104.
- have reference to *pragñā*, i, 105 seq.
  - are beyond the senses, i, 239, 244.
  - mind is superior to the, i, 239.
- Oblations, the five, not always necessary for birth, ii, 125 seq.
- Om, the syllable, and the udgītha, i, p. lxviii; ii, 193 seq., 196-199.
- is all this, i, 169 seq.
  - a means to obtain Brahman, i, 170.
  - meditation on the highest person by means of it, i, 171-174; is the lower Brahman the object of this meditation? i, 171 seq.; the highest Brahman is the object of it, i, 172 seqq.
  - which is a quality, i.e. the abode of a meditation, is common to the three Vedas, ii, 282 seq.
- Omnipotence depends on the omnipotent ruler being the cause of all created things, i, 132.
- Omniscience, ascribed to the Pradhāna, i, 46 seq.
- Ordeal of the heated hatchet, and the thief, i, 323 n.
- Organic beings, four classes of, ii, 126.
- Organs, the creation and reabsorption of the o. of the soul do not interfere with the creation &c. of the elements, i, p. liii; ii, 26-28.
- five intellectual, and five o. of action, ii, 81.
  - drawn inward in sleep, ii, 136.
  - of the body and the divinities declared to be non-different, ii, 257.
  - see also Internal organ, and Sense-organs.
- Pañḍi-rahasya Brāhmaṇa, i, 122.
- Pañḍi-upanishad, i, p. xxxv n., 161.
- Pañḍāgni-vidyā. See Fires, knowledge of the five.
- Pāñḍarātra, the followers of the P. = the Bhāgavatas, i, 442.
- Pāñḍarātras = Bhāgavatas, quod vide.
- Pañḍarikha, a Smṛiti writer, i, 291 n.

Parganya, air manifesting itself in the form of, i, 229.

— the position of the Lord with regard to merit and demerit of the living creatures is analogous to that of, i, 358.

Parivṛgakas. See Mendicant.

Paryāṅka-vidyā, ii, 230, 232, 233.

Passion is called red on account of its colouring, i.e. influencing property, i, 253.

— Goodness, P., and Darkness, the three guṇas, i, 353.

— Goodness, P., and Darkness, the three constituent elements of the pradhāna, i, 364 n., 366 seq.

— the guṇa, cannot be that which causes suffering, i, 379.

— see Guṇas.

Paśupati or Siva, according to the Śaivas, the operative cause, i, 435.

Path, the Bauddha instruction as to the, i, 411.

— of the gods, i, p. xxix, 128; ii, 297, 381.

— — only those who know the qualified Brahman proceed on the, while those who know the unqualified Brahman become one with it without moving to any other place, i, p. lxxi; ii, 231 seq.

— — all who meditate on Brahman proceed on the, i, p. lxxii.

— followed by all who are acquainted with the saguṇa-vidyās of Brahman, i, p. lxxii; ii, 232-235.

— stations on it, i, p. lxxxii; ii, 382-389.

— — men who possess knowledge proceed on it up to the world of Brahman, from which there is no return, i, pp. cvii, cix; ii, 124, 391, 418 seq.

— the details about it are given both in the Upakośala-vidyā and in the Pañkāgni-vidyā, ii, 233, 234 seq.

— cannot be attained by faith and austerities, unaided by knowledge, ii, 234.

— description of it, ii, 364-404.

— of the fathers, ii, 234, 381, 384.

— leading through smoke, ii, 108.

Path of the fathers to be obtained by means of sacrifices, works of public utility, and alms, ii, 124.

Perception denotes Scripture, i, 203.

— possible without the body, as in dreams, ii, 272.

Pericardium, also a place of deep sleep, ii, 142, 144.

— merely the abode of the limiting adjuncts of the soul in deep sleep, ii, 145.

Person (puruṣa), the highest, to be meditated upon with the syllable Om is not the lower, but the higher Brahman, i, p. xxxv seq., 171-174.

— — meditation as a means of the knowledge of, ii, 205.

— of the size of a thumb is Brahman, i, p. xxxvii, 195-198.

— which is not the original Brahman, but an effect may be called the internal Self of all beings, i, 142.

— 'Beyond the Great there is the Undeveloped, beyond the Undeveloped there is the P.,' i, 237 seq.

— is essentially pure, i, 298.

— is higher than the senses and everything else, ii, 204 seq.

— called the Self, ii, 205.

— is hard to know, and to be reached by sharp minds only, ii, 205.

— in the sun, the golden, is the highest Self, i, 63, 112.

— — whom the sun does not know, i, 81.

— — and Agni are not equal, though the term 'death' is applied to both, ii, 267.

— — and the p. seen within the eye are not some individual soul, but Brahman, i, p. xxxiv, 77-81.

— — and the p. within the eye are one, ii, 217, 218, 244-247.

— within the eye, is Brahman, i, p. xxxv, 123-130.

— — is not a deity of the sun, i, 124, 130.

Pradhāna, the non-intelligent first cause, the Sāṅkhya doctrine of the, refuted, i, pp. xxxii, xlvi, l, xciii, cxvii, 16, 16 n., 46 seq.,

- 47-64, 70 seq., 135 seq., 139-142, 237-241, 238 n., 252, 257-260, 263, 290, 296, 313 seq., 353 seq., 363-381, 437 seq.
- Pradhâna, the Upanishads teach nothing like it, i, p. cxix.
- figuratively spoken of as thinking, i, 52 seq.
  - is not figuratively spoken of as thinking, i, 53 seq.
  - cannot be designated by the term 'Self,' because release is taught of him who takes his stand on that (the Sat), i, 55-57.
  - — because there is no statement of its having to be set aside, i, 57 seq.
  - — on account of the individual soul going to the Self, i, 59 seq.
  - the internal ruler is not the, i, 132 seq.
  - absolute bliss cannot result from, i, 138.
  - the abode of heaven, earth &c. cannot be the, i, 154, 157, 158.
  - the supporting of all things up to ether cannot be the work of the, i, 170, 171.
  - denoted by 'the Undeveloped,' i, 238, 245 seqq.
  - by the term p. the Sâṅkhya understands the antecedent condition of the world, i, 242.
  - is something to be cognised, i, 246.
  - is not spoken of as an object of knowledge, i, 246 seq.
  - not mentioned among the subjects of discussion in the colloquy between Yama and Nāṭiketas, i, 247-252.
  - a mere thing of inference and not vouched for by Scripture, i, 252.
  - is not denoted by agā, i, 252-257.
  - why it is treated in the Vedānta-sūtras, i, 288 seq., 317.
  - the Smṛitis teach that it is the independent cause of the world, i, 291.
  - assumed by the Yoga-Smṛiti, i, 296.
  - the non-intelligent p. cannot pass into what is intelligent, i, 308.
  - is the state of equilibrium of the three guṇas, Goodness, Passion, and Darkness, i, 353.
- Pradhâna, arguments of the Sâṅkhyas for the threefold, i, 364.
- its three constituent elements, Goodness, Passion, and Darkness, i, 364 n., 366 seq.
  - activities cannot be ascribed to a non-intelligent, i, 367-369.
  - cannot be active, because it stands in no relation, there being nothing beyond it, i, 370 seq.
  - does not modify itself spontaneously, i, 371 seq.
  - absence of a purpose on the part of the, i, 372 seq., 374.
  - the soul may move the p. as the lame man moves the blind one, or as the magnet moves the iron, i, 373 seq.
  - the theory of p. adopted by Manu and other adherents of the Veda, i, 394.
  - the Lord acts as the ruler of the p. and of the souls, and the p., the soul, and the Lord are of mutually different nature (Sâṅkhya and Yoga), i, 434 seq.
  - the Lord cannot be connected with the souls and the, i, 436 seq.
  - of infinite duration, i, 438.
  - the same as saṃsâra, i, 439.
  - through it the souls obtain enjoyment and release, ii, 69.
- Pradyumna, a manifestation of the highest being, i, p. xxiii, 441 seq.
- cannot spring from Saṅkarshana, i, p. li, 441, 442.
  - a form of Vāsudeva, denotes the mind (manas), i, 440.
  - Aniruddha cannot spring from, i, 441, 442.
- Pragâpati, birth of P., whose body is this threefold world, i, 142.
- is himself an 'effect' and called the inner Self, i, 142 seq. n.
  - his instruction on the Self, i, 183-191.
  - Indra his disciple, i, 199.
  - the creator, i, 203 seq.; ii, 206.
  - above Varuṇa there come Indra and P., on the path of the gods, ii, 386.
- Pragâpativākya, in the Kṛāṇḍogya-upanishad, i, p. lxiii.
- Prâṇasâla, ii, 274, 276.

**Prakṛiti** of the Sāṅkhyas, i, p. xxx.  
— the individual soul as free from, i, p. lxxxiii.

**Pralaya** (re-absorption of the world into Brahman) at the end of each kalpa, i, pp. xxix, liv, xciv, 382 n., 386-389; ii, 47, 371, 392.

— in it endeavour cannot take place, because no body exists then, nor any other seen cause, required to bring about the conjunction of the atoms, i, 387.

— would be impossible, if the atoms were essentially active, i, 391.

— see also World, reabsorption of the.

**Prāṇa**, Vāyu and, not to be identified, i, p. lxxiv; ii, 256-259.

— is Brahman, i, 229-231, 272; ii, 143.

— through knowledge of the p. immortality arises, i, 229-231.

— is a raised thunderbolt, i, 229-231.

— is the highest Self, i, 231.

— knowledge of the, ii, 186 seq.

— is the best among the organs of the body, ii, 256.

— everything is food of the, ii, 309 seq.

— see also Breath, and Vital air.

**Prāṇāgnihoṭra** is not omitted even when the eating of food is omitted, ii, 249 seq.

— is omitted when the eating of food is omitted, ii, 250-252.

— the details of the fundamental Agnihoṭra not valid for it, ii, 251 seq.

**Prāṇas**, the word 'person' applied to them, i, 261.

— colloquy of the, i, 304; ii, 88, 89, 186, 187 seqq., 200, 211, 215, 309.

— the individual soul is the sustaining principle of the, i, 361.

— see also Vital airs.

**Prāṇavidyās**, their unity, i, p. lxviii; ii, 200 seq., 212.

**Prajna**-upanishad, on the akshara Om, i, p. xliii.

**Prastoti**, even those priests, P. and so on, who are devoid of the knowledge of the divinities of

the prastāva and the like, perform the sacrifices, ii, 254.

**Pratardana**, the legend of Indra and, i, 97-99, 101; ii, 305, 306.

**Pravargya**-ceremony, passages about the, ii, 222-224.

**Prayer**, where the works of the āśramas are not possible, p. qualifies for knowledge, ii, 316.

**Priest**, the meditations on subordinate members of the sacrifice are his work, ii, 321.

— the fruit of meditations in which the p. is the agent goes to the sacrificer, ii, 321.

**Priests**: as a rule sacrificers of one and the same family employ officiating p. of one and the same family, i, 226.

— even those p. who do not know the divinities of the prastāva and the like, perform sacrifices, ii, 254.

**Purāṇas**, on past and future kalpas, i, 361.

— see Itihāsas and P.

**Purifications**, required for Vedic works, mentioned with a view to the origination of knowledge in him who has undergone those, ii, 314.

**Purushas** of the Sāṅkhyas, i, p. xxx.

**Purusha-vidyā**, of the Taittirīyaka and of the Kāṇḍogya-upanishad are not to be combined, ii, 220-222.

**Pūrvākāryās**, 'ancient teachers,' quoted by Rāmānuga, i, p. xxi.

**Pūrvamīmāṃsā**, i, p. ix.

— — arose at an early date, i, p. x.

— — enquiry into active religious duty its subject, i, 10.

— — means of proof made use of in the, i, 17 seq. and n.; ii, 262 seq.

**Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtras**, i, p. xii.

**Pūshan**, the grains for P. are to be crushed at all vikṛtis of the darṣapūrnāmāsa, ii, 309.

**Rāgasūya**-sacrifice, Brāhmaṇas are not qualified for the, i, 218; ii, 266.

— is to be offered by a prince who wishes to become the ruler of the whole earth, i, 222, 222 n.

- Rahasya-brâhmana, of the Tândins and the Paingins (the *Kbân-dogya*), ii, 220.
- Raikva, called Gânasruti a Sûdra, i, 223-226.
- possessed the knowledge of Brahman, ii, 315.
- Rakshas, among the *pañkaganâb*, i, 262.
- Râma Misra Sâstrin, Pandit, i, p. xxii n.
- Râmânuga, his Vedânta-sâra, i, p. xvi.
- Sri-bhâshya, i, p. xvi seq.
- rests on old and weighty tradition, i, pp. xvii, xxii.
- its sectarian feature, i, p. xxxi n.
- follows the authority of Bodhâyana, i, p. xxi seq.
- quotes a series of ancient teachers in his Vedârthasaṅgraha, i, p. xxi seq.
- sketch of his philosophical system, i, pp. xxiv, xxvii seqq.
- and Saṅkara, i, pp. xxii seqq., lxxxv-ci, cxxvi.
- chief points in which they agree and differ, i, pp. xxx seq., xxxiii-xi, xlviii-li, lxii-lxvi, lxviii-lxxiv, lxxvi-lxxix, lxxx-lxxxvi, cxii, cxiv, cxviii n., cxxi.
- on the subdivision of the Vedânta-sûtras into Adhikarâṇas, and the determination of the Vedic passages discussed in the Sûtras, i, pp. xli-xlvi.
- relation of Bâdarâyana's Sûtras to their chief distinguishing doctrines, i, pp. lxxxvii-ci.
- as interpreters of the Upanishads, i, p. cxxiii seq.
- approves of the system of the Bhâgavatas, i, p. li seq.
- on the relation of the individual soul to Brahman, i, pp. liii seq., lviii.
- according to him the soul is of minute size, and a knowing agent, i, pp. liv-lvii.
- on the activity of the soul, i, p. lvii.
- on dreams, i, p. lx seq.
- on the term 'mâyâ', i, p. lxi.
- on the combination of the senses with the manas, &c., at the death of the vidvân, i, p. lxxix.
- Râmânuga, on the immortality of him who knows Brahman, i, pp. lxxix, lxxx.
- his explanation preferred to that of Saṅkara, i, p. lxxxvi seq.
- denies the distinction of the two Brahman and the doctrine of Mâyâ, i, p. xci.
- denies the distinction between a higher and a lower knowledge, i, p. xci.
- denied that the Upanishads teach Mâyâ, i, p. cii.
- Râmânugas, an important Vaishṇava sect, i, p. xvii.
- closely connected with the Bhâgavatas, i, p. xxii seq.
- their fundamental text concerning the soul's fate after death, i, p. cxxi seq.
- see also Bhâgavatas.
- Râmâyan of Tulsidâs, i, p. cxxvii seq.
- Rânâyaniya-khila, the holding together and the pervading the sky attributed to Brahman in the R. are not to be inserted in other vidyâs, i, p. lxx; ii, 218-220.
- Rânâyaniyas, the Upanishad of the, ii, 219.
- Raurava, one of the seven hells, ii, 123.
- Reabsorption of the world into Brahman. See World and Pralaya.
- Real, the, and the Unreal, i.e. the intelligent Self and the non-real objects, coupled by wrong knowledge, i, 4.
- Realists, i.e. the Sautrântikas and the Vaibhâshikas, i, 401 n.
- maintain the reality of everything, i, 401.
- controverted, i, 402-418.
- Reasoning stands nearer to perception than Sruti, i, 299.
- is there room for objections founded on r. after the sense of the sacred texts has once been settled? i, 299 seq.
- only a subordinate auxiliary of intuitional knowledge, i, 307.
- which disregards the holy texts and rests on individual opinion



- only has no proper foundation, i, 314-317.
- Reasoning, the assertion that r. has no foundation rests on r. only, i, 315.
- recommended by Manu, i, 315.
  - the want of foundation constitutes the beauty of, i, 315 seq.
- Régnaud, M. Paul, i, pp. cv, cxvii.
- Release, final, or emancipation, attained by highest knowledge, i, p. xxvii, 29, 63, 71, 92, 291, 300, 316, 327, 328; ii, 55, 101, 101 n., 165 seq., 235-238, 357, 370, 371, 397-400.
- persons desirous of, have to include such qualities as satya-kāmatva in their meditations on Brahman, i, p. lxxiii.
  - — — the dissolution of the apparent world prescribed for them, ii, 162.
  - — — could not be in the possession of irrefutable knowledge, if the doctrine of general identity were not true, i, 282.
  - is nothing but Brahman, i, 28 seq., 34, 283 n.; ii, 329.
  - not the effect of religious merit, i, 27 seqq.
  - is an eternally and essentially disembodied state, i, 28, 29, 283, 328.
  - is of the nature of the eternally free Self, i, 32.
  - is something to be ceremonially purified, i, 33.
  - is of the nature of Brahman, which is eternally pure, i, 33.
  - is it a quality of the Self? i, 33.
  - taught of him who takes his stand on the Sat, i, 55-57.
  - desire of, caused by the reflection that all effects, objects, and powers are non-permanent, i, 198.
  - a man going to f. r. reaches the sun, i, 232.
  - connected with the element of unity in Brahman, i, 322.
  - cannot be the purpose of the pradhāna, i, 372 seq.
  - would be impossible on the pradhāna hypothesis, i, 373, 374, 380 seq.
- Release, final, is impossible, if the causes of suffering and the sufferer (i. e. the world and the souls) constitute one Self, i, 378.
- depends on knowledge, according to the Sāṅkhya also, i, 380 n.
  - no being desirous of, could be assumed, on the Bauddha doctrine, i, 406 seq.; nor on the Gaiṇa doctrine, i, 430.
  - Bauddha doctrine of bondage and, depending on absence and presence of right knowledge, i, 423.
  - the Gaiṇa doctrine of bondage and, untenable, i, 432.
  - the Self which enjoys f. r. must be the agent in the meditation which helps to bring it about, ii, 52 n.
  - impossibility of f. r. would follow, if the Self's agency were natural, ii, 53.
  - Samsāra and f. r. result from the highest Lord, ii, 58 seq., 139.
  - consists, according to the Vaiśeṣikas, in the absolute non-origination of the nine qualities of the Self, ii, 69.
  - the Self freed of the aggregate of eight, in f. r., ii, 83, 83 n.
  - the existence of a remainder of works does not stand in its way, ii, 119.
  - obtained by sleep only, ii, 148 seq.
  - by successive steps, one of the results of meditations on the qualified Brahman, ii, 162, 185, 391.
  - is possible, because the bondage of the soul is due to Nescience only, ii, 174.
  - no definite rule about its springing up in this life or in the next, exists as to the fruit which is, ii, 329 seq.
  - could never take place, if the chain of works which have been running on from eternity could not be cut short, ii, 355 seq.
  - cannot be dependent on locality, time, and special causes, as the fruit of works is, ii, 356.

- Release, final, the death of the body is the term of the attainment of, ii, 357 seq.
- works if joined with knowledge may effect it, ii, 359.
  - is something not to be effected at all, ii, 359.
  - is a fruit like other fruits, ii, 405.
  - in so far only as it is a cessation of all bondage, not as implying the accession of something new, ii, 406.
  - when the released has a body and senses, the state of f. r. is analogous to the waking state, ii, 413; when he has no body and no senses, it is analogous to that of a dream, ii, 413.
  - what Scripture says about absence of all specific cognition refers either to deep sleep or to f. r., not to that abode which is the result of qualified knowledge, ii, 414 seq.
  - see also Emancipation.
- Released, the. See Soul, released.
- Religious acts, their performance has for its fruit transitory felicity, i, 11.
- see also Works, and Sacrifice.
  - duty, the enquiry into it carried on in the Gaimini-sûtra, i, 26.
  - the possession of supernatural powers depends on the performance of it, i, 293.
  - is characterised by injunction, i, 293, 293 n.
  - in the case of r. d. we entirely depend on Scripture, i, 299.
  - hunter, i, 228.
  - merit, different degrees of pleasure the mere effects of it, i, 27.
  - final release not the effect of it, i, 27 seq.
  - is what brings about the fruits of actions, as Gaimini thinks, ii, 182.
- Retraction (of the world into Brahman). See Pralaya, and World.
- Rig-veda, the lower knowledge comprises the, i, 137, 138.
- the prazava belonging to the R. is connected with the udgitha belonging to the Sâma-veda, ii, 282 n.
- Rik*, the highest Self is, i, 79.
- meditation on the earth as R., and fire as Sâman, ii, 345-349.
- Rinsing of the mouth with water before and after eating is enjoined with reference to the act of meditation on the water viewed as the dress of prâna, ii, 211-214.
- Rîshi, knowledge of the R. necessary for the performance of a sacrificial action, i, 213 seq.
- the Tantra (Sâhkhya-sâstra) composed by a, i, 291, 292.
- Rîshis cannot perform sacrifices, hence are not entitled to the study of the Veda, i, 197 n.
- are entitled to acquire knowledge, i, 199.
  - the Vedas were seen by R., men of exalted vision, i, 213, 223.
  - cannot be qualified for meditations connected with, i, 217.
  - we have no right to measure by our capabilities their capability, i, 223.
  - create many things by their mere intention, i, 347 seq.
- Rivers, simile of the, i, 277 seq., 279.
- Road of the gods. See Path of the g.
- of the fathers. See Path of the f.
- Rudra, in consequence of a boon being granted to R., Sanatku-mâra was born again as Skanda, ii, 235.
- Rudras, class of gods, i, 202, 216.
- Ruler within, or the internal r., is Brahman, i, pp. xxxv, xlii seq., cxiii, 130-135.
- is not the pradhâna, i, 132 seq.
  - cannot mean the embodied soul, i, 133-135.
- Sabara Svâmin, ii, 268.
- Sacrifice must be preceded by the knowledge of the Rîshi of the mantra used, i, 213 seq.
- Sûdra unfit for it, i, 224.
  - is accomplished by means of speech and mind, ii, 57.
  - water is intimately connected with, ii, 105, 108, 109.
  - though involving harm done to animals, &c., is not unholy, ii, 130 seq.

- Sacrifice, man fancifully identified with the, ii, 220, 221, 265.
- subordinate members of the, meditations on them are the business of the priest, not of the sacrificer, i, p. lxxvi; ii, 320 seq.
  - — — though connected with s., yet are not necessary members of the s., because they have results of their own, ii, 252-256.
  - — — contribute towards the supersensuous result of the entire s., ii, 346 seq.
  - — — prescribed for some typical s. are so prescribed for the modified forms of the s. also, ii, 192, 192 n.
  - — — on which the meditations rest are taught in the three Vedas, so also the meditations, ii, 281 seq.
  - — — the ideas of Āditya &c. are to be superimposed on them, ii, 345-349.
- Sacrifices required as conducive to the rise of knowledge in the mind, i, p. lxxv; ii, 306-309, 313-315, 327 n.
- which are enjoined permanently, such as the Agnihotra, do not lose their efficiency, i, p. lxxviii; ii, 358-360.
  - the Upanishads distinguish men who perform s. and meritorious works only, and men who in addition possess a certain kind of knowledge, i, p. cvii.
  - the performers of s. only proceed on the northern path of the sun, i, 27.
  - — are objects of enjoyment for the gods, ii, 111.
  - — dwelling together with the gods obtain enjoyment, ii, 111, 112.
  - — only rise to the moon, ii, 122; the opposite view refuted, ii, 121-123, 124.
  - animals, gods, and Rishis do not perform, i, 197 n.
  - men whose only desire is emancipation, do not perform s., as they do not care for the perishable fruits of them, i, 197 n.
- Sacrifices, a god may divide himself into many forms and enter into relation with many, i, 200.
- those who do not perform s., descend to *Samyamana*, the abode of Yama, suffer their torments, and then again reascend to this world, ii, 122 seq.
  - lead to the road of the fathers, ii, 124.
  - prescribed for him who is desirous of the heavenly world, ii, 162, 182.
  - certain mantras and s., referred to in certain passages, the matter of which is different from the approximate vidyās, have not to be combined with the latter, ii, 222-225.
  - performed even by priests who do not know the divinities of the, ii, 254.
  - Vedic texts referring to s. aim at enjoining the performance of the entire s. only, ii, 274, 275.
  - cognitions compared with, ii, 280.
  - and other duties connected with householdship, ii, 298.
- Sacrificial thread round the neck or on the right shoulder, ii, 298.
- Sādhya, i, 216.
- Saivas maintain that the five categories were taught by the Lord Paśupati to the end of breaking the bonds of the soul; Paśupati is, according to them, the operative cause, i, 435.
- Sākhā, in the same *S.* also there is unity of vidyā, ii, 214-216.
- although they differ as to accents and the like, the vidyās connected with certain members of sacrificial acts, refer to the udgītha and so on belonging to all, ii, 272-274.
  - mantras and the like enjoined in one *S.* are taken over by other Sākhās also, ii, 273 seq.
- Sakti, Mâyā belongs to Brahman as a, i, p. xxv.
- Sālagrām, Hari is contemplated in the sacred stone called, i, 114, 126, 178.

- Samâtâra**, a book of the Âtharvânikas treating of Vedic observances, ii, 189.
- Sâman**, the highest Self is, i, 79.
- meditation on the fire as S., and the earth as *Rik*, ii, 345-349.
- Sâma-veda**, the *pranava* belonging to the *Rig-veda* is connected with the S. meditation on the *udgitha*, ii, 282 n.
- Samnyâsin**, in the case of perfect knowledge not yet having arisen in the S., Muniship is enjoined as a means of knowledge, ii, 322-324.
- Samsâra** (the endless cycle of birth, action, and death), the *Veda* furnishes the means of escaping from it, i, pp. xxvii, xxix.
- release from it according to Sânkara and Râmânuga, i, p. xxxi.
  - Nescience, the seed of it, i, 14; ii, 68 seq.
  - non-eternal, of a fleeting, changing nature, i, 27.
  - beginningless, i, 212, 214, 420; ii, 60.
  - gradually all souls are released from it, i, 439.
  - the *pradhâna* which is ruled by the Lord and which modifies itself for the purposes of the soul is what is meant by, i, 439.
  - is only due to the qualities of the *buddhi* and the other limiting adjuncts being wrongly superimposed upon the Self, ii, 43 seq., 46-48.
  - and *moksha* result from the highest Lord, ii, 58 seq.
  - the Lord afflicted by the pain caused to the soul by its experience of the, ii, 63.
  - the nine qualities of the Selfs constitute the s. according to the *Vaishikas*, ii, 69.
  - the manner in which the soul together with its subordinate adjuncts passes through the, ii, 101-132.
  - threefold fruits of action in the s., viz. pain, pleasure, and a mixture of the two, come from the Lord, ii, 180 seq.
- Samsâra**, the Self which stands outside the, ii, 288.
- scriptural declarations of the, ii, 371.
  - would be impossible on the assumption of the soul being either a part, or an effect of, or different from Brahman, ii, 397.
  - because the s. depends on works, it does not follow that the s. will cease, when works are absent, ii, 398.
- Samvarga-knowledge**, or S.-vidyâ, i, 224-226; ii, 19, 196.
- Samvarta** became a great Yogin, ii, 315.
- Samyamana**, those who do not perform sacrifices go to S., the abode of Yama, ii, 122 seq.
- in the city of S. evil works are requited under Yama's rule, ii, 123.
- Sanatkumâra**, dialogue between Nârada and, i, 166 seq.
- a son of Brahman's mind, was, in consequence of a boon being granted to Rudra, born again as Skanda, ii, 235.
- Sândilya**, i, p. cxv.
- did not find highest bliss in the *Vedas*, i, 443.
- Sândilyavidyâ**, i, pp. lxxvii, lxxv, cxiv, 91; ii, 187, 214, 216, 217, 219, 233, 266.
- Sânkara** or **Sâhkarâkârya**, i, p. xiv.
- his commentary represents the orthodox side of Brahmanical theology, i, p. xiv.
  - — the oldest of the extant commentaries, i, p. xiv.
  - — the authority most generally deferred to in India, i, p. xv.
  - his authority above doubt and dispute, i, p. xv.
  - how far he represents the true Vedânta doctrine, i, p. xvii seq.
  - his doctrine of the absolute identity of the individual soul with Brahman, i, p. xx.
  - refers to other commentators, i, p. xx.
  - his school acknowledges Vedântic teaching of an essentially different type, i, p. xxi.

Saṅkara or Saṅkarātārya, preceded by *Dramida*, i, p. xxii.

— and Rāmānuga, i, pp. xxii seqq., xxx seq., xli-xlvi, lxxxv-ci.

— — disagree as to the system of the Bhāgavatas, i, p. li seq.

— sketch of his philosophical system, i, p. xxiv seqq.

— his doctrine about the soul being merged in Brahman, faithfully represents the teaching of the Upanishads, i, p. cxxi seq.

— his mode of interpretation with regard to the Upanishads, i, pp. cxxii-cxxv.

— the philosophy of *S.* nearer to the teaching of the Upanishads than the Sūtras of Bādarāyana, i, p. cxxvi.

— a translation of his commentary cannot be combined with an independent translation of the Vedānta-sūtras, i, p. cxxviii.

Saṅkara system, no tendency among its followers to keep their doctrines secret, i, p. xcix.

Saṅkarsha-kāṇḍa, ii, 259.

Saṅkarshana, a manifestation of the highest being, i, pp. xxiii, lii.

— originated from Vāsudeva, i, p. li.

— a form of Vāsudeva, denotes the individual soul, i, 440.

— cannot spring from Vāsudeva, i, 441, 442.

— Pradyumna cannot spring from, i, 441, 442.

— taken as a Lord, i, 441 seq.

Saṅkhyā and Yoga are mere Smṛiti, not of scriptural character, ii, 381.

Saṅkhyas, their prakṛiti and puruṣas, i, p. xxx.

— refutation of their doctrines, i, pp. xxxix-xlviii, xciii, 15 n., 237-289.

— — is applicable also to other theories, i, p. xl, 288 seq.

— were anxious to prove that their views are warranted by scriptural passages, i, p. xlvi.

— Vedāntins, and Upanishads, i, p. cxvii.

— their three guṇas, i, 28. See also *Guṇas*.

— number of their categories, i, 257-260.

Saṅkhyas maintain duality, do not discern the unity of the Self, i, 298.

— are in harmony with the Veda, in their description of the soul as free from all qualities, i, 298.

— hold that the intelligent beings (i. e. the souls) are incapable of either taking in or giving out anything, and are non-active, i, 301.

— the objections raised by them against the Vedānta doctrine apply to their view also, i, 313 seq.

— reasons why their system should be refuted by the Vedāntin, i, 363 seq.

— charge the Vedāntins with contradictions, i, 376-378.

— think that eternal intelligence constitutes the very nature of the soul, ii, 33.

— their doctrine of many Selfs refuted, ii, 69 seq.

— teach that the chief vital air is to be considered as the combined function of all organs, ii, 86.

— hold that the Self and the organs are both all-pervading, and when obtaining a new body only begin to function in it in consequence of the Karman, ii, 103.

— see also *Pradhāna*.

Saṅkhyasāstra taught by Kapila, i, 291 n.

Saṅkhyā-smṛiti, i, 247, 258, 284 n., 296.

— and other Smṛitis, their conflicting claims, i, p. xlvii, 290-296.

— refuted, i, 132 seq.

— the pradhāna assumed by the, i, 158.

— the three entities (the great principle, the Undeveloped, the soul) in the, i, 238.

— and Yoga-smṛiti, why singled out for refutation, i, 297 seq.

— knowledge of the *S.* does not lead to highest beatitude, i, 298.

Sāriraka Mīmāṃsā-sūtras, another name for Vedānta-sūtras, i, p. xiv n., 9.

- Sârîraka-jâstra, its aim is to show that there is only one highest Lord, i, 190.
- Sarvadarśanasamgraha, Râmânuga chapter in the, i, p. xxiv.
- Sat, 'being,' 'that which is,' Mâyâ cannot be called so, i, p. xxv.
- in the beginning there existed nothing but the, i, p. cv seq.; this passage refers to the Self, i, p. cxviii; ii, 209 seq.
  - the thought of it not to be understood in a figurative sense, i, 54.
  - release is taught of him who takes his stand on it, i, 55-57.
  - pradhâna is not denoted by the term, i, 57-60.
  - denotes that which is differentiated by names and forms, i, 267.
  - Brahman is S., and the world is S., i, 332.
  - there is no origin of S. (i. e. of Brahman), ii, 19 seq.
  - fire has for its source S. (Brahman), ii, 20-22.
  - 'he became S. and tyat,' ii, 25, 167.
  - chapter treating of the, ii, 96.
  - a name of Brahman, ii, 142, 144, 160.
  - comprises the Self as well as the Non-Self, ii, 210, 210 n.
  - which is the root of the world, is the only object of cognition, ii, 396.
- Satapatha-brâhmana, its accentuation, and the Bhâshika-sûtra, i, 258 n.
- Sataudana libation of the Âtharvazikas, ii, 190.
- Sattva. See Internal organ.
- Satyakâma, i, p. cv.
- Satyaloka, the world of the lower Brahman is called S., i, 181.
- Saunaka on the Rishis, i, 213.
- Saurya libation of the followers of the Atharva-veda, ii, 190.
- Sautrântikas are realists, i, 401 n.
- Savitar (the Sun) after having for thousands of yugas performed the office of watching over these worlds, enjoys at the end of this period the condition of release in which he neither rises nor sets, ii, 236.
- Scripture allows argumentation, i, 17.
- and intuition as means of knowledge, i, 18.
  - Brahman the source of, i, 19-22.
  - the means of knowing Brahman, i, 20 seq., 22-47, 288, 350-352, 355; ii, 339.
  - aims at action, i, 20 seq.
  - not the source of Brahman, i, 22.
  - because it is directly stated in S. therefore the all-knowing Brahman is the cause of the world, i, 61-64, 306, 317.
  - intuition vouched for by, i, 101 seq.
  - Brahman is the special topic of, i, 160, 265 seq.
  - nowhere makes statements regarding the individual soul, i, 160.
  - in order to be authoritative, is independent of anything else, i, 203.
  - Smṛiti depends on, i, 203, 440.
  - may sometimes have to be taken in a secondary sense, i, 318.
  - its authoritativeness denied by the Bauddhas, i, 412.
  - is the production of the omniscient Lord, and omniscience of the Lord is based on it, i, 437.
  - our only authority in the origination of the knowledge of supersensuous things, ii, 4.
  - our knowledge of what is duty and the contrary of duty depends entirely on, ii, 131.
  - ceases to be valid, when true knowledge springs up, ii, 340.
  - see also Śruti, and Veda.
- Self, the soul looks for its true S. in the body, &c., i, p. xxvi.
- consisting of bliss (ānandamaya), is the highest Self, not an individual soul, i, p. xxxiii seq., 64-77.
  - — — desire mentioned as belonging to it, i, 70 seq.
  - — — scripture teaches the joining of the individual soul with it, i, 71-77.
  - — — Brahman is called the tail, i. e. a member of it, i, 72 seq.
  - the S. (of whose existence all

- are conscious) is Brahman, i, 14, 377; ii, 208 seq.
- Self, different opinions about it, i, 14 seq.
- everything has its S. in Brahman, i, 23.
  - passages about the non-transmigrating, i, 25 seq.
  - not joined to the gross body, not to the subtle body, independent of either, i, 28 n.
  - the word S. is applied to the cause of the world, i, 53-55.
  - used figuratively in the sense of 'that which effects all purposes of another,' i, 54, 56.
  - *pradhāna* cannot be designated by the term 'Self,' i, 55-60.
  - in its primary meaning refers to what is intelligent only, i, 56.
  - the individual soul goes to the, i, 59 seq.
  - the personal S. of a deity may be called an intelligent, i, 99.
  - the Person called the internal S. of all beings, i, 142.
  - divine, one and the same d. S. may assume several forms at the same time, i, 200.
  - the intelligent, is the highest Lord, i, 234, 235.
  - the great, may denote the intellect of the first-born *Hiraṇyagarbha*, i, 240.
  - is higher than the intellect, i, 240.
  - i. e. the individual soul, or the fundamental intellect, i, 241.
  - is the intelligent soul of the *Sāṅkhyas*, i, 259.
  - husband, wife, riches, and other objects of enjoyment in this world are dear on account of the, i, 274.
  - is not destroyed, i, 281.
  - but by means of true knowledge there is effected its dissociation from the *mātrās*, i, 281.
  - makes itself; which is possible owing to modification, i, 287.
  - the witnessing S. is self-proved, i, 424.
  - is one and permanent, i, 424.
  - there results from the *Gaiṇa* doctrine non-universality of the, i, 431 seq.
- Self, the doctrine of the Upanishads refers to that S. which stands outside the *samsāra* and cannot therefore be subordinate to activity, ii, 288.
- love, play, and the like cannot be ascribed to the action of the, ii, 410.
  - has the option of manifold existence, ii, 412, 413 seq., 414 n.
  - the highest, there is no Self apart from, i, p. xxvii, 113, 115, 155, 190, 240 seq., 249 seqq., 277, 283, 295, 320-330, 381; ii, 66-68, 73, 174-180, 244; nor within it, ii, 180.
  - — *Vāsudeva* identical with it, i, p. xxiii, 440.
  - — or Brahman, i, p. xxvii, 36.
  - — the world is the body investing it, i, p. xxx.
  - — different from the soul in the states of deep sleep and departing, i, p. xxxix, 233-236; ii, 54.
  - — the S. to be seen, to be heard, &c., is the h. S., not the individual soul, i, p. xl, 274-283.
  - — higher than everything, i, p. lxix; ii, 204 seq.
  - — the S. spoken of in the account of the creation given in *Ait. Ār. II*, 4 is not a lower form of the S., but the h. S., i, p. lxix; ii, 205-211.
  - — relation of the individual soul to the h. S., i, p. cxxi seq., 37, 118-123, 161, 185 seq., 190, 233, 251, 277 seq., 278 n., 278-283, 441; ii, 65 seq., 68 seq., 138, 149, 173-175, 240 seq., 407 seq.
  - — its true nature is nothing either to be endeavoured after or to be avoided, i, 36.
  - — the golden person in the disc of the sun is the, i, 63.
  - — although eternally unchanging and uniform, it reveals itself in a graduated series of beings, i, 63.
  - — is *ānandamaya*, i, 66-68.
  - — only is entirely free from sin, i, 79.
  - — is *Rīk*, *Sāman*, *Uktha*, *Yagus*, Brahman, i, 79 seq.

- Self, the highest, the knowledge of the, is most beneficial for man, i, 98, 167, 250.
- — — subsequently to it all works and their effects entirely cease, i, 98.
  - — — through it everything becomes known, i, 275.
  - — — is self-established, ii, 14.
  - — — souls devoid of it are objects of enjoyment for the gods, ii, 111.
  - — — is it connected with works, or is it an independent means to accomplish the purpose of man? ii, 285-306.
  - — — does not only not promote action but rather cuts all action short, i, 290.
  - — — the qualities of having true desires and true purposes attributed to the, i, 110.
  - — — the eater is the h. S. since what is movable and what is immovable is mentioned as his food, i, 116-118.
  - — — fruition on the part of the h. S. denied, i, 117, 119, 120.
  - — — the person within the eye is the, i, 129 seq.
  - — — universal rulership an appropriate attribute of it, i, 131 seq.
  - — — immortal, unseen, unheard, i, 132.
  - — — organs of action may be ascribed to it, i, 132.
  - — — may be represented as the Gârhapatya-fire, i, 150.
  - — — as the mere witness, i. e., the pure Self, non-related to the limiting conditions, i, 150.
  - — — is the abode of heaven, earth, &c., i, 161.
  - — — absence of seeing, &c., characteristic of it, i, 168 seq.
  - — — the qualities of being the True, of resting in its own greatness, of being omnipresent, and of being the Self of everything, can belong to the h. S. only, i, 169.
  - — — meditation on the, i, 171-174.
  - — — its reward, i, 174.
  - — — 'the highest person' means 'the h. S.', i, 171-174, 205.
  - — — corresponds to the mental act of complete intuition, i, 172.
- Self, the highest, its nature is pure intelligence, i, 185 seq.
- — — that after which sun, moon, &c., are said to shine is the, i, 192-194.
  - — — the word 'light' denotes the, i, 195; ii, 407.
  - — — with reference to the heart the h. S. is said to be of the size of a span, i, 196-198.
  - — — prâna is the, i, 230 seq.
  - — — is the end of the journey, the highest place of Vishnu, i, 239.
  - — — the calm, i. e. the h. S., i, 241.
  - — — Nâkietas' question and Yama's answer as to the, i, 248.
  - — — is above all attributes, i, 249.
  - — — the one general cause, i, 274.
  - — — is the centre of the whole world with the objects, the senses, and the mind, it has neither inside nor outside, it is altogether a mass of knowledge, i, 276.
  - — — is the operative as well as material cause of the world, i, 286.
  - — — is not affected by the world-illusion, i, 312.
  - — — the one unchanging witness of the three states, the creation, subsistence, and reabsorption of the world, i, 312.
  - — — though devoid of motion, may yet move other things, i, 369.
  - — — the relation of object and subject cannot exist in it, i, 378 seq.
  - — — appears in manifold forms, i, 440; ii, 66-68.
  - — — its nature is eternal presence, ii, 15.
  - — — is not an effect, i, 15.
  - — — is not the shaper of dreams, ii, 137 seq.
  - — — the creation of the worlds was accomplished by some inferior Lord, different from, and superintended by the, ii, 206.
  - — — the passage 'Being only this was in the beginning' refers to it, ii, 209 seq.
  - — — is within all, ii, 242 seq.
  - — — men wrongly superimpose upon it the attribute of being made up of many parts, such as the body, the senses, &c., ii, 336.



Self, the highest, affected with duality by Nescience, ii, 340.  
 — not to be contemplated in the symbol, ii, 340-342.  
 — see also Brahman, and Lord.  
 — individual (embodied), can an existence independent of the body be assigned to it? i, p. lxxiv; ii, 268-272.  
 — a reflection of the highest S., i, p. xcvi.  
 — is the only reality, i, 4 n.  
 — is the object of the notion of the Ego, i, 5.  
 — is the witness of all the modifications of the internal organ, i, 9.  
 — the identity of the i. S. and Brahman, i, 30 seq., 41-43, 45, 105; ii, 288, 291, 337-340.  
 — — — arguments against it, ii, 338.  
 — is purified by certain ritual actions, i, 33.  
 — cannot be the abode of any action, i, 33.  
 — cannot become an agent, i, 42.  
 — considered as the agent in sacrifices, i, 42.  
 — as the ruler of the organs of action is connected with the mind, i, 107.  
 — the golden person is in the, i, 112.  
 — difference and non-difference of the i. S. and the highest S., i, 112 seq., 115, 130, 187, 249 seqq., 251 seq., 283.  
 — is the charioteer, the body the chariot, i, 121.  
 — cannot be the person in the eye, i, 124, 129 seq.  
 — is not immortal, i, 130.  
 — the effects of Nescience, desire and works, ascribed to it, i, 130.  
 — is one only, i, 135.  
 — is, by means of merit, and demerit, the cause of the origin of the complex of things, i, 136.  
 — has the qualities of Selfhood and intelligence, but not those of omniscience and similar qualities, i, 158, 268.

Self, individual, of a dreaming person, there exists a multiform creation in it, i, 352 seq.; ii, 133 seq., 137 seq.  
 — how is it known at all if it is not the object of perception? i, 368.  
 — is not produced, but it is eternal, according to Scripture, ii, 29-33.  
 — deep sleep takes place in it, ii, 141-146; therefore the awakening takes place from it, ii, 146 seq.  
 — the passages about its having true wishes and other qualities, have to be combined, ii, 247-249.  
 — the existence of a S. different from the body proved, ii, 268-272.  
 — not different from the body, according to the materialists, ii, 269.  
 — taught by the Upanishads as the object of cognition, ii, 288.  
 — is 'thou,' it is the agent in seeing and hearing, is successively apprehended as the inward S. of all the outward involucra beginning with the gross body, and finally ascertained as of the nature of intelligence, ii, 335.  
 — the conceit of it being subject to pain is a wrong conceit, ii, 336 seq.  
 — when released, manifests itself in its own nature, ii, 405 seqq.  
 — see also Soul.  
 Self-consciousness, the subtle elements of material things proceed from it, i, 376.  
 Selves, the real, innermost Self and secondary, i, 64-66, 68, 72.  
 — words like āditya, &c., convey the idea of certain divine, i, 219.  
 — it is senseless to insist on a plurality of, i, 282 seq.  
 — plurality of S. acknowledged by Kapila, i, 295.  
 — nine qualities of the S., according to the Vaiśeṣikas, ii, 69.  
 — refutation of the Sāṅkhya and Vaiśeṣika doctrine of many, ii, 69-73.

- Selves, there is no distinction of different S., such a distinction being due to limiting adjuncts only, ii, 172.
- Senselessness. See Swoon.
- Sense-organs, the elements and the s. the product of Nescience, i, 281.
- ten, ii, 65 n.
  - are the cause of the perception of the sense-objects, ii, 95.
  - the word *prāṇa* is secondarily applied to the, ii, 96.
  - accompany the soul when leaving its body, ii, 102.
  - all s., i.e. their functions, are merged in mind on the departure of the soul, ii, 365 seq.
  - and elements of him who knows Brahman are merged in Brahman, ii, 376 seq.
  - see also Organs.
- Senses, the objects are beyond the, i, 239, 244.
- the relation of the s. and their objects is based on the mind, i, 239.
  - the Sāṅkhyas enumerate sometimes seven, sometimes eleven, i, 376.
  - 'the abode of the six,' in Bauddha terminology, i, 404, 405 n.
  - though the soul is intelligent, the s. are not useless, ii, 34.
  - seven, ii, 82 seq.
  - called *grahas*, i.e. seizers, because they are bonds by which the soul is tied, ii, 83.
  - the vital airs are the eleven, ii, 93 seq.
- Servara-sāṅkhyas admit the existence of a highest Lord, but postulate a *pradhāna* besides, i, p. xl.
- Shodāśakala-vidyā, ii, 233.
- Shodāśin-cup at the *atirātra*-sacrifice, either to be offered or not to be offered, i, 262 seq.; ii, 188.
- Shodāśin-rite, the time of the *stotra* accompanying the performance of the, ii, 228.
- Sin, on the attainment of Brahman all s. is extinguished, ii, 353-356.
- he who possesses knowledge obtains lordly power and cessation of all, ii, 355.
- Sîtâ not born in the ordinary way, ii, 125.
- Siva. See Paṇupati.
- Skanda, Sanatkumāra was born again as, ii, 235.
- Skandhas (groups), the five, of the realists, i, 402 seq.
- the atoms and s. cannot be assumed to enter on activity on their own account, i, 403.
- Sleep, the activity of the sense-organs interrupted during, i, 85, 86.
- a kind of dissolution and origination takes place in the sleeping and the waking states, i, 212.
  - the undeveloped principle or the causal potentiality is a universal s., in which are lying the transmigrating souls destitute for the time of the consciousness of their individual character, i, 243.
  - the soul wanders about in the state of, ii, 49 seq.
  - in it the organs are drawn inward, ii, 136.
  - deep, in the state of it the soul abides within Brahman in the heart, i, p. lxi, 180, 273, 350; ii, 54 seq., 141-147, 176, 210.
  - the soul awakening from it is the same that went to, i, p. lxi; ii, 147-149.
  - what Scripture says about absence of all specific cognition, refers either to d. s. or final release, i, p. lxxxv; ii, 145, 414 seq.
  - when a man sleeps he is gone to his own Self, i, 59.
  - the soul in the condition of d. s. is resolved into an intelligent entity, i, 60.
  - the vital air remains awake in the state of, i, 162-168.
  - is characterised by the cessation of the activity of all bodily organs, i, 163, 168.
  - bliss attaches to it, i, 163, 164, 168.
  - denoted by the word 'serenity,' i, 182.
  - the highest Self different from the individual soul in the state of, i, 233-236.

- Sleep, deep, the case of the re-absorption of the world compared with that of, i, 312.
- the absence of intelligence in it is only due to the absence of objects, but the soul remains intelligent even in, ii, 33, 34 seq., 47 seq., 336 seq.
  - the rising from it is due to the existence of potential avidyā, ii, 48.
  - takes place in the nāḍīs and in the Self, ii, 141-146.
  - — in the pericardium, ii, 142, 144.
  - the state of swoon is half coincident with, ii, 151 seq.
  - in it the elements are merged in Brahman in such a way as to continue to exist in a seminal condition, ii, 371.
- Sleeping man, the doctrine about the soul, conveyed by the waking of the, i, 269, 273, 274.
- Smṛiti, 'that which the S. assumes,' viz. the pradhāna of the Sāṅkhyas, i, 132 seq.
- inference from it of the meaning of Śruti, i, 145 seq.
  - in order to be authoritative, depends on Scripture, i, 203, 291 n., 293, 294, 297 n., 440.
  - and Śruti on the rinsing of the mouth with water, ii, 211-214.
  - Sāṅkhya and Yoga are S. only, without scriptural authority, ii, 381.
- Smṛitis such as the Manu-smṛiti opposed to the Sāṅkhya-smṛiti, i, p. xlvii, 290-296.
- if the doctrine of Brahman being the cause of the world be accepted, is there any room for S.? i, 290-299.
  - like the Kāpila S. were composed with reference to perfect knowledge as the means of final release, i, 291.
  - men who are unable to ascertain the true sense of Śruti, rely on them, i, 292.
- Smṛitis which follow Śruti are to be considered as authoritative, while all others are to be disregarded, i, 293, 294.
- Soma sacrifice, on the tenth day of a S. a soma cup is offered mentally, ii, 260 seq.
- extending over twelve days, may be viewed either as a sattra or as an ahīna sacrifice, ii, 413.
- Soul<sup>1</sup>, individual or personal, or gīva, i, p. xxv.
- Sāṅkarshaṇa identical with it, i, p. xxiii, 440.
  - according to Rāmānuga, i, pp. xxx seq., liii.
  - meant by the serene being, i, p. xxxvi, 188, 191.
  - the subject of the Upanishads, i, 36 seq.
  - cannot be denied, i, 37.
  - is the Self, i, 37, 54, 103, 361.
  - sattva and kshetragṇa, or the internal organ and the, i, 122 seq.
  - it is nowhere the purpose of Scripture to make statements regarding it, i, 160.
  - is known from experience to be the agent and enjoyer, i, 160.
  - Sāṅkhya views about it, i, 238, 259, 298, 370, 372-374, 379 n., 436-438; ii, 33.
  - Nāṭiketas' question and Yama's answer as to it, i, 248.
  - as it is the support of prāṇa, it may itself be called prāṇa, i, 270.
  - Āmarathya's opinion about it, i, 276 seq.
  - according to the Vaiśeṣikas intelligence is not essential to it, i, 388 n.
  - conjunction cannot take place between the atoms, the s., and the internal organ, i, 398.
  - its conjunction with the atoms cannot be the cause of the motion of the latter, i, 398 n.
  - its conjunction with manas cannot be the cause of cognition, i, 398 n.

<sup>1</sup> Arranged in the following order:—(1) different designations and notions of different schools about it; (2) its nature and characteristics; (3) its size; (4) s. and body; (5) s. and Brahman, the Lord, the highest Self; (6) its states of dream, sleep, swoon; (7) its fate after death; (8) the released s.

- Soul, denied by the Bauddhas, i, 403, 406.
- and non-soul of the Gainas, i, 428, 428 n.
  - Paṇḍita taught the five categories to the end of breaking the bonds of the animal, i.e. the s., i, 435.
  - individual, difference of scriptural statements regarding it, ii, 3.
  - — is non-intelligent, according to the followers of Kaṇāda, ii, 33.
  - the non-enlightened s. unable to look through Mâyâ, i, p. xxvi.
  - identifies itself with its adjuncts, i, p. xxvi.
  - in reality pure intelligence, non-active, infinite, it becomes limited, i, p. xxvi, 139 seq., 171; ii, 140.
  - individual, discussion on the nature of it, i, p. liii; ii, 28-73.
  - — is permanent, eternal, not produced from Brahman at the time of creation, i, p. liii; ii, 29-33.
  - — is *gṛha*, i, p. liv; ii, 33-35.
  - is all-pervading, not *anu*, i, p. liv seqq.; ii, 35-49.
  - intelligent, i, pp. lv, lvi, xcvi, 53, 103, 133, 134; ii, 33-35, 39-42, 43, 45-48, 367 seq.
  - is it an agent? i, pp. lvii, xcvi; ii, 49-58.
  - is imperishable, i, 37, 133, 438; ii, 28 seq.
  - is eternally unchanging, pure, and free, i, 37.
  - its characteristic marks, i, 102.
  - rules and employs the different organs of action, i, 102, 133.
  - is the charioteer driving on through transmigratory existence and final release, i, 121, 241.
  - is the enjoyer, i, 133.
  - is non-pervading, not omnipresent, i, 158.
  - is the knower, Brahman the object of knowledge, i, 159.
  - eating, i.e. fruition of the results of works, is characteristic of it, i, 159 seq., 269.
  - cannot be denoted by akshara, i, 171.
  - the mind constitutes its limiting adjunct, i, 175.
- Soul, individual, 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, i, 186, 322.
- its nature before the rise of discriminative knowledge, i, 186 seq., 189.
  - as such is real, i, 189 seq.
  - depending on the Undeveloped, i.e. Nescience, i, 241, 244.
  - name and form abide in it, i, 277 seq.; cannot abide in it, i, 279.
  - the 'sufferer,' i, 376 n., 378.
  - is its suffering real or not? i, 379 seq.
  - cannot be the guiding principle of the *adrishya*, because at the time of *pralaya* its intelligence has not yet arisen, i, 388.
  - is not divided, but only appears divided, ii, 30, 32.
  - dwells within the heart, ii, 38 seq., 45, 175.
  - and intelligence represented as separate, viz. as the agent and the instrument of action, ii, 42.
  - tied by the senses (*grahas*), ii, 83.
  - the chief vital air is subordinate to it, ii, 88.
  - the vital airs are connected with it, which is the Lord of the aggregate of instruments of action, ii, 92 seq.
  - compared to a caterpillar, ii, 103.
  - is self-luminous, ii, 141.
  - is it to be meditated upon as the sun, and the sun as the s., or is it only to be meditated upon as the sun? ii, 244.
  - possesses Nescience, work, and former knowledge as limiting adjuncts, ii, 367.
  - its size minute (*anu*), says Râmanuga, i, pp. liv, xcvi.
  - — atomic, ii, 35-45, 397.
  - — that of an awl's point, i, 113.
  - — compared to the point of a goad, i, 175.

- Soul, individual, its size, the Gainas believe that it is the same as that of the body, i, 431-434.
- requires a body in order that knowledge may arise, i, 51.
  - is in the body only, i, 111 seq.; ii, 93.
  - is the body the sufferer of pain, or the s.? i, 379; ii, 64, 65.
  - the Sāṅkhya cannot admit a real connexion of it and the body, i, 379.
  - endeavour (which is required for action) originates when it is connected with the internal organ which abides in the body, i, 387.
  - although abiding in one point of the body only, may be the cause of perception extending over the entire body, ii, 38-42.
  - that its knowledge and lordship are hidden, is due to its connexion with the body, ii, 139 seq.
  - the ruler of the body and senses, ii, 367.
  - and body viewed as non-different, ii, 374.
  - its relation to Brahman, i, pp. xix, lvii seqq., xcvi-c, 59 seq.; ii, 61-73, 138.
  - according to the Upanishads, i, p. cxxi seq.
  - has to be viewed like that of the snake to its coils, ii, 173 seq.
  - like that of light to its substratum, both being fire, ii, 174.
  - a part of Brahman, i, pp. xxv, xcvi seq.; ii, 61-63, 396 seq.
  - its fundamental identity with the highest Brahman, i, pp. xxvii, xxx, xxxiv seq., 51, 104, 116, 161, 185, 190 n., 198, 233, 251, 277 seq., 278-283, 322; ii, 30, 31, 33, 34, 42 seqq., 65 seq., 138, 140, 146, 244 seq., 396 seq., 399 seq.
  - becomes manifest by strenuous meditations only; for from the Lord are the s.'s bondage and release, ii, 138 seq.
  - only the universal Brahman is real in each, i, p. xxvi.
- Soul, individual, discussions as to whether certain passages refer to Brahman or to the, i, p. xxxii seq., 64-289. See also Brahman.
- difference and non-difference of the Lord and the, i, pp. xxxix, xlix, 114-116, 183-191, 277 n., 278 n., 281 seq., 343-346; ii, 68 seq., 149, 339 seq.
  - in its activity is dependent on the Lord who impels it with a view to its former actions, i, p. lvii; ii, 58-61.
  - do the imperfections clinging to it affect also the highest Lord who abides within it? i, pp. lxii-lxiv.
  - and the Self consisting of bliss different, i, 69-71; to be joined, i, 71-77.
  - the 'two entered into the cave' are the i. s. and the highest Self, i, 118-123.
  - called 'the lord of the city of Brahman,' i, 175.
  - Brahman in the city of the, i, 178.
  - the highest Self different from it in the states of deep sleep and departing, i, 233-236.
  - Scripture does not mention a separate creation of it, i, 279, 441; ii, 396 seq.
  - Brahman is superior to it, i, 345.
  - a reflection of the highest Self, ii, 68 seq.
  - its different states, and the nature of Brahman, ii, 101, 133-183.
  - and the highest Self referred to by the 'two birds, inseparable friends,' &c., and by 'the two drinking their reward,' &c., ii, 240 seq.
  - the light into which it is said to enter is the highest Self, ii, 407.
  - its different states, i, 191; ii, 133-152.
  - its intermediate state, i. e. the state of dreams, i, p. lx; ii, 133-141.
  - in deep sleep becomes one with Brahman, i, pp. xxvi, lxi, 273; ii, 54, 141-149, 176, 210.

- Soul, individual, in deep sleep is resolved into an intelligent entity, i, 60.
- the same s. which entered into union with Brahman in deep sleep, returns from Brahman, when awaking, i, p. lxi; ii, 147-149.
  - wanders about in the state of sleep, ii, 49 seq., 56.
  - essentially non-connected with the worlds that appear in the waking and in the dreaming state, ii, 146.
  - its state of swoon, i, p. lxi; ii, 149-152.
  - actions determine its future embodied existences, i, p. xxvi.
  - when passing out of the body at the time of death, remains invested with the subtle material elements which serve as an abode to the *prāṇas*, i, p. lix; ii, 101-112.
  - descends from the moon with a remainder of former deeds which determines the nature of the new embodiment, i, p. lix seq.; ii, 112-121.
  - its descent from the moon described, i, p. lx; ii, 126-132.
  - of him who possesses the lower knowledge, and of him who possesses no knowledge of Brahman at all, their fate the same up to the entrance of the s. into the veins, i, pp. lxxix, cvii; ii, 369 seq.
  - — — passes into the heart, and out of the body by the veins, then up to the sun by means of a ray of light, i, p. lxxx seq.; ii, 372, 377-381.
  - — — stations on its way to Brahman, i, p. lxxxii; ii, 382-389; these stations are conductors of the s., not marks of the road, nor places of enjoyment, ii, 387-389.
  - — — its departure from the body, ii, 364-404; the scriptural texts about it belong to the sphere of qualified knowledge, ii, 400 seq.
  - of him also who knows the highest Brahman, departs from the body, i, p. lxxx.
- Soul is enveloped in the subtle body until it reaches the river *Vigraṇā*, i, p. lxxxii n.
- of the pious effects its desires by mere determination, i, p. lxxxiv seq.; ii, 410 seq.
  - when it departs from the body all specific cognition vanishes, but the Self is not destroyed, i, 281.
  - although all-pervading, is viewed as going because it enters into connexion with buddhi and the rest of its adjuncts, ii, 42-45, 402.
  - on account of its non-extension, there is no confusion of the results of actions, ii, 68.
  - its ascent to, and descent from the moon, ii, 101-132.
  - accompanied by the chief vital air, the sense-organs, and the mind, and taking with itself Nescience, moral good or ill-desert, and the impressions left by its previous existences, leaves its former body and obtains a new body, ii, 102.
  - goes enveloped by water, ii, 103-110, 112.
  - when it descends from the moon, it enters into similarity (not identity) with ether, air, smoke, mist, cloud, and rain, ii, 126-128.
  - assumes a body of water in the moon, ii, 127.
  - passes through the stages of its descent in a not very long time, ii, 128.
  - after having entered into plants, enters into conjunction with one who performs the act of generation, ii, 131 seq.
  - breath is merged in it, ii, 367 seq.
  - with the breath, goes to the elements, ii, 368 seq.
  - when it attains a new body, after speech and the other organs have been withdrawn within it, work constitutes its abode, ii, 369.
  - of him who knows Brahman does not depart, ii, 372-375.
  - the abode of the s. when about to depart is the heart, and the point of it is lighted up, ii, 377 seq.

- Soul, the entering of one s. into several bodies is like the multiplication of the flame of a lamp, ii, 413 seq.
- — — treated in books on Yoga, ii, 414.
  - the released, opinions about its characteristics, i, pp. xix, xxx, lxxxiv; ii, 408-410.
  - — manifests itself through its own Self, in its own nature, i, p. lxxxiii; ii, 405-407.
  - — is non-separate from Brahman, i, p. lxxxiv; ii, 173-175, 407 seq.
  - — is either embodied or disembodied according to its wish and will, i, p. lxxxv; ii, 411-413.
  - — how it can animate several bodies at the same time, i, p. lxxxv; ii, 412-415.
  - — absence of all specific cognition on the part of it, i, p. lxxxv; ii, 414 seq.
  - — participates in all the perfections and powers of the Lord, with the exception of the power of creating and sustaining the world, i, p. lxxxv; ii, 415-418.
  - — does not return to new forms of embodied existence, i, p. lxxxv; ii, 418 seq.
  - — does not enter on new courses of existence, i, 243.
  - — effects its purposes by mere will, ii, 410 seq.
  - — possesses a mind (manas), ii, 411.
  - — is without another lord, ii, 411.
  - — is without a body and sense-organs, says Bādari, ii, 411 seq.
  - — has a body and senses, says Gaimini, ii, 412.
  - — the enjoyment only of the r. s. and the highest Lord is equal, ii, 418.
  - see also Self, individual.
- Souls, individual, Brahman appears to be broken up into, i, p. xxv.
- — matter and i. s. constitute the body of the Lord, i, p. xxviii.
  - — not joined to material bodies, i, p. xxix.
  - — enter into material bodies corresponding to merit or demerit previously acquired, i, p. xxix.
- Souls, individual, although the enjoying i. s. and the objects of fruition are in reality nothing but Brahman, yet the two sets may practically be held apart, i, p. xlviii, 318-320.
- — are parts of Brahman, according to Rāmānuga, i, p. lviii.
  - — Lord different from all i. s., i, 81; stands in the relation of a ruler to them, i, 329.
  - the released, have to resort to Brahman, i, 157 seq., 180 seq.
  - the Sāṅkhyas say that the s. are non-active, ii, 301.
  - the Lord acts as the ruler of the pradhāna and of the s., and the pradhāna, the s., and the Lord are of mutually different nature (Sāṅkhya and Yoga), i, 434 seq.
  - gradually all s. obtain release from saṁsāra, i, 439.
  - their being the food of the gods is metaphorical, on account of their not knowing the Self, ii, 110-112.
  - ascend to the moon for the purpose of finding there a complete requital of their works, ii, 115.
  - — when descending enter into plants animated by other s., they do not undergo pleasure and pain in that condition, ii, 129-131.
  - are led by the 'person not a man' to the lower Brahman, ii, 389-402.
  - on the passing away of the effected world of Brahman the s. go together with the ruler of that world to what is higher than that, ii, 391 seq.
  - the lordly power of the other s. depends on the highest Lord, ii, 416-418.
- Space (ākāśa), one of the three non-existences of the Bauddhas, i, 410.
- the doctrine that it is a non-entity cannot be proved, i, 412 seq.
  - the air is founded on, i, 413.
  - see also Ether.

- Species, the individuals only have an origin, not the s., they are eternal, i, 202 seq.
- words connected with the s., not with the individuals, i, 202 seq.
- Speech, the origin of all effects, i, 346, 381.
- the distinction of names and forms originates entirely from s. only, i, 352.
  - and prāṇa, and mind presuppose fire, water, and earth, ii, 78 seq.
  - acts under the guidance of Agni, ii, 91 seq.
  - is merged in mind (on the departure of the soul), ii, 364 seq.
- Sphoṭa is the word, i, 204-206.
- is eternal, i, 206.
  - its assumption gratuitous, i, 209 seq.
- Spider, as it emits out of itself the threads of its web, so Brahman creates the world, i, 348.
- Śrī-bhāṣya. See Rāmānuga.
- Sruti, the meaning of it inferred from Smṛiti, i, 145 seq.
- those Smṛitis only which follow S. are to be considered as authoritative, i, 291 n., 293, 294, 297 n.
  - men who are unable to ascertain the true sense of S., rely upon Smṛitis, i, 292.
  - supersensuous matters cannot be perceived without, i, 293.
  - if in conflict with other means of right knowledge, has to be bent, so as to accord with the latter, i, 299.
  - and Smṛiti on the rinsing of the mouth with water, ii, 211-214.
  - indicatory mark, and syntactical connexion, are of greater force than leading subject-matter, ii, 262 seq.
- Stages of life (āśrama), the duties connected with them are obligatory on him also who does not strive after mukti, i, p. lxxv; ii, 312-315.
- persons who do not belong to any one of them have also claims to knowledge, i, p. lxxvi; ii, 315-317; but it is better to belong to one of them, ii, 316 seq.
- Stages of life requiring chastity are open to men whether they have reached householdership or not, ii, 295.
- — — for which chastity is prescribed, knowledge valid for them, ii, 295.
  - — — Gaimini's opinion on them, ii, 295-297.
  - — — established by Scripture, ii, 297-303.
  - — — four, not three, ii, 300 seq.
  - — — those belonging to the three former obtain the world of the blessed, while the mendicant enjoys immortality, ii, 301.
  - — — the state of being grounded in Brahman is impossible for the three former, ii, 301.
  - — — all works enjoined on them must be had regard to with a view to the springing up of knowledge, ii, 309.
  - — — of him who has entered on a higher one there is no descending to a lower one, ii, 317 seq.
  - — — the duties of the other, are incumbent on the householder, as well as those of his own stage, ii, 324 seq.
  - — — as all the four are equally taught by Scripture, they are to be gone through equally, either in the way of option between them or in the way of comprehension of all of them, ii, 325.
- Stories told in the Upanishads are not for the purpose of the pāṇiplava, ii, 305 seq.
- Stotra and other members of the sacrifice are taught in the three Vedas, and so also the meditations resting on them, ii, 282 seq.
- Subject and object, i, 3.
- the relation of, cannot exist in the Self, i, 378 seq.
- Subjects, the ten objects and the ten s. cannot rest on anything but Brahman, i, 104.
- the ten s. have reference to objects, i, 106.
- Substance, contradictions in the Vāireśhika doctrine about s. and quality, i, 394 seqq.



- Subtle body. See Body.
- Sūdras are altogether disqualified for Brahmayidya, i, p. xxxvii, 223-229.
- excluded from the study of the Veda, i, 197 n., 224, 228 seq.
  - unfit for sacrifices, i, 224, 228 seq.
  - etymologised as *śūḍam abhidu-drāva*, &c., i, 225 seq.
  - excluded from ceremonial purifications, i, 227.
- Suffering and sufferer, objections against the Vedāntin, based on the relation of, i, 376-381.
- Suka, the son of Vyāsa, travelled to the sphere of the sun, ii, 375.
- Sulabhā entered into the body of Ganaka, to carry on a discussion with him, ii, 237.
- Sun to be meditated upon under the form of honey, i, 216, 256 seq.
- a man going to final release reaches the, i, 232.
  - and the other divinities are mere differentiations of *prāṇa*, i, 269.
  - is the soul to be meditated upon as the s., and the s. as the soul, or is the soul only to be meditated upon as the? ii, 244.
  - dying during the northern progress of the s. is more excellent, ii, 380.
  - the departed soul follows the rays also during the southern progress of the, ii, 380.
  - see Person in the sun.
  - see also Savitar.
- Superimposition, i, 3 n.
- defined, i, 4-9.
  - is Nescience, i, 6.
  - mutual s. of Self and Non-Self, i, 7-9.
  - endless s. the cause of individual souls appearing as agents and enjoyers (of the results of their actions), i, 9.
  - explained, ii, 197.
  - of something higher upon something lower is the rule, ii, 343 seq.
- Supreme Being, the whole world a manifestation of it, i, 442.
- Subtegas, the head of Valvānara, ii, 275, 276.
- Sūtras, what they are, and what they aim at, i, pp. xi, xiii.
- the meaning of, i, p. xi.
  - preceded by a literature now lost, i, p. xii.
  - see Vedānta-sūtras.
- Sūtrātman = Pragāpati, i, 142 n.
- Svarita. See Accents.
- Svetaketu, i, pp. cv, cxviii; ii, 210.
- Svetāsvatara-upanishad, Mâyā in the, i, pp. cxvii n., cxxi n.
- Swoon, the nature of it explained, i, p. lxi; ii, 149-152.
- is half-union or half-coincidence with deep sleep, ii, 151 seq.
  - belongs with one half to sleep, with the other half to death, it being the door of death, ii, 152.
- Symbol, in meditations on Brahman viewed under a s., the devotee is not to consider the s. as constituting his own Self, i, p. lxxvii; ii, 340-342.
- — — the s. is to be meditatively viewed as being one with Brahman, not Brahman as being one with the, i, p. lxxvii; ii, 342-345.
- Symbols, only those who do not take their stand on s. are led to the world of Brahman, ii, 402-404.
- Taittirīya-upanishad, the ānanda-maya in the, i, p. xlii.
- Taṅka quoted by Rāmānuga, i, p. xxi.
- the Vākyakāra, i, p. xxii.
- Tantra or Sāṅkhyāśāstra, i, 291, 291 n.
- That art thou, i, pp. xxvii, xlix, 23, 31, 54-56, 104, 113, 115, 116, 122, 125, 185, 197, 250, 251, 266, 279, 321-323, 326, 343, 345; ii, 32, 46, 65, 66, 138, 140, 173, 197, 209, 210, 238, 243, 291, 333-337, 339, 370, 397, 408.
- which is. See Sat.
  - which is not. See Asat.
- Thief, the ordeal of the heated hatchet undergone by the, i, 323 n.
- Third place (or path) for those who are neither entitled to the road

- of the gods, nor to the road of the fathers, ii, 123 seq.
- Third place, the five oblations not necessary in the case of those who go to it, ii, 125.
- Thunderbolt, the *prâṇa* is a raised, i, 229-231.
- used to denote 'cause of fear in general,' i, 230 seq.
- Tirthakâra or Gina, i, 429.
- Transmigration of souls, i, pp. xxvi seq., xxix seq.
- — see Soul, p. 489 seq.
- the origin &c. of the world cannot proceed from a being subject to, i, 17.
- Transmigratory world, a man who has once understood Brahman to be the Self, no longer belongs to the, i, 41-43.
- Tripartition of the three elements, and t. in man, ii, 98-100.
- on account of it, water consists of three elements, ii, 104.
- True, there is only one vidyâ of the, i, p. lxxii; ii, 245-247.
- explained as *Hiraṇyagarbha*, i, p. cix.
- *ativâdin* is one who declares something beyond by means of the, i, 163, 165 seqq.
- is the highest Brahman, i, 167, 267; ii, 216 seq., 234.
- in dreamless sleep the individual soul is united with the, i, 350; ii, 210.
- the T. of the, ii, 171.
- its secret names, *ahar* and *aham*, ii, 246.
- Tulsidâs, *Râmâyan* of, i, p. cxxvii seq.
- Twelve days' sacrifice. See *Soma* sacrifice.
- Udâta. See Accents.
- Uddâlaka, i, pp. cv, cxv, cxviii.
- a *Rishi*, ii, 276.
- was a householder and yet taught his son, ii, 288.
- Udgâtri-priest and the udgîtha-vidyâ, ii, 194 seq., 321.
- the term udgîtha calls up the idea of the sphere of action of the, ii, 197.
- Udgîtha, relation between the u. and the syllable *Om*, i, p. lxxviii; ii, 193 seq., 196-199.
- Udgîtha, meditations on the, i, p. lxxiv; ii, 247, 252-256, 272-274, 282 seq., 282 n., 292, 303-305, 321, 333, 345-349.
- and *Aditya* (the sun), i, p. lxxvii; ii, 333, 346 seq. and n.
- ether is the, i, 83.
- and the *Udgâtri*, ii, 197.
- never used to denote the syllable *Om* in its connexion with the *Rig-veda* and *Yagur-veda*, ii, 199.
- Udgîtha-vidyâ, i, p. lxxviii.
- in the *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka* and in the *Kbândogya-upanishad*, ii, 192-199.
- Uktha, the highest Self is, i, 79.
- Undeveloped, the, (*avyakta*), means the body, and not the *pradhâna*, i, p. xxxix, 237-252.
- that element in Brahman, from which the material universe springs, i, p. cxix, 243.
- is beyond the Great one, i, 237 seq., 243 seq.
- is the *pradhâna*, i, 238, 238 n.
- is the body in the simile of the chariot, i, 239.
- means the subtle body, i, 241 seq., 244.
- i. e. Nescience, i, 244.
- is not mentioned as an object of knowledge, i, 246.
- Unseen principle and the activity of the Lord are the operative causes of the world, i, 382.
- — the motion in the atoms due to it, i, 387, 388.
- — is it to be considered as inhering in the soul or in the atoms? i, 388.
- — in both cases it cannot be the cause of motion in the atoms, because it is non-intelligent, i, 388.
- — abides in the *pradhâna*, ii, 70.
- — is of the nature of religious merit or demerit and acquired through mind, speech, and body, ii, 70.
- — refutation of the *Sâṅkhya* and *Vaiśeshika* doctrines of the, ii, 70-73.
- — is due to the non-particular conjunction of the Selves with the internal organs, ii, 70 seq.

- Unseen principle, the limitation of actions and their results cannot be caused by the, ii, 70 seq.
- Upādhis, soul is Brahman in so far as limited by the unreal u. due to Mâyâ, i, p. xxx.
- see also Brahman, Mâyâ, Names and forms, Soul.
- Upakośala, i, pp. cv, cviii.
- the instruction given to him by the sacred fires, i, 126 seq.
- Upakośala-vidyâ, ii, 219, 233, 234 seq.
- Upanayana ceremony, only men of the three higher castes are subject to the precepts about the, i, 197, 224.
- — merely subserves the study of the Veda, i, 198 seq., 224.
- referred to in the vidyâs, i, 227.
- omitted in a certain case, i, 227 n.
- Upanishads, i, pp. x, xi, xxix.
- Saṅkara's commentaries on the, i, p. xv.
- differing theories claim to be founded on them, i, p. xviii.
- their teaching according to Saṅkara, i, p. xxiv seqq.
- according to Rāmānuga, i, pp. xxvii seqq., xxxi, cii.
- the principle on which the passages from them have been selected and arranged in the Vedānta-sūtras, i, pp. xli-xlvi.
- to guard them against misinterpretations on the part of the Sāṅkhya, was the task of the Vedāntin, i, p. xlvi.
- what is the relation in which those parts of the U. stand to each other which enjoin identical or partly identical meditations? j, p. lxvi seq.
- the different accounts of the U. as to the stations of the way which leads the vidvân up to Brahman, i, pp. lxxxii, cvii-cxi; ii, 382-386.
- the philosophy of the, its relation to Bâdarâyana, Saṅkara, and Rāmānuga, i, pp. ci-cxxvii.
- for the Hindu commentator a body of revealed truth, i, p. ciii.
- Upanishads, the teachers of the U. belong to different sections of Brahminical society, some of them are even Kshatriyas, i, p. ciii.
- do not constitute a systematic whole, i, pp. ciii seqq., cxiv seq.
- together with a certain uniformity of general leading conceptions in the U. there runs throughout divergence in details, i, p. civ seq.
- texts from the U. as handled by Saṅkara, i, pp. cv-cxiv.
- the doctrine of Mâyâ not in the, i, pp. cxvi-cxxi.
- on the relation of the individual soul to the highest Self, i, p. cxxi seq.
- the soul comprehended by the U. only, i, 36 seq.
- who has heard the U. or the secret knowledge, i. e. who knows Brahman, i, 128, 317.
- mantras and passages referring to sacrifices which occur in the U., cannot be viewed as supplementary to the vidyâs of the, ii, 222-225.
- the mantras as well as the vidyâs found in the U., have to be studied in the woods, ii, 225.
- the stories told in the U. are not for the purpose of the pâriplava, ii, 305 seq.
- Upavarsha, i, p. xxxvii; ii, 268.
- maintains that the letters only are the word, i, 206 seq.
- Ushasta, the questions of U. and Kahola constitute one vidyâ, ii, 242 seq.
- Ut, name of the person within the sun, i, 78, 79.
- Uttara-mîmāṃsâ, i, p. ix.
- later than the Pûrva-mîmāṃsâ, i, p. x.
- or Vedānta-sūtras, i, pp. xii, xiv n.
- Vâgapeya-sacrifice, the Brihaspati-sava a subordinate part of it, ii, 223, 223 n., 224.
- Vâgasaneyins, i, 146, 148.
- Vaibhâshikas are realists, i, 401 n.
- Vainâsika = Bauddha, i, 414, 415.

- Vaiśeshikas, the non-difference of cause and effect defended against them, i, p. xlix, 320-343.
- refutation of their tenet that the world originates from atoms set in motion by the *adrishṭa*, i, p. l seq., 381-400.
  - their belief in a non-intelligent soul, i, p. liv; ii, 33-35.
  - teach that the Lord is the operative cause of the world, i, 17 n., 435.
  - their argument against the Vedāntins, i, 381.
  - difficulties with regard to their six categories, i, 394 seqq.
  - their doctrine may be called semi-destructive or semi-nihilistic, i, 401, 401 n.
  - refutation of their doctrine of many Selves, ii, 70.
  - their opinion that the mind only proceeds to the new abode of fruition, ii, 104.
- Vaiṣṇava sects, the most important of Hindu sects, i, p. xvii.
- Vaiṣvānara is Brahman, i, p. xxxv, 143-153.
- is to be meditated upon as a whole, not in his single parts, i, p. lxxv; ii, 274-277, 279.
  - is the gastric fire, i, 143 seq., 146 seq.
  - is the elemental fire, i, 144, 147.
  - is the divinity whose body is fire, i, 144, 147.
  - is the embodied Self, i, 144.
  - is man, i, 146-148.
  - cannot be the divinity of fire, or the element of fire, i, 148 seq.
  - worship of the highest Lord as, i, 149 seq.
  - a span long, ii, 191.
  - legend of the six *R̥shis* who wished to obtain a knowledge of, ii, 274-276.
  - Suteḡas, the head of, ii, 275, 276.
- Vaiṣvānara-vidyā, or knowledge of Agni Vaiṣvānara, ii, 187, 233, 249, 292, 400.
- Vaśaknu, the daughter of, possessed the knowledge of Brahman, ii, 315.
- Vākyakāra, i.e. *Taṅka*, i, p. xxii.
- Vāmadeva, i, p. lxxv.
- by intuition identifies himself with everything in the universe, ii, 37, 37 n., 101.
  - the *R̥shi* V. saw and understood it, singing, 'I was Manu, I was the sun,' ii, 238.
  - became Brahman in his mother's womb, ii, 328.
- Vāmadevyā, knowledge of the, ii, 310.
- Varuṇa, *Bhrigu*, his pupil, i, 199.
- with a noose, i, 217 n.
  - *Bhrigu* and other sons of Brahman's mind were again born at the sacrifice of, ii, 235.
  - is the lord of all water, ii, 386.
  - above V. there come Indra and *Pragāpati*, on the path of the gods, ii, 386.
  - beyond lightning there is V., ii, 386.
  - the souls are led through the worlds of V., &c., by the person, not a man, ii, 389.
- Vāṣkalin, *Bāhva* questioned about Brahman by, ii, 157.
- Vasiṣṭha, the son of Brahman's mind, having parted from his former body in consequence of the curse of Nimi, was, on the order of Brahman, again procreated by *Mitra* and *Varuṇa*, ii, 235.
- Vāsudeva, a manifestation of the highest being, i, p. xxiii, 440.
- from it originated *Saṅkarshana*, i, p. li.
  - a surname of *Kapila*, who burned the sons of *Sagara*, i, 294.
  - to be worshipped, i, 440.
  - appears in four forms, as V., *Saṅkarshana*, *Pradyumna*, and *Aniruddha*, i, 440.
  - is the ultimate causal essence, of which his three other forms (*Saṅkarshana*, &c.) are the effects, i, 440.
  - objections to the doctrine of the *Bhāgavatas* as to the four forms of, i, 441 seq.
  - the only real essence, i, 442.
  - and *Arguna*, dialogue on knowledge originating in a future life, ii, 328 seq.
- Vasus, class of gods, i, 202, 216.

- Vāyu (air) and Prāṇa not to be identified, i, p. lxxiv; ii, 256-259.
- the deity that never sets, ii, 18 seq.
  - an object of worship, ii, 19.
  - Brahman to be meditated upon under the form of, ii, 19 n.
  - having become breath entered into the nostrils, ii, 91.
  - is the best among the Devas, ii, 256.
  - Prāṇa and V. identified, ii, 257.
  - from the year to V., the departed soul proceeds, ii, 384-386.
  - comes before Āditya (on the path of the gods), and must be inserted between the year and Āditya, ii, 385.
  - the soul goes from the world of the gods to, ii, 386.
- Veda furnishes the means of escaping from *samsāra*, i, p. xxvii.
- its *Gñānakāṇḍa* and *Karmakāṇḍa*, i, p. xxix.
  - Brahman is the source of the, i, p. xxxii, 19-22.
  - the reading of it the common antecedent for those who wish to enter on an enquiry into religious duty and for those desirous of knowing Brahman, i, 10.
  - extends up to the comprehension of its purport, ii, 289.
  - cannot aim at conveying information about accomplished substances, i, 21.
  - possesses authority as a means of right knowledge of Brahman, i, 23, 38, 317.
  - aims at action, i, 24, 38 seqq.
  - prohibitory passages of the, i, 39 seq. and n.
  - in the V. which is not the work of man no wish can be expressed, i, 110.
  - men are entitled to the study of the, i, 196-198.
  - also beings above men (gods, &c.) are qualified for the study and practice of the, i, 198 seq.
  - to the gods it is manifest of itself (without study), i, 199.
  - its authoritativeness proved from

its independence, basing on the original (eternal) connexion of the word with its sense, i, 201, 295.

- Veda, from the word of the V. the world, with the gods and other beings, originates, i, 202-204.
- its eternity, i, 211-216, 317.
  - the *Rishis* see the mantras and *brāhmaṇa* passages, i.e. the, i, 223.
  - study of it demands as its antecedent the *upanayana*-ceremony, i, 224.
  - *Sūdras* prohibited from hearing and studying the, i, 228 seq.
  - Yoga practices enjoined in the, i, 297.
  - the real sense of it, that Brahman is the cause and matter of this world, i, 361.
  - the *Bhāgavata* contains passages contradictory to the, i, 443.
  - all its parts are equally authoritative, and hence must all be assumed to have a meaning, ii, 156.
  - the rite of carrying fire on the head is an attribute of the study of the V. of the *Ātharvanikas*, ii, 189 seq.
  - Scripture enjoins works for such only as understand the purport of the, ii, 289.
  - of him who has merely read the V. there is qualification for works, ii, 293.
  - see also Scripture, and *Sruti*.
- Vedānta, what the study of the V. presupposes, i, p. xxxii, 9-15.
- the doctrines concerning the origin of the world which are opposed to it, i, 289.
- Vedānta-mīmāṃsā, i, 9.
- Vedānta-jāstra, i, p. xi.
- Vedānta-sūtras, the *Gñānakāṇḍa* systematised only in the, i, p. xii.
- presuppose the *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtras*, i, p. xiii.
  - other names for, i, p. xiv n., 9, 190.
  - numerous commentaries on them, i, p. xvi.
  - differences of Vedānta doctrine, existed before their final composition, i, p. xviii seqq.

- Vedānta-sūtras quote opinions of various teachers, i, p. xix.
- conspectus of their contents, i, pp. xxxi-lxxxv.
  - are throughout Mīmāṃsā, i, p. xlv.
  - claim to be systematisations of the Upanishads, i, p. cii.
  - have merely the purpose of stringing together the flowers of the Vedānta-passages, i, 17.
- Vedānta-texts, Brahman the uniform topic of all, i, p. xxxii, 22-47.
- why they are to be studied, i, 9.
  - they all teach that the cause of the world is the intelligent Brahman, i, 60 seq.
  - 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, i, 198.
  - there is a conflict of V. with regard to the things created, but not with regard to the Lord as the cause of the world, i, 263-266.
  - do not contradict one another with regard to the mode of creation and similar topics, i, 290.
  - the cognitions of Brahman intimated by all the V. are identical, ii, 184-279; Scripture also declares this, ii, 190 seq.
  - they all represent the object of knowledge as one, ii, 190.
- Vedārthasaṅgraha of Rāmānuga, i, p. xxi.
- Vedas seen by men of exalted vision (*rishis*), i, 213.
- Sandilya did not find highest bliss in them, i, 443.
  - mantras enjoined in one V. only, are taken over into other V. also, ii, 274.
  - three, the syllable Om common to them, ii, 282 seq.
  - the members of the sacrifice on which the meditations rest, are taught in them, so also the meditations, ii, 282.
- Veda-upanishad, i, 94.
- Vedic texts have for their object that which is dependent on Nescience, i, 8.
- Veins, a hundred and one v. of the heart, the hundred and first passing through the skull, ii, 378.
- connexion between the v. and the rays, ii, 378, 379.
  - the junction of the v. and rays is the way of the departing soul, ii, 382.
  - see also Nāḍīs.
- Vidura, though born from a Sūdra mother, possessed eminent knowledge, i, 224, 228.
- Vidyā, unity of the, i, 152.
- see also Knowledge, and Meditation.
- Vidyās. See Cognitions, and Meditations.
- Vigara, having reached the river V., the soul divests itself of the subtle body, i, p. lxxxi n.
- Virāḡ, the ātman purushavidha identified with the V. of the latter Vedānta, i, p. cvi.
- Mr. Gough on, i, p. cxxiii seq.
- Vishṇu, Brahman identified with V. or Nārāyaṇa, i, p. xxxi n.
- in the Bhagavadgītā, i, p. cxxvi.
  - contemplated in the sacred Śāla-grām, i, 126, 178.
  - the highest place of, i, 239, 245, 246; ii, 205, 391.
  - — the highest Self is the, i, 239.
  - — difficulty of knowing it, i, 241.
  - contemplated in an image, ii, 338, 339, 345.
- Viśvānara = Vaisvānara, i, 150.
- Viśvedevas, class of gods, are non-eternal beings, because produced, i, 202.
- Vital air (*prāṇa*) remains awake in the state of deep sleep, i, 162-168.
- — is the bhūman the? i, 162-168.
  - — represented as the Self of everything, i, 164.
  - — is immortality, i, 164.
  - — may be called 'higher' with reference to the body, i, 172.
  - — is the maker of all the persons, the person in the sun, the person in the moon, &c., i, 269.

Vital air, the chief, (*mukhya prāṇa*), is produced from Brahman, is distinct from air in general and from the other vital airs, and is minute, i, p. lix; ii, 84-91, 94-96.

— — — called 'the best,' ii, 84 seq.  
— — — 'the oldest and the best,' ii, 85.

— — — is neither air nor function, ii, 85-87.

— — — according to the Sāṅkhya, the combined function of all organs, ii, 86.

— — — is nothing but air, according to a Sruti, ii, 86, 87.

— — — various powers ascribed to it in scriptural passages, ii, 87.

— — — is independent in the body, like the individual soul, ii, 87.

— — — is subordinate to the soul, ii, 88.

— — — is not an instrument, ii, 88 seq.

— — — the body and all the senses subsist by means of it, ii, 89, 95.

— — — is designated as having five functions like mind, ii, 89 seq.

— — — is not a sense-organ, ii, 93 seq.

— — — accompanies the soul when leaving its body, ii, 102.

— — — the two passages on the Udgītha-vidyā in the *Bṛh. Up.* and in the *Kbānd. Up.* both glorify it, and are injunctions of a meditation on it, ii, 192 seq.

— — — represented as Udgātri, as well as udgītha, ii, 195.

— — — see also *Breath*, and *Prāṇa*.

Vital airs (*prāṇas*) spring from Brahman, are eleven in number, and are of minute size, i, p. lix; ii, 74-84.

— — — are superintended and guided in their activity by special divinities, they are independent principles, not mere modifications of the chief vital air, i, p. lix; ii, 91-96.

— — — do not depart from the body, i, p. cxii.

— — — the instance of the v. a. illustrating the identity of cause and effect, i, 342 seq.

Vital airs, difference of scriptural statements regarding them, ii, 3.

— discussion of Vedic passages on the origination of the, ii, 74-79.

— — the statement that they existed before the creation refers to a subordinate causal substance, ii, 76 seq.

— — different Vedic statements as to their number, ii, 79-84.

— — called *graha*, seizers, ii, 79, 83.

— — although guided by divinities, are yet connected with the individual soul, ii, 92 seq.

— — are senses, with the exception of the chief vital air, ii, 93 seq.

— — are not functions of the chief vital air, ii, 94.

— — when a new body is obtained, they also go from the old body to the new one, ii, 105.

— — at the time of death, go to Agni and the other gods, ii, 105 seq.

— — Agnihotra offered to them, ii, 249-252.

— — all come to the individual soul, ii, 367 seq.

— — do not depart from the embodied soul of him who knows Brahman, ii, 372 seq.

— — see also *Prāṇas*.

Void, doctrine of a general, i, 439; ii, 14, 168.

Vṛttikāra referred to by Saṅkara, i, pp. xx, xxi.

Vyāsa and others conversed with the gods face to face, i, 222 seq.

Vyāsādhikarāṇamālā, i, p. xxxi.

Water springs from fire, i, p. lii; ii, 22 seq.

— from it sprang earth, ii, 23 seq.

— is dissolved into fire, ii, 26.

— earth is dissolved into, ii, 26.

— the soul goes from one body into another, enveloped by, ii, 103-105, 106-110, 112.

— is intimately connected with religious works, sacrifices, &c., ii, 105, 108, 109.

— designated by *śraddhā*, ii, 106-108.

— the soul assumes a body of w. in the moon, ii, 127.

- Water is the dress of breath, ii, 211-214.
- Woman, no w. to be avoided, with reference to the knowledge of the Vâmadevya, ii, 310.
- Word, the original (eternal) connexion of the w. with its sense, i, 201.
- connected with the species, not with the individual, i, 202 seq.
  - the world originates from the w., as is shown by perception and inference, i, 201-211; how is that origination to be understood? i, 203.
  - creation is preceded by the w., i, 203 seq.
  - the sphoṛa is the, i, 204-206.
  - the letters are not the, i, 205 seq.
  - Upavarsha says that the letters are the, i, 206-210.
  - the sphoṛa is not the, i, 209 seq.
  - and thing are different, i, 222.
- Words, Śāṅkara on the nature of, i, p. xxxvii, 204-211.
- Works (viz. sacrifices, &c.), knowledge is independent of, i, p. lxxv; ii, 285-295, 306.
- knowledge and w. are the two roads for entering on the road of the gods and the road of the fathers, ii, 123-125.
  - enjoined for such only as understand the purport of the Veda, ii, 289.
  - for him who has merely read the Veda, ii, 293.
  - destruction of the qualification for w., by knowledge, ii, 294 seq.
  - obligatory for the three former âśramas, but not for the mendicant, ii, 301 seq.
  - are needed for the origination of knowledge, ii, 306 seq., 313-315; but w. undertaken for the fulfilment of some special wish do not contribute towards this end, ii, 360.
  - are the washing away of uncleanness, but knowledge is the highest way, ii, 307.
  - are incumbent on him also who does not desire release, ii, 312 seq.
- Works, those performing w. are not overpowered by passion and the like, ii, 315.
- of permanent obligation enjoined by the Veda, such as the Agnihotra, have the same effect as knowledge, ii, 358-362.
  - joined with knowledge may effect final release, ii, 359.
  - — — are superior to w. destitute of knowledge, ii, 361.
  - of public utility, less meritorious than sacrifices, lead through smoke &c. to the southern path of the sun, i, 27.
  - — — lead to the road of the fathers, ii, 124.
  - (Karman), the reward of w. is not the independent result of the w. acting through the apûrva, but is allotted by the Lord, i, p. lxxv; ii, 180-183.
  - the shaking off of the good and evil, i, p. lxx; ii, 225-229; takes place at the moment of the soul's departure from the body, i, p. lxx seq.; ii, 229-231.
  - even he whose w. are entirely annihilated, is yet connected with some kind of body, i, p. lxxi.
  - he who has reached knowledge of Brahman is not affected by the consequences of either past or future evil or good w., i, p. lxxvii seq.; ii, 119, 237, 353-357.
  - the non-operation of w. holds good only in the case of w. which have not yet begun to produce their effects, i, p. lxxviii; ii, 357 seq.
  - which have begun to produce their effects have to be worked out fully, whereupon (after death) the possessor of knowledge becomes united with Brahman, i, p. lxxviii; ii, 113, 117, 119, 237, 362 seq.
  - the Lord regards merit and demerit acquired by the w. of living beings, i, 357-360.
  - constitute the efficient cause for the origination of a new body, ii, 105.



- Works, on the passing away of the w. the soul redescends with a remainder, ii, 112-119, 398.
- good fortune as well as misfortune is caused by good and evil, ii, 114.
  - the souls are to find in the moon complete requital of their, ii, 115.
  - whose operation is obstructed by other w. leading to fruits of a contrary nature last for a long time, ii, 117 seq.
  - definite fruits are attached to particular, ii, 117.
  - the fruits of different w. must be experienced in different existences, ii, 117, 117 n.
  - are extinguished either by expiatory ceremonies or by the knowledge of Brahman or by the full fruition of their consequences, ii, 117 n.
  - depend on conduct, ii, 120 seq.
  - and not conduct are the cause of new births, ii, 121.
  - inferior to knowledge, ii, 267.
  - knowledge is subordinate to, ii, 289.
  - their reaching maturity depends on place, time, and operative cause presenting themselves, ii, 328.
  - the fruits of which are opposed to each other, ii, 328.
  - do not perish, ii, 353, 354.
  - good, are mentioned together with evil w., and the term 'evil' is used without any distinction for both, ii, 356.
  - of them also there is non-clinging (to him who knows); but at death, ii, 356 seq.
  - depend on false knowledge, ii, 363.
  - a limiting adjunct of the soul, ii, 367.
  - at the time of the soul attaining a new body, after speech and the other organs have been withdrawn within the soul, w. constitute the soul's abode, ii, 369.
  - refraining from w. of any kind whatsoever cannot lead to final release, ii, 397-400.
- Works, refraining from, impossible for one who does not possess perfect knowledge, ii, 399.
- see also Actions.
- World, the appearance of it due to Mâyâ or illusion, i, p. xxv, 329 seq., 345; ii, 138.
- upâdâna the material cause of it, i, p. xxv.
  - springs from Brahman, i, p. xl, 15-19, 202, 305-308, 317, 320-330, 381-386, 442; ii, 16, 21. See also Cause and effect, and Creation.
  - is it co-eternal with Brahman, or does it issue from it and is it refunded into it at stated intervals? i, p. lii; ii, 3-73.
  - its origin, subsistence, and dissolution proceed from Brahman, i, 15-19, 286 seq., 328; ii, 395 seq., 416.
  - — — the highest Self is the one unchanging witness of, i, 312.
  - originates from the word, i, 201-211; how that origination is to be understood, i, 203.
  - trembles in the prâna, i, 229-231.
  - is evolved by names and forms, i, 233, 242, 357.
  - a previous seminal condition of it, i, 242-245, 255.
  - evolution of it under the superintendence of a ruler, i, 268.
  - doctrines concerning its origin which are opposed to the Vedânta, i, 288 seq.
  - is different in nature from Brahman, i, 299-305.
  - is non-intelligent and impure, i, 300 seq.
  - can we assume it to be intelligent? i, 302 seq.
  - being based on the individual soul, cannot have an independent existence, i, 322 seq.
  - is in all time only that which is, i, 332.
  - is without a beginning, i, 212, 359-361.
  - the pradhâna cannot be the cause of the w., on account of the orderly arrangement of the w. being impossible on that hypothesis, i, 363-367.

- World cannot be produced without activity, and therefore cannot have a non-intelligent cause, i. 367-369.
- the 'cause of suffering,' i, 376 n., 378.
  - non-difference of it from Brahman, ii, 9.
  - if the text says 'the w. is a fire indeed,' this does not mean that the w. really is a fire, ii, 267.
  - the term 'w.' denotes places of enjoyment, ii, 387, 389, 390.
  - the re-absorption (pralaya) of the, the material w. is merged into Mâyâ at the time of, i, pp. xxvi, xciv.
  - — objections against the Vedânta doctrine based on the consequences that would arise at the time of, i, 309 seq.; these objections refuted, i, 310-314.
  - — the power of distinction founded on wrong knowledge remains even after, i, 313.
  - — would be impossible, if we adopted the atomic theory, i, 386-389.
  - — there exists, potentially, a connexion between the Self and the buddhi even in the state of, ii, 47 seq.
  - — in the state of, the elements are merged in Brahman only in such a way as to continue to exist in a seminal condition, ii, 371.
  - the periodical renovation of the, i, p. xxvii, 211 seq., 214.
  - — — there is no contradiction to the eternity of the word of the Veda in it, i, 211-216.
  - — — compared to the sleeping and waking states, i, 212.
  - the phenomenal w. is the same in all kalpas, i, 215.
- Worship (of Brahman). See Meditation.
- Yâgñavalkya, i, p. cxv.
- colloquy of Ârtabhâga and, i, pp. lxxxi, cxii; ii, 373 seq.
  - colloquy of the Gandharva and, i, 219.
  - Yâgñavalkya, dialogue of Maitreyi and, i, 274 seqq.
  - and others who knew Brahman did not take their stand on works, ii, 292.
  - Yagus, the highest Self is, i, 79.
  - Yama with a staff in his hand, i, 217 n.
  - colloquy between Y. and Nakiketas, i, 247-252.
  - Samyamana, the abode of, ii, 122 seq.
  - men who have not offered sacrifices, fall into the power of, ii, 122 seq.
  - the evil-doers suffer punishments allotted by, ii, 123.
  - chief ruler in the seven hells, ii, 123.
  - from his realm none ever return, ii, 151.
  - Year, the departed soul proceeds from the y. to Vâyû, ii, 384-386.
  - Yoga (practice) leads to the acquirement of extraordinary powers, i, 223.
  - the means of attaining knowledge, i, 241, 297.
  - highest beatitude is not to be attained by the road of, i, 298.
  - is of the nature of lower knowledge, ii, 375.
  - books on Y. treat of the connexion of one soul with several bodies, ii, 414.
  - Yogâkâras are idealists, i, 401 n.
  - Yoga-vâstra, i, 50.
  - in giving rules for the condition of the wandering religious mendicant, agrees with the Veda, i, 298.
  - the five functions of the manas known from it, viz. right knowledge, error, imagination, slumber, and remembrance, ii, 90.
  - teaches different sitting postures, ii, 350.
  - Yoga-smṛiti refuted, i, p. xlvii, 296-299.
  - like the Sâṅkhya-smṛiti, assumes a pradhâna, as the independent cause of the world, and the 'great principle' &c. as its effects, i, 296.
  - and Sâṅkhya-smṛiti, why singled out for refutation, i, 297 seq.

Yoga-smṛiti and Sāṅkhya-smṛiti are mere Smṛiti, not of scriptural character, ii, 381.

Yoga-system, i, 15 n.

— and Sāṅkhya-system maintain duality, do not discern the unity of the Self, i, 298.

— on it the Lord acts as the ruler of the pradhāna, and of the souls, i, 434 seq.

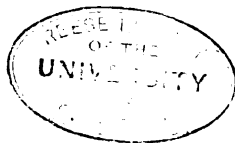
Yogin, does the term 'the internal Ruler' refer to ? i, 131.

Yogin may animate several bodies at the same time, i, 200.

— in the state of perfect conciliation, apprehends the highest Brahman, ii, 171 seq.

— the rules as to dying by day and during the northern progress of the sun in order not to return, are given by Smṛiti for the Y. only, ii, 380, 381.

Yogins, their omniscience, i, 46, 49, 50.



## CORRIGENDA.

### VOLUME XXXIV.

- Page lxi, line 25, *read* (10) *for* (9)  
„ lxiv, „ 32, *read* prakṛitaitāvattva  
„ cxvi, „ 3, *read* I, 1, 4 *for* I, 4  
„ 34, „ 20, *read* I, 3, 4 *for* III, 1, 4  
„ 172, „ 6 from below, *read* or *for* on  
„ 191, „ 22, *read* nād'is *for* nad'is  
„ 246, last line, *read* Ka. Up. I, 3, 15  
„ 282, line 23, *read* IV, 4, 24 *for* IV, 24  
„ 402, „ 13, and line 8 from below, *read* saṃgṛhā° *for* saṃgṛhā°  
„ 440, „ 26, *read* igyā *for* igrā

### VOLUME XXXVIII.

- Page 154, line 12, *read* Vairvānara *for* °svanara  
„ 182, „ 4 from below, *read* Bādarāyana *for* Bādārayana  
„ 190, last line, *read* Up. II, 6, 2  
„ 221, line 7, *read* Avabhrītha- *for* Avabrītha-  
„ 236, „ 9 } *read* Aparāntaratamas *for* Aparāntamas  
„ „ 23 }  
„ 287, „ 2 from below, *read* guhū *for* guhū  
„ 295, „ 11 „ „ *read* 2, 11 *for* 10, 11  
„ 319, „ 6 „ „ *read* Krikkhṛa *for* Krikkhṛa  
„ 330, „ 13 „ „ *read* their *for* its  
„ 352, „ 18 „ „ *read* Pr. Up. III, 10 *for* Pr. Up. IV, 2, 10



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	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	.	
7 Spiritus asper . . . . .	h	.	.	ह	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	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	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	k	
14 " aspirata . . . . .	.	kh	.	छ	.	.	.	.	.	kh	
15 Media . . . . .	.	g	.	ज	.	.	.	.	.	.	
16 " aspirata . . . . .	.	gh	.	झ	.	.	.	.	.	.	
17 " Nasalis . . . . .	.	q	.	ञ	.	.	.	.	.	.	

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 . . . . .	...	s	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis . . . . .	t	...	...	त	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata . . . . .	th	...	...	थ	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	th
25 " assibilata . . . . .	...	...	TH	...	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...
26 Media . . . . .	d	...	...	ड	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...
27 " aspirata . . . . .	dh	...	...	ध	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...
28 " assibilata . . . . .	...	...	DH	...	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...
29 Nasalis . . . . .	n	...	...	न	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	n
30 Semivocalis . . . . .	l	...	...	ल	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	l
31 " mollis 1 . . . . .	...	l	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...
32 " mollis 2 . . . . .	...	...	L	...	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...
33 Spiritus asper 1 . . . . .	s	...	...	स	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	s
34 " asper 2 . . . . .	...	...	s (S)	...	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...
35 " lenis . . . . .	z	...	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	z
36 " asperimus 1 . . . . .	...	...	z (z)	...	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...
37 " asperimus 2 . . . . .	...	...	z (z)	...	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...

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 " diacritica . . . . .	r	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
46 Spiritus asper . . . . .	sh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
47 " lenis . . . . .	zh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

## Labiales.

48 Tenuis . . . . .	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
49 " aspirata . . . . .	ph	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
50 Media . . . . .	b	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
51 " aspirata . . . . .	bh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
52 Tenuissima . . . . .		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
53 Nasalis . . . . .	m	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
54 Semivocalis . . . . .	w	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
55 " aspirata . . . . .	hw	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
56 Spiritus asper . . . . .	f	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
57 " lenis . . . . .	v	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
58 Anusvara . . . . .		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
59 Visarga . . . . .	h	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...



VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.		III Class.							
	II Class.									
1 Neutralis . . . . .	0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ə
2 Laryngo-palatalis . . . . .	ě	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
3 " labialis . . . . .	ö	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
4 Gutturalis brevis . . . . .	a	. . .	. . .	अ	ا	ا	ا	ا	א	ā
5 " longa . . . . .	ā	(a)	. . .	आ	ا	ا	ا	ا	א	ā
6 Palatalis brevis . . . . .	i	. . .	. . .	इ	ی	ی	ی	ی	י	i
7 " longa . . . . .	ī	(i)	. . .	ई	ی	ی	ی	ی	י	ī
8 Dentalis brevis . . . . .	u	. . .	. . .	उ	و	و	و	و	ו	u
9 " longa . . . . .	ū	. . .	. . .	ऊ	و	و	و	و	ו	ū
10 Lingualis brevis . . . . .	ri	. . .	. . .	रि	ر	ر	ر	ر	ר	. . .
11 " longa . . . . .	ri	. . .	. . .	रि	ر	ر	ر	ر	ר	. . .
12 Labialis brevis . . . . .	u	. . .	. . .	उ	و	و	و	و	ו	u
13 " longa . . . . .	ū	(u)	. . .	ऊ	و	و	و	و	ו	ū
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis . . . . .	e	. . .	. . .	ए	ه	ه	ه	ه	ה	e
15 " longa . . . . .	é (ai)	(e)	. . .	ऐ	ه	ه	ه	ه	ה	é
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)	. . .	आइ	ه	ه	ه	ه	ה	āi
17 " " " " " "	ei (ēi)	. . .	. . .	ऐइ	ه	ه	ه	ه	ה	ei
18 " " " " " "	oi (ōu)	. . .	. . .	औ	ه	ه	ه	ه	ה	oi
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis . . . . .	o	. . .	. . .	ओ	و	و	و	و	ו	o
20 " longa . . . . .	ô (au)	(o)	. . .	औ	و	و	و	و	ו	ô
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)	. . .	आउ	و	و	و	و	ו	āu
22 " " " " " "	eu (ēu)	. . .	. . .	ऐउ	ه	ه	ه	ه	ה	eu
23 " " " " " "	ou (ōu)	. . .	. . .	औउ	ه	ه	ه	ه	ה	ou
24 Gutturalis fracta . . . . .	ä	. . .	. . .	अः	ه	ه	ه	ه	ה	ä
25 Palatalis fracta . . . . .	ī	. . .	. . .	इः	ه	ه	ه	ه	ה	ī
26 Labialis fracta . . . . .	ü	. . .	. . .	उः	ه	ه	ه	ه	ה	ü
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta . . . . .	ö	. . .	. . .	ऊः	ه	ه	ه	ه	ה	ö

# SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

THE RIGHT HON. F. MAX MÜLLER.

*This Series is published with the sanction and co-operation of the Secretary of State for India in Council.*

---

**REPORT presented to the ACADEMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS, May 11, 1883, by M. ERNEST RENAN.**

‘M. Renan présente trois nouveaux volumes de la grande collection des “Livres sacrés de l’Orient” (Sacred Books of the East), que dirige à Oxford, avec une si vaste érudition et une critique si sûre, le savant associé de l’Académie des Inscriptions, M. Max Müller. . . . La première série de ce beau recueil, composée de 24 volumes, est presque achevée. M. Max Müller se propose d’en publier

une seconde, dont l’intérêt historique et religieux ne sera pas moindre. M. Max Müller a su se procurer la collaboration des savans les plus éminens d’Europe et d’Asie. L’Université d’Oxford, que cette grande publication honore au plus haut degré, doit tenir à continuer dans les plus larges proportions une œuvre aussi philosophiquement conçue que savamment exécutée.’

**EXTRACT from the QUARTERLY REVIEW.**

‘We rejoice to notice that a second series of these translations has been announced and has actually begun to appear. The stones, at least, out of which a stately edifice may hereafter arise, are here being brought together. Prof. Max Müller has deserved well of scientific history. Not a few minds owe to his enticing words their first attraction to this branch of study. But no work of his, not even the

great edition of the Rig-Veda, can compare in importance or in usefulness with this English translation of the Sacred Books of the East, which has been devised by his foresight, successfully brought so far by his persuasive and organising power, and will, we trust, by the assistance of the distinguished scholars he has gathered round him, be carried in due time to a happy completion.’

**Professor E. HARTY, Inaugural Lecture in the University of Freiburg, 1887.**

‘Die allgemeine vergleichende Religionswissenschaft datirt von jenem grossartigen, in seiner Art einzig dastehenden Unternehmen, zu welchem auf Anregung Max Müllers im Jahre 1874 auf dem

internationalen Orientalistencongress in London der Grundstein gelegt worden war, die Übersetzung der heiligen Bücher des Ostens’ (*the Sacred Books of the East*).

**The Hon. ALBERT S. G. CANNING, ‘Words on Existing Religions.’**

‘The recent publication of the “Sacred Books of the East” in English is surely

a great event in the annals of theological literature.’

---

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

LONDON: HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AMEN CORNER, E.C.

## FIRST SERIES.

## VOL. I. The Upanishads.

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part I. The *Khândogya-upanishad*, The *Talavakâra-upanishad*, The *Aitareya-âranyaka*, The *Kaushîtaki-brâhmana-upanishad*, and The *Vâgasaneyi-samhitâ-upanishad*. *Second Edition*. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The Upanishads contain the philosophy of the Veda. They have become the foundation of the later Vedânta doctrines, and indirectly of Buddhism. Schopenhauer, speaking of the Upanishads, says: 'In the whole world there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanishads. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death.'*

[See also Vol. XV.]

## VOL. II. The Sacred Laws of the Âryas,

As taught in the Schools of Âpastamba, Gautama, Vâsishtha, and Baudhâya. Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. Part I. Âpastamba and Gautama. *Second Edition*. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The Sacred Laws of the Âryas contain the original treatises on which the Laws of Manu and other lawgivers were founded.*

[See also Vol. XIV.]

## VOL. III. The Sacred Books of China.

The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Part I. The *Shû King*, The Religious Portions of the *Shih King*, and The *Hsiâo King*. *Second Edition*. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

*Confucius was a collector of ancient traditions, not the founder of a new religion. As he lived in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. his works are of unique interest for the study of Ethology.*

[See also Vols. XVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXIX, and XL.]

## VOL. IV. The Zend-Avesta.

Translated by JAMES DARMESTETER. Part I. The *Vendîdâd*. *Second Edition*. 8vo, cloth, 14s.

*The Zend-Avesta contains the relics of what was the religion of*

*Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes. It forms to the present day the sacred book of the Parsis, the so-called fire-worshippers.*

[See also Vols. XXIII and XXXI.]

**VOL. V. Pahlavi Texts.**

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part I. The Bundahis, Bahman Yast, and Shâyast lâ-shâyast. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

*The Pahlavi Texts comprise the theological literature of the revival of Zoroaster's religion, beginning with the Sassanian dynasty. They are important for a study of Gnosticism.*

[See also Vols. XVIII, XXIV, XXXVII, and XLVII.]

**VOLS. VI AND IX. The Qur'ân.**

Parts I and II. Translated by E. H. PALMER. *Second Edition.* 8vo, cloth, 21s.

*This translation, carried out according to his own peculiar views of the origin of the Qur'ân, was the last great work of E. H. Palmer, before he was murdered in Egypt.*

**VOL. VII. The Institutes of Vishnu.**

Translated by JULIUS JOLLY. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*A collection of legal aphorisms, closely connected with one of the oldest Vedic schools, the Kathas, but considerably added to in later time. Of importance for a critical study of the Laws of Manu.*

**VOL. VIII. The Bhagavadgîtâ, with The Sanatsugâtîya, and The Anugîtâ.**

Translated by KÂSHINÂTH TRIMBAK TELANG. *Second Edition.* 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The earliest philosophical and religious poem of India. It has been paraphrased in Arnold's 'Song Celestial.'*

**VOL. X. The Dhammapada,**

Translated from Pâli by F. MAX MÜLLER; and

**The Sutta-Nipâta,**

Translated from Pâli by V. FAUSBÖLL; being Canonical Books of the Buddhists. *Second Edition.* 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The Dhammapada contains the quintessence of Buddhist morality. The Sutta-Nipâta gives the authentic teaching of Buddha on some of the fundamental principles of religion.*

**VOL. XI. Buddhist Suttas.**

Translated from Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. 1. The Mahā-parinibbāṇa Suttanta; 2. The Dhamma-kakka-ppavattana Sutta. 3. The Teviggā Suttanta; 4. The Ākaṅkheyya Sutta; 5. The Ketokhila Sutta; 6. The Mahā-sudassana Suttanta; 7. The Sabbāsava Sutta. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*A collection of the most important religious, moral, and philosophical discourses taken from the sacred canon of the Buddhists.*

**VOL. XII. The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa, according to the Text of the Mādhyandina School.**

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part I. Books I and II. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

*A minute account of the sacrificial ceremonies of the Vedic age. It contains the earliest account of the Deluge in India.*

[See also Vols. XXVI, XLI, XLIII, and XLIV.]

**VOL. XIII. Vinaya Texts.**

Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part I. The Pātimokkha. The Mahāvagga, I-IV. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The Vinaya Texts give for the first time a translation of the moral code of the Buddhist religion as settled in the third century B.C.*

[See also Vols. XVII and XX.]

**VOL. XIV. The Sacred Laws of the Āryas,**

As taught in the Schools of Āpastamba, Gautama, Vāsishṭha, and Baudhāyana. Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. Part II. Vāsishṭha and Baudhāyana. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

**VOL. XV. The Upanishads.**

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part II. The Katha-upanishad, The Mundaka-upanishad, The Taittirīyaka-upanishad, The Brīhadāraṇyaka-upanishad, The Svetāsvatara-upanishad, The Prasṇa-upanishad, and The Maitrāyaṇa-brāhmaṇa-upanishad. Second Edition. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

**VOL. XVI. The Sacred Books of China.**

The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Part II. The Yî King. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

[See also Vols. XXVII, XXVIII.]

**VOL. XVII. Vinaya Texts.**

Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part II. The Mahāvagga, V-X. The Kullavagga, I-III. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

**VOL. XVIII. Pahlavi Texts.**

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part II. The Dādīstān-ī Dīnīk and The Epistles of Mānūsīhar. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

**VOL. XIX. The Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king.**

A Life of Buddha by Asvaghosha Bodhisattva, translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Dharmaraksha, A.D. 420, and from Chinese into English by SAMUEL BEAL. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*This life of Buddha was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese, A.D. 420. It contains many legends, some of which show a certain similarity to the Evangelium infantiae, &c.*

**VOL. XX. Vinaya Texts.**

Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part III. The Kullavagga, IV–XII. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

**VOL. XXI. The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka ; or, The Lotus of the True Law.**

Translated by H. KERN. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

*'The Lotus of the True Law,' a canonical book of the Northern Buddhists, translated from Sanskrit. There is a Chinese translation of this book which was finished as early as the year 286 A.D.*

**VOL. XXII. Gaina-Sūtras.**

Translated from Prākṛit by HERMANN JACOBI. Part I. The Ākārāṅga-Sūtra and The Kalpa-Sūtra. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The religion of the Gainas was founded by a contemporary of Buddha. It still counts numerous adherents in India, while there are no Buddhists left in India proper.*

[See Vol. XLV.]

**VOL. XXIII. The Zend-Avesta.**

Translated by JAMES DARMESTETER. Part II. The Sīrōzahs, Yasts, and Nyāyis. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

**VOL. XXIV. Pahlavi Texts.**

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part III. Dīnā-ī Maīnōg-Khirad, Sikand-gūmānīk Vigâr, and Sad Dar. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

## SECOND SERIES.

## VOL. XXV. Manu.

Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. 8vo, cloth, 21s.

*This translation is founded on that of Sir William Jones, which has been carefully revised and corrected with the help of seven native Commentaries. An Appendix contains all the quotations from Manu which are found in the Hindu Law-books, translated for the use of the Law Courts in India. Another Appendix gives a synopsis of parallel passages from the six Dharma-sūtras, the other Smritis, the Upanishads, the Mahābhārata, &c.*

## VOL. XXVI. The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa.

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part II. Books III and IV. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

## VOLS. XXVII AND XXVIII. The Sacred Books of China.

The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Parts III and IV. The *Lî Kî*, or Collection of Treatises on the Rules of Propriety, or Ceremonial Usages. 8vo, cloth, 25s.

## VOL. XXIX. The Gṛhya-Sūtras, Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies.

Part I. Sāṅkhāyana, Āśvalāyana, Pāraskara, Khādīra. Translated by HERMANN OLDENBERG. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

## VOL. XXX. The Gṛhya-Sūtras, Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies.

Part II. Gobhila, Hiranyakesin, Āpastamba. Translated by HERMANN OLDENBERG. Āpastamba, Yagña-paribhāṣā-sūtras. Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

*These rules of Domestic Ceremonies describe the home life of the ancient Āryas with a completeness and accuracy unmatched in any other literature. Some of these rules have been incorporated in the ancient Law-books.*

## VOL. XXXI. The Zend-Avesta.

Part III. The Yasna, Visparad, Āfrīnagān, Gāhs, and Miscellaneous Fragments. Translated by L. H. MILLS. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

## VOL. XXXII. Vedic Hymns.

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part I. 8vo, cloth, 18s. 6d.

[See also Vol. XLVI.]

## VOL. XXXIII. The Minor Law-books.

Translated by JULIUS JOLLY. Part I. Nārada, Brīhaspati. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

**VOL. XXXIV.** The Vedânta-Sûtras, with the Commentary by Saṅkarācārya. Part I.

Translated by G. THIBAUT. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

[See also Vols. XXXVIII and XLVIII.]

**VOLS. XXXV AND XXXVI.** The Questions of King Milinda.

Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. Part I. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d. Part II. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

**VOL. XXXVII.** Pahlavi Texts.

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part IV. The Contents of the Nasks, as stated in the Eighth and Ninth Books of the Dīnkard. 15s.

**VOL. XXXVIII.** The Vedânta-Sûtras. Part II. 8vo, cloth, with full Index to both Parts, 12s. 6d.

**VOLS. XXXIX AND XL.** The Sacred Books of China. The Texts of Tāoism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. 8vo, cloth, 21s.

**VOL. XLI.** The Satapatha - Brāhmaṇa. Part III.

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

**VOL. XLII.** Hymns of the Atharva-veda.

Translated by M. BLOOMFIELD. 8vo, cloth, 21s.

**VOL. XLIII.** The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa.

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part IV. Books VIII, IX, and X. 12s. 6d.

**VOL. XLIV.** The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa.

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part V. Books XI, XII, XIII, and XIV. 18s. 6d.

**VOL. XLV.** The Gaiṇa-Sûtras.

Translated from Prakṛit, by HERMANN JACOBI. Part II. The Uttarādhyayana Sûtra, The Sûtrakṛitāṅga Sûtra. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

**VOL. XLVI.** Vedic Hymns. Part II. 8vo, cloth, 14s.

**VOL. XLVII.** Pahlavi Texts.

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part V. Marvels of Zoroastrianism. 8s. 6d.

**VOL. XLVIII.** The Vedânta-Sûtras, Part III, with Rāmānuga's Sribhāshya.

Translated by G. THIBAUT.

[In the Press.]

**VOL. XLIX.** Buddhist Mahâyāna Texts. Buddha-karita, translated by E. B. COWELL. Sukhāvati-vyūha, Vagrakṛhēdikā, &c., translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Amitāyur-Dhyāna-Sûtra, translated by J. TAKAKUSU. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.



## ANECDOTA OXONIENSIA.

## ARYAN SERIES.

*Buddhist Texts from Japan. I. Vagrakkhedikâ ; The Diamond-Cutter.*

Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A. Small 4to, 3s. 6d.

One of the most famous metaphysical treatises of the Mahâyâna Buddhists.

*Buddhist Texts from Japan. II. Sukhâvatî-Vyûha : Description of Sukhâvatî, the Land of Bliss.*

Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A., and BUNYIU NANJIO. With two Appendices: (1) Text and Translation of Saṅghavarman's Chinese Version of the Poetical Portions of the Sukhâvatî-Vyûha ; (2) Sanskrit Text of the Smaller Sukhâvatî-Vyûha. Small 4to, 7s. 6d.

The *editio princeps* of the Sacred Book of one of the largest and most influential sects of Buddhism, numbering more than ten millions of followers in Japan alone.

*Buddhist Texts from Japan. III. The Ancient Palm-Leaves containing the Pragñâ-Pâramitâ-Hridaya-Sûtra and the Ushnîsha-Vigaya-Dhâraṇî.*

Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A., and BUNYIU NANJIO, M.A. With an Appendix by G. BÜHLER, C.I.E. With many Plates. Small 4to, 10s.

Contains facsimiles of the oldest Sanskrit MS. at present known.

*Dharma-Samgraha, an Ancient Collection of Buddhist Technical Terms.*

Prepared for publication by KENJIU KASAWARA, a Buddhist Priest from Japan, and, after his death, edited by F. MAX MÜLLER and H. WENZEL. Small 4to, 7s. 6d.

*Kâtyâyana's Sarvânukramanî of the Rîgveda.*

With Extracts from Shadgurusishya's Commentary entitled Vedârthadîpikâ. Edited by A. A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D. 16s.

*The Buddha-Karita of Asvaghosha.*

Edited, from three MSS., by E. B. COWELL, M.A. 12s. 6d.

*The Mantrapâṭha, or the Prayer Book of the Āpa-stambins.*

Edited, together with the Commentary of Haradatta, and translated by M. WINTERNITZ, Ph.D. *First Part.* Introduction, Sanskrit Text, Varietas Lectionis, and Appendices. Small quarto, 10s. 6d.

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

LONDON: HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AMEN CORNER, E.C.







This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>







THE  
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST



*London*

HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE  
AMEN CORNER, E.C.



*New York*

MACMILLAN & CO., 66 FIFTH AVENUE.

THE  
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

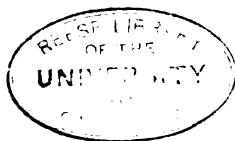
TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XLI



**Oxford**

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1894

[ *All rights reserved* ]

REESE

Oxford

PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

BY HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

685  
M946  
v. 41

THE  
SATAPATHA-BRÂHMANA

ACCORDING TO THE TEXT OF THE

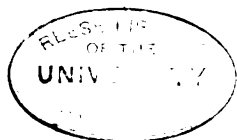
MÂDHYANDINA SCHOOL

TRANSLATED BY

JULIUS EGGELING

PART III

BOOKS V, VI, AND VII



**Oxford**

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1894

[*All rights reserved*]



685  
M946  
V.41

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	xi

### FIFTH KÂṆDA.

A. The Vâgapeya . . . . .	I
The Cups (graha) of Soma . . . . .	5
The Cups of Surâ . . . . .	8
Animal Victims . . . . .	11
Consecration . . . . .	17
Chariot-race . . . . .	17
Âpti and Kîpti-formulas . . . . .	29
The Mounting of the Sacrificial Post by the Sacri- ficer and his Wife . . . . .	31
The Seating on the Throne-seat . . . . .	35
Vâga-prasavanîya-oblations . . . . .	37
Uggiti (victory)-formulas . . . . .	40
B. The Râgasûya, or Inauguration of a King . . . . .	42
Preliminary offerings . . . . .	42
Seasonal-offerings . . . . .	47
Indraturîya-oblation . . . . .	50
Trishamyukta-offerings . . . . .	54
Ratna-havîmshi, or Jewel-offerings . . . . .	58
Offering to Soma and Rudra . . . . .	65
Offering to Mitra and Brîhaspati . . . . .	66
Abhishekanîya, or Consecration Ceremony . . . . .	68
Offerings to the Divine Quickeners (devastû), viz. Savitri Satyaprasava, Agni Grîhapat . . . . .	69
Soma Vanaspati, Brîhaspati Vâk, Indra Gye- shîha, Rudra Pasupati . . . . .	70
Mitra Satya, Varuṇa Dharmapati . . . . .	71
Preparation of the Consecration Water . . . . .	73
Pârtha-oblations . . . . .	81

	PAGE
Investing of the King with the Consecration	
Garments, the Bow and Arrows . . . . .	85
Âvid-formulas . . . . .	89
Ascending of the Quarters . . . . .	91
Stepping on the Tiger-skin . . . . .	92
The Sprinkling (Abhisheka) . . . . .	94
The Cow-raid . . . . .	98
Rathavimokṣaṇya-oblations . . . . .	101
Game of Dice . . . . .	106
The Passing Round of the Sacrificial Sword . . . . .	110
Dasapeya . . . . .	114
Samsrīp-oblations . . . . .	115
Pañkābila-oblations . . . . .	120
Prayugām havīmshi (Oblations to the Teams) . . . . .	123
Kesavapanīya . . . . .	126
Sautrāmanī . . . . .	129

## SIXTH KÂṆDA.

Agni-kāyana, or Building of the Fire-altar . . . . .	143
Creation of the Universe . . . . .	143
Animal Sacrifices . . . . .	165
Layers and Bricks of the Altar . . . . .	186
Sāvitra Libations . . . . .	190
The Search for Agni (the Lump of Clay) . . . . .	197
The Digging . . . . .	203
The Making of the Fire-pan (ukhâ) . . . . .	229
Dīkshâ, or Initiation . . . . .	246
The Raising and Carrying of the Ukhya Agni . . . . .	265
The Fashioning of the Embryonic Agni . . . . .	273
The Vishṇu-strides . . . . .	275
Vâtsapra . . . . .	283
The Driving-about of the Ukhya Agni . . . . .	289

## SEVENTH KÂṆDA.

## Agni-kāyana (continued).

Gârhapatya-hearth . . . . .	298
Pouring thereon of the Ukhya Agni . . . . .	310
Altar of Nirrīti . . . . .	319

	PAGE
Preparation of the (Âhavanîya) Fire-altar . . .	325
Ploughing, Watering, and Sowing of Ground . . .	326
Bricks of the First Layer . . . . .	355
Lotus-leaf . . . . .	363
Gold Plate . . . . .	354
Gold Man . . . . .	36
Svayam-âtrîmâ Brick . . . . .	377
Dûrvâ Plant . . . . .	380
Dviyagus Bricks . . . . .	381
Retahsik Bricks . . . . .	383
Visvagyotis Brick . . . . .	384
Ritavya Bricks . . . . .	386
Ashâdhâ Brick . . . . .	387
Tortoise . . . . .	389
Mortar and Pestle . . . . .	393
Fire-pan . . . . .	396
Victims' Heads . . . . .	400
Apasyâ Bricks . . . . .	413
Khandasyâ Bricks . . . . .	414
Corrections . . . . .	418
Plan of Fire-altar . . . . .	419

---

Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the Trans-	
lations of the Sacred Books of the East . . . . .	421





## INTRODUCTION.

THE first of the three *Kândas* contained in the present volume continues the dogmatic discussion of the different forms of Soma-sacrifice, in connection with which two important ceremonies, the *Vâgapeya* and *Râgasûya*, are considered. From a ritualistic point of view, there is a radical difference between these two ceremonies. The *Râgasûya*, or 'inauguration of a king,' strictly speaking, is not a Soma-sacrifice, but rather a complex religious ceremony which includes, amongst other rites, the performance of a number of Soma-sacrifices of different kinds. The *Vâgapeya*, or 'drink of strength' (or, perhaps, 'the race-cup'), on the other hand, is recognised as one of the different forms (*samsthâ*) which a single Soma-sacrifice may take. As a matter of fact, however, this form hardly ever occurs, as most of the others constantly do, in connection with, and as a constituent element of, other ceremonies, but is almost exclusively performed as an independent sacrifice. The reason why this sacrifice has received a special treatment in the *Brâhmana*, between the *Agnishôma* and the *Râgasûya*, doubtless is that, unlike the other forms of Soma-sacrifice, it has some striking features of its own which stamp it, like the *Râgasûya*, as a political ceremony. According to certain ritualistic authorities<sup>1</sup>, indeed, the performance of the *Vâgapeya* should be arranged in much the same way as that of the *Râgasûya*; that is, just as the central ceremony of the *Râgasûya*, viz. the *Abhishekanîya* or consecration, is preceded and followed by certain other Soma-days, so the *Vâgapeya* should be preceded and followed by exactly corresponding ceremonies.

---

<sup>1</sup> See *Kâty. Sr. XIV, 1, 7; Lâty. Sr. VIII, 11, 7-11.*

The preceding *Kānda* was chiefly taken up with a detailed discussion of the simplest form of a complete Soma-sacrifice, the *Agnishṭoma*, serving as the model for all other kinds of one-day (*ekāha*) Soma-sacrifices; and it also adverted incidentally to some of the special features of such of the remaining fundamental forms of Soma-sacrifice as are required for the performance of sacrificial periods of from two to twelve pressing-days—the so-called *ahīna*-sacrifices—as well as for the performance of the sacrificial sessions (*sattra*) lasting from twelve days upwards. As the discussion of the *Vāgapeya* presupposes a knowledge of several of those fundamental forms of Soma-sacrifice, it may not be out of place here briefly to recapitulate their characteristic features.

The *ekāha*, or 'one-day' sacrifices, are those Soma-sacrifices which have a single pressing-day, consisting of three services (or pressings, *savana*)—the morning, midday, and third (or evening) services—at each of which certain cups of Soma-liquor are drawn, destined to be ultimately consumed by the priests and sacrificer, after libations to the respective deities have been duly made therefrom. At certain stated times during the performance, hymns (*stotra*) are chanted by the *Udgātṛis*; each of which is followed by an appropriate recitation (*sastra*) of Vedic hymns or detached verses, by the *Hotṛi* priest or one of his assistants. An integral part of each Soma-sacrifice, moreover, is the animal sacrifice (*parubandhu*); the number of victims varying according to the particular form of sacrifice adopted. In the exposition of the *Agnishṭoma*, the animal offering actually described (part ii, p. 162 seq.) is that of a he-goat to Agni and Soma, intended to serve as the model for all other animal sacrifices. This description is inserted in the *Brāhmaṇa* among the ceremonies of the day preceding the Soma-day; whilst, in the actual performance, the slaughtering of the victim, or victims, takes place during the morning service, and the meat-oblations are made during the evening service, of the pressing-day. The ritualistic works enumerate a considerable number of 'one-day' sacrifices, all of them with special features of their

own; most of these sacrifices are, however, merely modifications of one or other of the fundamental forms of *ekâhas*. Of such forms or *samsthâs*—literally, ‘completions,’ being so called because the final chants or ceremonies are their most characteristic features—the ritual system recognises seven, viz. the *Agnishôma*, *Atyagnishôma*, *Ukthya*, *Shodasin*, *Vâgapeya*<sup>1</sup>, *Atirâtra*, and *Aptoryâma*.

The *Agnishôma*, the simplest and most common form of Soma-sacrifice, requires the immolation of a single victim, a he-goat to Agni; and the chanting of twelve stotras, viz. the *Bahish-pavamâna* and four *Âgya*-stotras at the morning service; the *Mâdhyandina-pavamâna* and four *Prishtha*-stotras at the midday service; and the *Tritiya* (or *Ârbhava*)-*pavamâna* and the *Agnishôma-sâman* at the evening service. It is this last-named chant, then, that gives its name to this sacrifice which, indeed, is often explained as the ‘*Agnishôma-samsthaḥ kratuh*<sup>2</sup>,’ or the sacrifice concluding with ‘Agni’s praise.’ The term ‘*sâman*,’ in its narrow technical sense, means a choral melody, a hymn-tune, without reference to the words set thereto. Not unfrequently, however, it has to be taken in the wider sense of a chanted verse or hymn (triplet), a chorale; but, though the distinction is evidently of some importance for the ritual, it is not always easy to determine the particular sense in which the term is meant to be applied, viz. whether a specified *sâman* is intended to include the original text set to the respective tune, or whether some other verses to which that tune has been adapted are intended. In the case of the *Agnishôma-sâman*, however, the word ‘*sâman*’ cannot be taken in its narrow acceptation, but the term has to be understood in the sense of ‘a hymn chanted in praise of Agni.’ The words commonly used for this chant, are the first two verses of *Rig-veda* S. VI, 48, a hymn indeed

<sup>1</sup> In this enumeration the *Vâgapeya* is often placed between the *Atirâtra* and *Aptoryâma*; e.g. *Lâty.* V, 4, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Thus on *Sat. Br.* V, 1, 3, 1 *Âgneyam agnishôma ālabhate, Sâyana* remarks, ‘*agniḥ stūyate + sminn ity agnishômo nāma sâma, tasmin vishayabhūta āgneyam ālabhate, etena parunā + smin vâgapeye + gnishômasamsthaḥ kratum evânush/kitavân bhavati.*’ In IV, 2, 4, 9 seq., also, the term ‘*agnishôma*’ would seem to apply to the final chant rather than to the whole sacrifice.

admirably adapted for the purpose of singing Agni's praises. For the first verse, beginning 'yagñâ-yagñâ vo agnaye,' the chief tune-book, the Grâmageya-gâna, has preserved four different tunes, all of which are ascribed to the *Rishi* Bharadvâga: one of them has, however, come to be generally accepted as the Yagñâyagñiya-tune κατ' ἐξοχήν, and has been made use of for this and numerous other triplets<sup>1</sup>; whilst the other tunes seem to have met with little favour, not one of them being represented in the triplets arranged for chanting in stotras, as given in the Ūha and Uhya-gânas. Neither the Yagñâyagñiya-tune, nor its original text, is however a fixed item in the chanting of the Agnishṭoma-sâman. Thus, for the first two verses of Rig-veda VI, 48, the Vâgapeya-sacrifice<sup>2</sup> substitutes verses nine and ten of the same hymn, and these are chanted, not to the Yagñâyagñiya, but to the Vâravantiya-tune, originally composed for, and named after, Rig-veda I, 27, 1 (S. V. I, 17; ed. Calc. I, p. 121) 'asvam na tvâ vâravantam.'

The Ukthya-sacrifice requires the slaughtering of a second victim, a he-goat to Indra and Agni; and to the twelve chants of the Agnishṭoma it adds three more, the so-called Uktha-stotras, each of which is again followed by an Uktha-sastra recited by one of the Hotrakas, or assistants of the Hotri. As the evening service of the Agnishṭoma had only two sastras, both recited by the Hotri, the addition of the three sastras of the Hotrakas would, in this respect, equalize the evening to the morning and midday savanas. The word 'uktha' is explained by later lexicographers either as a synonym of 'sâman,' or as a kind of sâman<sup>3</sup>; but it is not unlikely that that meaning of the word was directly derived from this, the most common, use of the word in the term 'uktha-stotra.' The etymology of the word<sup>4</sup>, at all events, would point to the

<sup>1</sup> Each Sâman-tune is usually chanted thrice, either each time on a special verse of its own, or so that, by certain repetitions of words, two verses are made to suffice for the thrice-repeated tune.

<sup>2</sup> So also does the Agnishṭut ekâha, cf. Tândya Br. XVII, 5, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Sâyana, to Sat. Br. IV, 3, 3, 2, explains it by 'stotra'; but see IV, 2, 3, 6-9 where it undoubtedly refers to the recited verses (*rik*), not to the sâman.

<sup>4</sup> Viz. from root 'vak' to speak. I cannot see the necessity for taking

meaning 'verse, hymn,' rather than to that of 'tune' or 'chant;' but, be that as it may, the word is certainly used in the former sense in the term 'mahad-uktha,' the name of the 'great recitation' of a thousand *br̥ihatī* verses<sup>1</sup>, being the *Hotri's* *sastra* in response to the *Mahāvṛata-stotra* at the last but one day of the *Gavām-ayana*. And, besides, at the *Agnishṭoma* a special 'ukthya' cup of *Soma-juice* is drawn both at the morning and midday pressings, but not at the evening *savana*. This cup, which is eventually shared by the three principal *Hotrakas* between them, is evidently intended as their reward for the recitation of their 'ukthas.' At the *Ukthya-sacrifice*, as might have been expected, the same cup is likewise drawn at the evening service. Though it may be taken for granted, therefore, that 'uktha' was an older term for 'sastra,' it still seems somewhat strange that this term should have been applied specially to the additional *sastras* and *stotras* of the *Ukthya-sacrifice*. Could it be that the name of the additional *Ukthya-cup*, as a distinctive feature of this sacrifice, suggested the name for the *sastras* and *stotras* with which that cup was connected, or have we rather to look for some such reason as *Ait. Br. VI, 13* might seem to indicate? This passage contains a discussion regarding the different status of the *Hotrakas* who have *ukthas* of their own, and those who have not; and it then proceeds to consider the difference that exists between the two first and the third *savanas* of the *Agnishṭoma* in respect of the *Hotrakas' ukthas*. It is clear that here also, the term 'uktha' can hardly be taken otherwise than as referring to

---

'*br̥ihad vaśas*' in *Rig-veda VII, 96, 1* in the technical sense of *Br̥ihat-tune*, as is done by Prof. Hillebrandt, in his interesting essay, '*Die Sonnenfeste in Alt-Indien*,' p. 29, merely because it is used there in connection with *Indra*; whilst he himself is doubtful as to whether it should be taken in the same sense in *III, 10, 5* where it occurs in connection with *Agni*. Though the *Br̥ihat-sāman* is no doubt frequently referred to *Indra*, and the *Rathanantara* to *Agni*, the couplets ordinarily chanted to them (*Rig-veda VI, 46, 1-2* and *VII, 32, 22, 23*) are both of them addressed to *Indra*. Both tunes are, however, applied to verses addressed to all manner of deities.

<sup>1</sup> See Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. of the India Office, No. 434. In *Kaush. Br. XI, 8*, '*sadasy ukthāni sasyante*,' also, the word has undoubtedly the sense of *sastra*, or (recited) hymn. In part i, p. 346, note 3 of this translation read 'great recitation or *sastra*,' instead of 'great chant.'

the sastras—though, no doubt, the stotra is sometimes said to belong to the priest who recites the sastra in response to it—and this paragraph of the Brāhmaṇa reads almost like the echo of an old discussion as to whether or not there should be recitations for the Hotrakas at the evening service of a complete Soma-sacrifice. If, in this way, the question of ‘uktha or no uktha’ had become a sort of catchword for ritualistic controversy, one could understand how the term came ultimately to be applied to the three additional stotras and sastras.

Not unfrequently, the Ukthya is treated merely as a redundant Agnishōma, as an ‘Agnishōmaḥ sokthaḥ,’ or Agnishōma with the Ukthas<sup>1</sup>. Considering, however, that the term Agnishōma, properly speaking, belongs only to a Soma-sacrifice which ends with the Agnishōma (sāman), and that the addition of the Uktha-stotras also involves considerable modifications in the form of most of the preceding chants, a new term such as Ukthya, based on the completing and characteristic chants of this form of sacrifice, was decidedly more convenient. In regard to the composition of the preceding stotras, with the exception of the Mādhyandina-pavamāna and the Agnishōma-sāman, the Ukthya, indeed, may be said to constitute a parallel form of Sacrifice beside the Agnishōma<sup>2</sup>, the succeeding samsthās following the model of either the one or the other of these two parallel forms.

The Shodāsin-sacrifice requires, as a third victim, the

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, Tāndya Br. XX, 1, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the most characteristic point of difference between these two forms in which the fundamental stotras are chanted is the first (or Hotrī’s) *Prishṭha*-stotra at the midday service. Whilst the Agnishōma here requires the Ra-chantara-tune chanted on the text, Sāma-veda S. II, 30, 31; the Ukthya, on the other hand, requires the text, S. V. II, 159, 160, chanted to the *Bṛihat*-tune. Professor Hillebrandt, l. c., p. 22, has, indeed, tried to show that these two tunes play an important part in early India in connection with the celebration of the solstices. A similar alternation of sāmans to that of the Hotrī’s *Prishṭha*-stotra obtains at the third, or Brāhmanābhikṣin’s *Prishṭha*-stotra; the Nau-dhasa-sāman (II, 35, 36) being used at the Agnishōma, and the Syaita-sāman at the Ukthya-sacrifice. As regards the second (or Maitrāvaruṇa’s) and fourth (or Akkāvāka’s) *Prishṭha*-stotras, on the other hand, the same sāman—viz. the Vāmadevyā (II, 32-34) and Kāleya (II, 37, 38) respectively—is used both at the Agnishōma and Ukthya.

immolation of a ram to Indra ; and one additional chant, the *shodasi*-stotra, with its attendant *sastra* and Soma-cup. The most natural explanation of the name is the one supplied, in the first place, by Ait. Br. IV, 1 (as interpreted by Sâyana)—viz. the sacrifice which has sixteen, or a sixteenth, stotra<sup>1</sup>. But, as the name applies not only to the sacrifice but also to the stotra and *sastra*, the Brâhmana further justifies the name by the peculiar composition of the *shodasi*-*sastra* in which the number sixteen prevails<sup>2</sup>. Very probably, however, the name may have belonged to the sacrifice long before the *sastra*, for symbolic reasons, had assumed the peculiar form it now presents.

In this summary of the characteristic features of the forms of Soma-sacrifice presupposed by the *Vâgapeya*, no mention has yet been made of the *Atyagnishṭoma*, or redundant *Agnishṭoma*, which usually occupies the second place in the list of *saṁsthâs*. This form of sacrifice is indeed very little used, and there can be little doubt that it was introduced into the system, as Professor Weber suggests, merely for the sake of bringing up the *Soma-saṁsthâs* to the sacred number of seven. This sacrifice is obtained by the addition of the *shodasi*-stotra to the twelve chants of the *Agnishṭoma*, as well as of the special Soma-cup and sacrificial victim for Indra, connected with that chant. It may thus be considered as a short form of the *Shodasin*-sacrifice (though without the full complement of stotras implied in that name), which might have suited the views of such ritualists as held the *sastras* of the *Hotrakas* at the evening service to be superfluous<sup>3</sup>.

The distinctive feature of the *Atirâtra*-sacrifice, as the name itself indicates, is an 'overnight' performance of chants and recitations, consisting of three rounds of four stotras and *sastras* each. At the end of each round

<sup>1</sup> This is also the explanation of the term given by Sâyana in his commentary on *Tândya* Br. XII, 13, 1.

<sup>2</sup> See this translation, part ii, p. 402, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See part ii, p. 402, note 2, where it is stated that the tenth and last day of the *Damrâtra* is an *Atyagnishṭoma* day, called *Avivâkya*, i. e. one on which there should be no dispute or quarrel.



(paryāya) libations are offered, followed by the inevitable potations of Soma-liquor. That the performance, indeed, partook largely of the character of a regular nocturnal carousal, may be gathered from the fact, specially mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, that each of the Hotṛi's offering-formulas is to contain the three words—'andhas,' Soma-plant (or liquor), 'pā,' to drink, and 'mada,' intoxication. Accordingly, one of the formulas used is Rig-veda II, 19, 1 apāyy asyā-andhaso madāya, 'there has been drunk (by Indra, or by us) of this juice for intoxication.' The twelve stotras, each of which is chanted to a different tune, are followed up, at daybreak, by the Sandhi-stotra, or twilight-chant, consisting of six verses (Sāma-veda S. II, 99-104) chanted to the Rathantara-tune. This chant is succeeded by the Hotṛi's recitation of the Āsvina-sastra, a modification of the ordinary 'prātar-anuvāka,' or morning-litany, by which the pressing-day of a Soma-sacrifice is ushered in<sup>1</sup>. The Atirātra also requires a special victim, viz. a he-goat offered to Sarasvatī, the goddess of speech. As regards the ceremonies preceding the night-performance, there is again a difference of opinion among ritualists as to whether the shodasi-stotra, with its attendant rites, is, or is not, a necessary element of the Atirātra<sup>2</sup>. Some authorities<sup>3</sup>, accordingly, distinctly recognise two different kinds of Atirātra,—one with, and the other without, the shodasin. In Kātyāyana's Sūtra, there is no allusion to any difference of opinion on this point, but, in specifying the victims required at the different Soma-sacrifices, he merely remarks (IX, 8, 5) that, 'At the Atirātra there is a fourth victim to Sarasvatī.' This would certainly seem to imply that there are also to be the three preceding victims, including the one to Indra peculiar to the Shodasin. Āśvalāyana (V, 11, 1) also refers incidentally to the shodasin as part of the

<sup>1</sup> See part ii, p. 226 seq. On the present occasion the Prātar-anuvāka is, however, to consist of as many verses as, counting their syllables, would make up a thousand br̥hatī-verses (of thirty-six syllables each). The three sections of the ordinary morning-litany from the body of the Āsvina-sastra which concludes, after sunrise, with verses addressed to Sūrya, the sun.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lāṭy. Sr. VIII, 1, 16; IX, 5, 23 with commentary.

<sup>3</sup> Notably Tāṇḍya Br. XX, 1, 1 seq.

Atirâtra, though it is not quite clear from the text of the sūtra whether it is meant to be a necessary or only an optional feature of that sacrifice. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (IV, 6), on the other hand, in treating of the Atirâtra, enters on a discussion with the view of showing that the night-performance of that sacrifice is in every respect equal to the preceding day-performance; and accordingly, as the three services of the day-performance include fifteen chants and recitations (viz. the twelve of the Agnishṛoma, and the three Ukthas), so, during the night, the three rounds of in all twelve stotras, together with the sandhi-stotra, here counted as three stotras (triplets), make up the requisite fifteen chants. This Brāhmaṇa, then, does not recognise the shodāsin as part of the Atirâtra, and, indeed, the manuals of the Atirâtra chants which I have consulted make no mention of the shodāsi-stotra, though it is distinctly mentioned there among the chants of the Vāgapeya and the Aptoryāma. The passage in the Aitareya, just referred to, also seems to raise the question as to whether the Atirâtra is really an ekāha, or whether it is not rather an ahīna-sacrifice. On this point also the authorities seem to differ; whilst most writers take the Atirâtra, and the analogous Aptoryāma, to be 'one-day' sacrifices, the Tāndya Brāhmaṇa (XX) and Lāṭy. IX, 5, 6 class them along with the Ahīnas<sup>1</sup>; and they may indeed be regarded as intermediate links between the two classes of Soma-sacrifice, inasmuch as, in a continued sacrificial performance, the final recitations of these sacrifices take the place of the opening ceremony of the next day's performance. Such, for instance, is the case in the performance of the Atirâtra as the opening day of the Dvādasāha, or twelve days' period of sacrifice; whilst in the performance of the twelfth and concluding day, which is likewise an Atirâtra, the concluding ceremonies of the latter might be considered in

<sup>1</sup> The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VI, 18) in discussing the so-called sampāta hymns inserted in continued performances, with the view of establishing a symbolic connection between the several days, curiously explains the term 'ahīna,' not from 'ahas' day, but as meaning 'not defective, where nothing is left out' (a-hīna).

a manner superabundant. It is probably in this sense that Lāty. (IX, 5, 4) calls the overnight performance of the last day of an ahīna (e.g. the Dvādasāha) the *yagñapukṣha*, or tail of the sacrifice, which is to fall beyond the month for which, from the time of the initiation, the ahīna is to last.

The Aptoryāma-sacrifice represents an amplified form of the Atirātra. It requires the *shoḍaśi*-stotra and the ceremonies connected with it as a necessary element of its performance; whilst its distinctive feature consists in four additional (atirikta-) stotras and sastras, chanted and recited after the Āsvina-sastra, the concluding recitation of the Atirātra. These four chants are arranged in such a manner that each successive stotra is chanted to a different tune, and in a more advanced form of composition, from the *trivṛt* (nine-versed) up to the *ekavimsa* (twenty-one-versed) stoma. In the liturgical manuals, the Aptoryāma, moreover, performs the function of serving as the model for a sacrificial performance with all the '*prishthas*'.<sup>1</sup> Though this mode of chanting has been repeatedly referred to in the translation and notes, a few additional remarks on this subject may not be out of place here. When performed in its '*prishtha*' form, the stotra is so arranged that a certain sâman (or chanted triplet) is enclosed, as the '*garbha*' (embryo), within some other sâman which, as its '*prishtha*' (i. e. back, or flanks), is chanted a number of times before and after the verses of the central sâman. The tunes most commonly used for forming the enclosing sâmans of a *Prishtha*-stotra are the Rathantara and Brihat; and along with these, four others are singled out to make up the six *Prishtha*-sâmans κατ' ἐξοχήν, viz. the Vairûpa (with the text Sâma-veda II, 212-13), Vairâga (II, 277-9), Sâkvara<sup>2</sup> (chanted on the Mahânâmnî verses,

<sup>1</sup> From Âsvalâyana's rule (IX, 11, 4), 'If they chant in forming the garbha (i. e. in the '*prishtha*' form), let him (the Hotṛi or Hotraka) recite in the same way the stotriyas and anurûpas,' it seems, however, clear that the Aptoryāma may also be performed without the *Prishthas*.

<sup>2</sup> The original text of the Sâkvara-sâman is stated (by Sâyana on Aitar. Br. IV, 13; Mahîdhara on Vâg. S. X, 14, &c.) to be Sâma-veda II, 1151-3, 'pro shv asmai puroratham,' but the Sâma-veda Gânas do not seem to give the tune

Aitar. Âr. IV), and Raivata<sup>1</sup> sâmans. These six sâmans are employed during the six days' sacrificial period called *Prishthya-shadaha*, in such a way that one of them, in the order in which they are here enumerated, is used for the first, or Hotri's, *Prishtha*-stotra on the successive days of that period. In that case, however, these stotras are not performed in the proper '*prishtha*' form<sup>2</sup>, i. e. they have no other sâman inserted within them, but they are treated like any other triplet according to the particular stoma, or mode of composition, prescribed for them. But, on the other hand, in the Aptoryâma, when performed 'with all the *Prishthas*,' not only are a number of stotras chanted in the proper '*prishtha*' form, but the '*prishtha*' element asserts itself in yet another way, viz. by the appearance of all the six '*Prishtha-sâmans*' in the course of the performance of the different stotras, in this way:—the Rathantara-tune forms the middlemost of the seven triplets of which the Madhyandina-pavamâna is composed;

---

with that text, but with the Mahânâmnî verses (ed. Bibl. Ind. II, p. 371). The Tândya Br. XIII, 4 (and comm.), gives minute directions as to the particular pâdas of the first three Mahânâmnî triplets which are singled out as of a sâkvara (potent) nature, and are supposed to form the three stotriyâ verses of the sâkvara-sâman, consisting of seven, six, and five pâdas respectively. The asâkvara pâdas are, however, likewise chanted in their respective places, as is also the additional tenth verse, the five pâdas of which are treated as mere supplementary (or 'filling in') matter.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the Vâravantiya-tune adapted to the 'Revati' verses. The Vâravantiya-tune is named after its original text, Rig-veda I, 27, 1, 'asvam na tvâ vâravantam' (Sâma-veda, ed. Bibl. Ind. I, p. 121). When used as one of the *Prishtha-sâmans* it is not, however, this, its original text, that is chanted to it, but the verses Rig-veda I, 30, 13-15, 'revatîr naî sadhamâda' (Sâma-veda II, 434-6, ed. vol. iv, p. 56), whence the tune, as adapted to this triplet, is usually called Raivata. The Raivata-sâman, thus, is a signal instance of the use of the term 'sâman' in the sense of a chanted verse or triplet.

<sup>2</sup> The statement, in part ii, p. 403 note (and repeated in the present part, p. 6, note 2), that, while the *Prishtha*-stotras of the Abhiplava-shadaha are performed in the ordinary (Agnishôma) way, the *Prishthya-shadaha* requires their performance in the proper *Prishtha* form, is not correct. In both kinds of shadaha, the *Prishtha*-stotras are performed in the ordinary way (viz. in the Agnishôma or Ukthya way, see p. 4 note); but whilst, in the Abhiplava, the Rathantara and Brîhat-sâmans are used for the Hotri's *Prishtha*-stotra on alternate days, the *Prishthya-shadaha* requires a different *Prishtha-sâman* on each of the six days. The two kinds of shadahâs also differ entirely in regard to the sequence of stomas prescribed for the performance of the stotras.

the *Bṛihat* forms the 'garbha,' or enclosed sâman, of the *Agnishṭoma-sâman*<sup>1</sup>; the *Vairûpa* the 'garbha' of the third, the *Vairâga* that of the first, the *Sâkvara* that of the second, and the *Raivata* that of the fourth, *Prishṭha-stotra*. It is doubtless this feature which gives to certain Soma-days the name of 'sarvaprishṭha,' or one performed with all the (six) *Prishṭhas*. Then, as regards the particular stotras that are chanted in the proper 'prishṭha' form, these include not only the four so-called *Prishṭha-stotras* of the midday service, but also the four *Âgya-stotras* of the morning service, as well as the *Agnishṭoma-sâman* and the three *Uktha-stotras* of the evening service,—in short, all the first fifteen stotras with the exception of the three *Pavamâna-stotras*. Of the stotras which succeed the *Ukthas*, on the other hand—viz. the *Shodasin*, the twelve chants of the three night-rounds, the *Sandhi-stotra*, and the four *Atirikta-stotras*—not one is performed in the 'prishṭha' form. How often the several verses of the 'prishṭha-sâman,' and those of the 'garbha' are to be chanted, of course depends, in each case, not only on the particular stoma which has to be performed, but also on the particular mode (*vishtuti*) prescribed, or selected, for the stoma. Thus, while all the four *Âgya-stotras* are chanted in the *pañkadasa*, or fifteen-verses-stoma; the four *Prishṭha-stotras* are to be performed in the *ekavimsa* (of twenty-one verses), the *katurvimsa* (of twenty-four verses), the *katuskatvârimsa* (of forty-four verses), and the *ashṭâkatvârimsa* (of forty-eight verses) respectively. Now whenever, as in the case of the *pañkadasa* and the *ekavimsa-stomas*, the number of verses is divisible by three, one third of the total number of verses is usually assigned to each of the three parts of the stotra, and distributed over the respective (three or sometimes four) verses of that sâman<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Either the *Rathantara* or the *Bṛihat* also forms the 'prishṭha,' or enclosing sâman, of the first *Prishṭha-stotra*.

<sup>2</sup> Whenever the stotra is not performed in the 'prishṭha' form, but consists of a single sâman or triplet, the repetitions required to make up the number of verses implied in the respective stoma, are distributed over the three verses of the sâman in such a way that the whole sâman is chanted thrice, each time with various repetitions of the single verses. The usual form in which the

To illustrate this tripartite composition, the Hotri's *Prishtha*-stotra, performed in the twenty-one-versed stoma, may be taken as an example. For the '*prishtha*,' the manuals give the *Bṛihat-sâman*, on its original text (*Sâma-veda* II, 159, 160, 'tvâm id dhi havâmahe,' arranged so as to form three verses), though the *Rathantara* may be used instead<sup>1</sup>. For the '*garbha*,' or enclosed *sâman*, on the other hand, the *Vairâga-sâman* (with its original text, *S. V. II*, 277-9, 'pibâ somam indra mandatu tvâ') is to be used, a most elaborate tune<sup>2</sup>, with long sets of stobhas, or musical ejaculations, inserted in the text. Of the twenty-one verses, of which the stoma consists, seven verses would thus fall to the share of the '*garbha*,' and seven verses to that of the '*prishtha*,' as chanted before and after the '*garbha*.' Thus, in accordance with the formula set forth in p. xxii, note 2, the three verses (a, b, c) of the *Bṛihat* would be chanted in the form aaa-bbb-c; then the verses of the *Vairâga-sâman* (as '*garbha*') in the form a-bbb-ccc; and finally again the *Bṛihat* in the form aaa-b-ccc. Stotras, the total number of verses of which is not divisible by three, of course require a slightly different distribution. Thus, of the third *Prishtha*-stotra, the stoma of which consists of forty-four verses, the two parts of the '*prishtha*' obtain fifteen verses each, whilst the '*garbha*' has only fourteen verses for its share.

The *Vâgapeya*, the last of the seven forms of a complete Soma-sacrifice, occupies an independent position beside the *Atirâtra* and *Aptoryâma*, whose special features it does not share. Like them, it starts from the *Shodasin*, to the characteristic (sixteenth) chant (and recitation) of which it adds one more stotra, the *Vâgapeya-sâman*, chanted to the *Bṛihat*-tune, in the *Saptadasa* (seventeen-versed) stoma, and followed by the recitation of the *Vâgapeya-sastra*. The *Saptadasa*-stoma, indeed, is so characteristic of this sacrifice that—as has been set forth at p. 8 note

---

ekavimsa is performed may be represented by the formula aaa-bbb-c; a-bbb-ccc; aaa-b-ccc, making together twenty-one verses.

<sup>1</sup> *Āval. Sr. IX*, 3, 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> It is given somewhat imperfectly in the ed. *Bibl. Ind. V*, p. 391.

below—all the preceding chants, from the Bahishpavamāna onward, are remodelled in accordance with it. Besides, over and above the three victims of the Shodasin-sacrifice, the Vāgapeya requires, not only a fourth one, sacred to Sarasvatī, the goddess of speech, but also a set of seventeen victims for Pragāpati, the god of creatures and procreation. As regards other rites peculiar to the Vāgapeya, the most interesting, doubtless, is the chariot-race in which the sacrificer, who must be either of the royal or of the priestly order, is allowed to carry off the palm, and from which this sacrifice perhaps derives its name. Professor Hillebrandt<sup>1</sup>, indeed, would claim for this feature of the sacrifice the character of a relic of an old national festival, a kind of Indian Olympic games; and though there is perhaps hardly sufficient evidence to bear out this conjecture, it cannot at least be denied that this feature has a certain popular look about it.

Somewhat peculiar are the relations between the Vāga-peya and the Rāgasūya on the one hand, and between the Vāga-peya and the Br̥haspatisava on the other. In the first chapter of the fifth book, the author of this part of our Brāhmana is at some pains to impress the fact that the Vāga-peya is a ceremony of superior value and import to the Rāgasūya; and hence Kātyāyana (XV, 1, 1-2) has two rules to the effect that the Rāgasūya may be performed by a king who has not yet performed the Vāga-peya. These authorities would thus seem to consider the drinking of the Vāga-peya-cup a more than sufficient equivalent for the Rāgasūya, or inauguration of a king; they do not, however, say that the Rāgasūya must be performed prior to the Vāga-peya, but only maintain that the Vāga-peya cannot be performed after the Rāgasūya. The Rāgasūya, according to the Brāhmana, confers on the sacrificer royal dignity (rāgya), and the Vāga-peya paramount sovereignty (sām-rāgya). It might almost seem as if the relatively loose positions here assigned to the Rāgasūya were entirely owing to the fact that it is a purely Kshatriya ceremony to which the

<sup>1</sup> Vedische Mythologie, p. 247.

Brāhmaṇa has no right, whilst the Vāgapeya may be performed by Brāhmaṇas as well as Kshatriyas. But on whatever grounds this appreciation of the two ceremonies may be based, it certainly goes right in the face of the rule laid down by Āśvalāyana (IX, 9, 19) that, 'after performing the Vāgapeya, a king may perform the Rāgasūya, and a Brāhmaṇa the *Bṛihaspatisava*.' With this rule would seem to accord the relative value assigned to the two ceremonies in the Taittiriya Saṃhitā (V, 6, 2, 1) and Brāhmaṇa (II, 7, 6, 1), according to which the Vāgapeya is a 'samrātsava,' or consecration to the dignity of a paramount sovereign, while the Rāgasūya is called a 'varuṇasava,' i.e., according to Sāyana, a consecration to the universal sway wielded by Varuṇa<sup>1</sup>. In much the same sense we have doubtless to understand the rule in which Kātyāyana defines the object of the Vāgapeya (VIII, 11, 1), viz. 'Whomsoever the Brāhmaṇas and kings (or nobles) may place at their head, let him perform the Vāgapeya.' All these authorities, with the exception of the Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa and Kātyāyana, are thus agreed in making the Vāgapeya a preliminary ceremony, performed by a Brāhmaṇa who is raised to the dignity of a Purohita, or head-priest (so to speak, a minister of worship, and court-priest), or by a king who is elected paramount sovereign by a number of petty rāgas; this sacrifice being in due time followed by the respective installation and consecration ceremony, viz. the *Bṛihaspatisava*, in the case of the Purohita; and the Rāgasūya, in that of the king. In regard to the *Bṛihaspatisava*, which these authorities place on an equality with the Rāgasūya, our Brāhmaṇa finds itself in a somewhat awkward position, and it gets out of its difficulty (V, 2, 1, 19) by simply identifying the *Bṛihaspatisava* with the Vāgapeya, and making the Vāgapeya itself to be 'the consecration of *Bṛihaspati*;' and Kātyāyana (XIV, 1, 2) compromises matters by combining the two ceremonies in this way that he who performs the Vāgapeya is to perform the *Bṛihaspatisava* for a fortnight before and after the Vāgapeya.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sāṅkh. Sr. XV, 13, 4, 'for it is Varuṇa whom they consecrate.'



The Rāgasūya, or inauguration of a king, is a complex ceremony which, according to the Srauta-sūtras, consists of a long succession of sacrificial performances, spread over a period of upwards of two years. It includes seven distinct Soma-sacrifices, viz. 1, the Pavitra, an Agnishōma serving as the opening sacrifice, and followed, after an interval of a year (during which the seasonal sacrifices have to be performed), by 2, the Abhishekanīya, an Ukthya-sacrifice, being the consecration (or anointing) ceremony. Then follows 3, the Dasapeya, or 'drink of ten,' an Agnishōma, so-called because ten priests take part in drinking the Soma-liquor contained in each of the ten cups. After another year's interval<sup>1</sup>, during which monthly 'offerings to the beams (i.e. the months)' are made, takes place 4, the Kesavapanīya, or hair-cutting ceremony, an Atirātra-sacrifice; followed, after a month or fortnight, by 5, and 6, the Vyushī-dvirātra, or two nights' ceremony of the dawning, consisting of an Agnishōma and an Atirātra; and finally 7, the Kshatra-dhṛiti, or 'the wielding of the (royal) power,' an Agnishōma performed a month later. The round of ceremonies concludes with the Sautrāmanī, an ishī the object of which is to make amends for any excess committed in the consumption of Soma-liquor.

The fifth book completes the dogmatic discussion of the ordinary circle of sacrifices, some less common, or altogether obsolete, ceremonies, such as the Asvamedha (horse-sacrifice), Purushamedha (human sacrifice), Sarvamedha (sacrifice for universal rule), being dealt with, by way of supplement, in the thirteenth book.

With the sixth Kānda, we enter on the detailed explanation of the Agnikayana, or building of the fire-altar, a very solemn ceremony which would seem originally to have stood apart from, if not in actual opposition to, the ordinary sacrificial system, but which, in the end, apparently by some ecclesiastical compromise, was added

<sup>1</sup> The Brāhmaṇa (V, 5, 2, 2), however, would rather seem to dispense with this interval by combining the twelve oblations so as to form two sets of six each.

on to the Soma ritual as an important, though not indispensable, element of it. The avowed object of this ceremony is the super-exaltation of Agni, the Fire, who, in the elaborate cosmogenic legend with which this section begins, is identified with Pragâpati, the lord of Generation, and the source of life in the world. As the present volume contains, however, only a portion of the Agnikâyana ritual, any further remarks on this subject may be reserved for a future occasion.

Since the time when this volume went to press, the literature of the Soma myth has been enriched by the appearance of an important book, the first volume of Professor A. Hillebrandt's *Vedische Mythologie*, dealing with Soma and cognate gods. As it is impossible for me here to enter into a detailed discussion of the numerous points raised in the work, I must content myself for the present with the remark that I believe Professor Hillebrandt to have fully established the main point of his position, viz. the identity of Soma with the Moon in early Vedic mythology.

---



# SATAPATHA-BRÂHMANA.

## FIFTH KÂNDĀ.

### A. THE VÂGAPEYA.

#### FIRST ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. Once upon a time the gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Pragâpati, strove together. And the Asuras, even through arrogance, thinking, 'Unto whom, forsooth, should we make offering?' went on offering into their own mouths. They came to naught, even through arrogance: wherefore let no one be arrogant, for verily arrogance is the cause<sup>1</sup> of ruin.

2. But the gods went on making offerings unto one another. Pragâpati gave himself up to them: thus the sacrifice<sup>2</sup> became theirs; and indeed the sacrifice is the food of the gods<sup>3</sup>.

3. They then spake, 'To which of us shall this<sup>4</sup> belong?' They did not agree together, saying,

---

<sup>1</sup> Lit. 'the mouth,' i.e. the opening or beginning, of ruin. The St. Petersburg Dict. compares Prov. xvi. 18: 'Pride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall.'

<sup>2</sup> Pragâpati (the lord of creatures or generation) is both the sacrifice and the year (time); see III, 2, 2, 4.

<sup>3</sup> See II, 4, 2, 1. To them (the gods) he (Pragâpati) said, 'The sacrifice (shall be) your food, immortality your sustenance (ûrg), and the sun your light!'

<sup>4</sup> For the neuter idam—hardly here 'this universe,' or 'vâ-

‘To me! to me!’ Not being agreed, they said, ‘Let us run a race for it: whichever of us shall win, to him it shall belong!’—‘So be it!’ so they ran a race for it.

4. Then *Bṛihaspati* hastened up to *Savitri* for his impulsion<sup>1</sup>,—*Savitri* being the impeller (*prasavitri*) among the gods—saying, ‘Impel this for me, (so that) impelled by thee, I may win this!’ Then *Savitri*, as the impeller, impelled it for him, and impelled by *Savitri*, he won: he became everything here, he won everything here; for he won *Pragâpati*, and *Pragâpati* (the lord of creatures and procreation) indeed is everything here. By offering therewith he (*Bṛihaspati*) ascended to that upper region. Therefore who so knoweth, and who so knoweth not,—they say, ‘That upper region belongeth to *Bṛihaspati*.’

5. Thus they who of old used to offer the *Vâgapeya*, ascended to that upper region. From there *Aupâvi Gânasruteya* descended again: thenceforward (all men) descend again.

---

*gapeyam*,’ but rather ‘this thing, it’—the *Kânva* text reads *ayam* ‘he,’ i.e. *Pragâpati*, or the sacrifice (*yagña*, masc.); cf. note on V, 1, 4, 15.

<sup>1</sup> For want of a simpler and more homely set of terms for the derivatives of the verb *sû* ‘to animate’ here used, those used in the preceding volumes are here generally adhered to, though, as there, somewhat reluctantly. The simple ‘to bless, blessing, &c.’ might sometimes fit quite well, though no doubt they imply an idea altogether foreign to the etymological meaning of this verb, and could not possibly be used, as is the case here, of the animating influence of the sun. Sometimes ‘to speed’ has been chosen, where the etymological connection with *Savitri* is not insisted upon; while in other passages ‘to consecrate, consecration, &c.’ might probably come nearer to the meaning of the original. Cp. Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 256.

6. Indra offered that (Vāga-peya),—he became everything here, he won everything here; for he won Pragâpati, and Pragâpati is everything here: by offering therewith he ascended to that upper region.

7. Thus they who of old used to offer the Vāga-peya, ascended to that upper region. From there Aupâvi Gânasruteya descended again: thenceforward (all men) descend again.

8. And whosoever offers the Vāga-peya, he becomes everything here, he wins everything here; for he wins Pragâpati, and Pragâpati indeed is everything here.

9. Here now they say, 'One must not offer the Vāga-peya; for he who offers the Vāga-peya wins everything here,—for he wins Pragâpati, and Pragâpati is everything here,—he leaves nothing remaining here: his people (or offspring) is like to become worse (off).'

10. Let him none the less sacrifice: whatever (priests) thus know that sacrifice properly, in respect of the *Rik*, the *Yagus*, and the *Sâman*, and such as are proficient, let them assist him in offering it; for verily this is the perfection of that sacrifice, when wise (priests) assist him in offering it: let him therefore sacrifice by all means.

11. Now truly this (the Vāga-peya) is the Brâhmana's own sacrifice, inasmuch as *Bṛihaspati* (the lord of prayer and devotion) performed it; for *Bṛihaspati* is the Brahman (priesthood, or priestly dignity), and the Brâhmana is the Brahman. And it is also that of the *Râganya*, inasmuch as Indra performed it; for Indra is the Kshatra (nobility, or ruling power), and the *Râganya* is the Kshatra.

12. To the king (*râgan*) doubtless belongs the *Râgasûya*; for by offering the *Râgasûya* he becomes king; and unsuited for kingship is the *Brâhmaṇa*. And, moreover, the *Râgasûya* is the lower, and the *Vâgapeya* the higher (sacrifice).

13. For by offering the *Râgasûya*<sup>1</sup> he becomes king, and by the *Vâgapeya* (he becomes) emperor (*samrâg*); and the office of king is the lower, and that of emperor the higher: a king might indeed wish to become emperor, for the office of king is the lower, and that of emperor the higher; but the emperor would not wish to become king, for the office of king is the lower, and that of emperor the higher.

14. Thus that (king) who, by performing the *Vâgapeya*, becomes emperor, possesses himself of everything here. Previously to each performance (of an *ishî*<sup>2</sup>) he offers that oblation to *Savitri* (the sun), with the text, 'O divine *Savitri*, impel (prosper) the sacrifice, impel *Pragâpati* for his portion!'

---

<sup>1</sup> *Kâty. Sr. XV, 1, 1-2*, lays down the rule that the *Râgasûya* is to be performed by a king who has not yet performed the *Vâgapeya*. *Ârval. Sr. IX, 9, 19*, on the other hand, rules: 'After performing it (the *Vâgapeya*) let a king perform the *Râgasûya*, a *Brâhmaṇa* the *Brihaspati-sava*' (cf. *V, 2, 1, 19*). See also *Kâty. XIV, 1, 2 seq.* Cf. *Lâty. Sr. VIII, 11, 1 seq.*

<sup>2</sup> During the bright fortnights (of the waxing moon) preceding and following the *Vâgapeya* ceremony proper, the sacrificer has to perform a number of so-called *pariyagñas* ('surrounding or enclosing sacrifices') consisting of one-day Soma-sacrifices of different kinds, each of which is preceded by a special *dîkshâ*, or initiation ceremony (cf. *III, 1, 2, 1 seq.*; *Lâty. Sr. VIII, 11, 2*). It is to the *ishîs* (*dîkshamîyeshî*, *prâyanîyeshî*) of these *pariyagñas* that the above injunction regarding the performance of the *Sâvitri* *âhuti* refers.

15. And even as then *Bṛihaspati* hasted up to *Savitri* for his impulsion—*Savitri* being the impeller among the gods—saying, ‘Impel this for me, (so that) impelled by thee I may win it!’ and *Savitri*, as the impeller, impelled it for him; and impelled by *Savitri* he won it; even so does this (sacrificing king) now haste up to *Savitri* for his impulsion—*Savitri* being the impeller among the gods—saying, ‘Impel this for me: may I win it, impelled by thee!’ and *Savitri*, as the impeller, impels it for him, and he wins it impelled by *Savitri*.

16. Wherefore he says (*Vâg. S. IX, 1*), ‘God *Savitri*, speed the sacrifice, speed the lord of sacrifice unto his portion! May the heavenly, thought-cleansing *Gandharva* cleanse our thought! May the Lord of Speech render our meat palatable, hail!’ For the Lord of Speech is *Pragâpati*, and meat means food: ‘May *Pragâpati* this day make palatable this our food!’ thus he thereby says. This same oblation he offers till the day before the Soma-feast, for thus that performance of his has been commenced; and he (*Savitri*, the Sun) becomes serene during that sacrifice.

## SECOND BRĀHMANA.

1. He draws the *Amsu*<sup>1</sup> (*graha*), just for completeness’ sake, for it is therefore that he draws

---

<sup>1</sup> Regarding this cup, *u.* libation (consisting, it would seem, of imperfectly pressed Soma-plants in water), see part ii, p. 424, note 1. Here, and in the sequel, the author only refers to those points of ceremonial in which the performance differs from that of the ordinary *Agnishoma* sacrifice, as described in part ii.



the *Amsu*. After that he draws those recognised *Agnishôma* cups<sup>1</sup> up to the *Âgrayana*.

2. He then draws the *Prishthya*<sup>2</sup>: and whatever the gods (*Agni*, *Indra*, and *Sûrya*) won by them, even that he wins by them.

3. He then draws the *Shodasin*: and whatever *Indra* won thereby, even that he (the sacrificer) wins thereby.

4. He then draws those five *Vâgapeya* cups (for *Indra*; the first) with the text (*V. S. IX, 2*), 'Thee, the firm-seated, the man-seated, the mind-seated! Thou art taken with a support<sup>3</sup>: I take thee, agreeable to *Indra*! This is thy womb<sup>3</sup> (i. e. thy home): thee, most agreeable to *Indra*!' therewith he deposits it; for of these

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the *Upâmsu* and *Antaryâma*; the *Aindravâyava*, *Maitrâvaruna* and *Âsvina*; the *Sukra* and *Manthin*; and the *Âgrayana*. Part ii, pp. 256 seq.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the three *Atigrâhyas* (part ii, p. 402, note 2), required for the *Prishtha*-stotras at the midday feast, when performed in their proper '*prishtha*' form, as they are at the *Prishthya shadaha*, and at a *Virvagit-ekâha* with all the *Prishthas*. See IV, 5, 4, 14. The authorities of the Black Yagur adopt a somewhat different arrangement. The *Vâgapeya* cups are likewise called by them *Atigrâhyas* (*Taitt. S. I, 7, 12*; *T. B. I, 3, 9*), and these are apparently drawn by them immediately after the second of the ordinary three *Atigrâhyas*, the one belonging to *Indra* (*T. S. vol. i, p. 996*,—but see *ib. p. 1055*, where it is stated that they are drawn immediately after the *Âgrayana*,—that is, probably, if the ordinary *Atigrâhyas* are not required). Then follows (the third ordinary *Atigrâhya*?), then the *Shodasin*, and thereupon the seventeen cups for *Pragâpati*.—*Sâyana* remarks on our passage,—*teshâm (atigrâhyânâm) prakritigatâ tritvasamkhyai va sâkhântaravat samkhyântarânupadesât*. *MS. I. O. 657*.

<sup>3</sup> For an explanation of these notions, see part ii, p. 260, notes 1 and 2.

worlds this one, to wit the earth, is the firm one : this same world he thereby wins.

5. [The second with,] 'Thee, the water-seated, the ghee-seated, the ether-seated! Thou art taken with a support: I take thee, agreeable to Indra! This is thy womb: thee most agreeable to Indra!' therewith he deposits it; for among these worlds that ether (mentioned in the formula) is this air: he thereby wins this air-world.

6. [The third with,] 'Thee, the earth-seated, the air-seated, the sky-seated, the god-seated, the heaven-seated! Thou art taken with a support: I take thee, agreeable to Indra! This is thy womb: thee, most agreeable to Indra!' therewith he deposits it; for god-seated, heaven-seated indeed is yonder world of the gods: the world of the gods he thereby wins.

7. [The fourth with V. S. IX, 3,] 'The waters' invigorating essence, being contained in the sun,—that which is the essence of the waters' essence, that, the most excellent, I take for you! Thou art taken with a support: I take thee, agreeable to Indra! This is thy womb: thee, most agreeable to Indra!' therewith he deposits it; for the waters' essence is he that blows (or purifies) yonder (the wind), and he is contained in the sun, he blows from the sun: that same essence he thereby wins.

8. [The fifth with IX, 4,] 'Ye cups, of strengthening libations, inspiring the sage with thought,—I have gathered together the pith and sap of you, the handleless! Thou art taken with a support: thee, agreeable to Indra! This is thy womb: thee, most agreeable to

Indra!' therewith he deposits it;—pith means essence : it is the essence he thereby wins.

9. These, then, are five Vâgapeya cups he draws; for he who offers the Vâgapeya wins Pragâpati; and Pragâpati is the year, and there are five seasons in the year,—he thus wins Pragâpati : therefore he draws five Vâgapeya cups.

10. He (the Adhvaryu) then draws seventeen (other) cups of Soma, and (the Neshtri) seventeen cups of Surâ (spirituous liquor), for to Pragâpati belong these two (saps of) plants, to wit the Soma and the Surâ ;—and of these two the Soma is truth, prosperity, light; and the Surâ untruth, misery, darkness : both these (saps of) plants he thereby wins; for he who offers the Vâgapeya wins everything here, since he wins Pragâpati, and Pragâpati indeed is everything here.

11. Now as to why he draws seventeen cups of Soma ;—Pragâpati is seventeenfold, Pragâpati is the sacrifice<sup>1</sup> : as great as the sacrifice is, as great as is

---

<sup>1</sup> See I, 5, 2, 17, where the principal formulas used in making oblations are computed as consisting together of seventeen syllables. *Pañk. Br.* 18, 6 insists especially on the symbolic identity of Pragâpati and the Vâgapeya on the double ground that the Vâgapeya consists of seventeen stotras, and has for its characteristic mode of chanting the Saptadâsa-stoma, or seventeen-versed hymn. That this is indeed so will appear from a glance at the chief chants. The Bahishpavamâna-stotra, which in the ordinary Agnishoma is chanted in the trivrit-stoma, consisting of three triplets, or nine verses (see part ii, p. 310), is at the Vâgapeya made to consist of seventeen verses, by the insertion of eight verses (S.V. II, 180-82; 186-90) between the second and third triplets. Again, the Mâdhyandina-pavamâna, ordinarily chanted in fifteen verses (part ii, p. 333), here consists of seventeen, viz. II, 105-7 (sung twice in two tunes=six verses); II, 663 (one verse); II, 663-4 (sung as triplet, in two tunes=six verses); II, 665 (one verse); II, 821-23

its measure, with that much he thus wins its truth, its prosperity, its light.

12. And why he draws seventeen cups of Surâ ;— Pragâpati is seventeenfold, Pragâpati is the sacrifice : as great as the sacrifice is, as great as is its measure, with that much he thus wins its untruth, its misery, its darkness.

13. These two amount to thirty-four cups ; for there are thirty-three gods, and Pragâpati is the thirty-fourth : he thus wins Pragâpati.

14. Now when he buys the king (Soma), he at the same time buys for a piece of lead the Parisrut (immature spirituous liquor) from a long-haired man near by towards the south. For a long-haired man is neither man nor woman ; for, being a male, he is not a woman ; and being long-haired (a eunuch), he is not a man. And that lead is neither iron nor gold ; and the Parisrut-liquor is neither Soma nor Surâ<sup>1</sup> : this is why he buys the Parisrut for a piece of lead from a long-haired man.

15. And on the preceding day they prepare two

---

(three verses)—making together seventeen verses. Similarly, the Ārbhava-pavamāna (chanted at the Agnishōma also in the Saptadāsa-stoma, cf. part ii, p. 315 ; but here with modifications) consists of II, 165-7 (sung twice in two tunes=six verses) ; II, 42, 44 (two verses) ; II, 47-9 (in two tunes=six verses) ; II, 720-23 (three verses)—making together seventeen verses. For the similarly constructed Vāgapeya hymn see page 11, note 1. See also Lāty. Sr. VIII, 11, 15 seq., where the number of officiating priests, as well as that of the various sacrificial fees, is fixed at seventeen. Similarly, Āsv. Sr. IX, 9, 2-3 says that there are either to be seventeen dīkshās, or the whole ceremony is to be performed in seventeen days.

<sup>1</sup> According to Sāyana, the difference between surâ and parisrut would seem to be that the former beverage is prepared from mature shoots (of rice, &c.), and the latter from such as are not quite ripe.

earth-mounds<sup>1</sup>, the one in front of the axle, and the other behind the axle: 'Lest we should deposit together the cups of Soma, and the cups of Surâ,'—this is why, on the preceding day, they prepare two mounds, one in front, and the other behind the axle.

16. Now, when they take the Vasatvart water<sup>2</sup> (into the havirdhâna shed) by the front door, the *Neshtri* takes in the Parisrut-liquor by the back door. From the south they bring in the drinking vessels. The *Adhvaryu*, seated in front of the axle, with his face towards the west, draws the cups of Soma; and the *Neshtri*, seated behind the axle, with his face towards the east, draws the cups of Surâ. The *Adhvaryu* draws a cup of Soma, the *Neshtri* a cup of Surâ; the *Adhvaryu* draws a cup of Soma, the *Neshtri* a cup of Surâ: in this way they draw them alternately.

17. Neither does the *Adhvaryu* hold the Soma-cup beyond the axle towards the back, nor the *Neshtri* the Surâ-cup beyond the axle towards the front, thinking, 'Lest we should confound light and darkness!'

18. The *Adhvaryu* holds the Soma-cup just over the axle, and the *Neshtri* the Surâ-cup just below

---

<sup>1</sup> The mounds (*khara*) thrown up in the havirdhâna cart-shed, are used for placing the cups of Soma (and Surâ) after they are drawn, until they are used for the libations. See the plan of the sacrificial ground at the end of part ii; only that on the present occasion there is to be a second mound, for the placing of the Surâ-cups, under or just behind the axle of the southern Soma-cart (in the place where the *Nârâmsa* cups to the Fathers were temporarily deposited at the *Agnishoma*; see III, 6, 2, 25 with note). On this occasion a small door is also made in the southern wall of the cart-shed, by breaking through the hurdle.

<sup>2</sup> Part ii, p. 222 seq.

the axle, with (V. S. IX, 4), 'United ye are: unite me with happiness!' Thinking, 'Lest we should say "evil",' they withdraw them again, with, 'Disunited ye are: disunite me from evil!' Even as one might tear a single reed from a clump of reed-grass, so do they thereby tear him from out of all evil: there is not in him so much sin as the point of a grass-blade. They deposit the two (cups each time on the mounds).

19. Thereupon the Adhvaryu draws the Madhugraha (honey-cup) in a golden vessel, and deposits it in the middle of the Soma-grahas. He then draws the Ukthya, then the Dhruva. And when, at the last chant (of the evening press feast<sup>1</sup>), he has poured those Soma-grahas one by one into the cups of the officiating priests, they make offering and drink them. At the midday-pressing it is told regarding the honey-cup, and the cups of Surâ: thereof then <sup>2</sup>.

### THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. At the Agnishṭoma (Sâman<sup>3</sup>) he seizes a (victim) for Agni, for the Agnishṭoma (i. e. 'Agni's

<sup>1</sup> The last chant (at the evening feast) of the Vâgapeya sacrifice is the so-called Vâgapeya-sâman, or Brîhat-stotra (Sâmanav. II, 975-7), chanted, to the Brîhat tune, in the Saptadâsa-stoma; the three verses being, by repetitions, raised to the number of seventeen.—'When he has poured . . . they offer it:' this is apparently a case of the absolute construction of the gerund in '-ya,' cf. Delbrück, Altindische Syntax, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> On these cups, or libations, see V, 1, 5, 28.

<sup>3</sup> Of the seven fundamental forms (samsthâ) of Soma-sacrifice, each higher, or more complex, form is obtained by some additional ceremony, or ceremonies, being added on to one of the simpler forms of sacrifice. In the present paragraph, the author briefly reviews the lower forms of Soma-sacrifice, contained in the Vâga-

praise<sup>1</sup>) is Agni: he thereby wins Agni. For the Ukthas<sup>2</sup> he seizes one for Indra and Agni; for the hymns (uktha) relate to Indra and Agni<sup>3</sup>: the hymns he thereby wins. For the Shodasin he seizes one for Indra; for the Shodasin is Indra: the Shodasin (Indra) he thereby wins.

2. For the seventeenth (or seventeenfold) stotra<sup>4</sup> he seizes one for Sarasvatī: thereby, while there is no over-night performance<sup>5</sup>, it is yet made like the night (performance); for he who offers the Vāga-

---

peya, with the view of enumerating the victims to be slaughtered at its performance; viz. the Agnishōma with twelve chants and one victim; the Ukthya with fifteen stotras and two victims; and the Shodasin with sixteen chants and three victims. For further particulars, see part ii, p. 397, note 2.

<sup>1</sup> The Agnishōma-sāman, the last (twelfth) and distinctive stotra of the Agnishōma sacrifice, is in praise of Agni (see part ii, p. 368, note 2). At the Vāgapeya the ordinary (*yagnāyagnīya*) hymn is not chanted, but S.V. II, 973-4, sung to the Vāravantīya tune (Calc. ed., vol. v, p. 144), takes its place. *Pañk. Br.* 18, 6, 16.

<sup>2</sup> The three Uktha stotras (chants) and sastras (recitations) constitute the distinctive element of the Ukthya sacrifice; as the Shodasi-stotra and sastra (part ii, p. 401, note 3; p. 402, note 1) constitute that of the Shodasin sacrifice.

<sup>3</sup> On the important place assigned to these two deities in the traditional arrangement of the Rigveda-samhitā, see the introduction to part i, p. xvi.

<sup>4</sup> That is the Vāgapeya-sāman, see note 1, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> The author here alludes to another form of Soma-sacrifice, not contained in the Vāgapeya, viz. the Atirātra, which is obtained by following up the Shodasin (with its sixteen chants) with the so-called rātri-paryāyâh, or night-rounds, consisting of three rounds of four chants each, or together twelve chants. These are succeeded, at day-break, by the Sandhi-stotra (or twilight chants), consisting of three chants. Although this night performance does not take place on the present occasion—the Vāgapeya-sāman taking its place—the author claims for this form of sacrifice also the moral benefits which would accrue to the sacrificer from the Atirātra, for the reason that the same victim (a he-goat for Sarasvatī) is offered on both occasions.

peya wins Pragâpati, and Pragâpati is the year : by that (victim) for Sarasvatî he now wins the night : hence, while there is no night performance, it is made like the night.

3. Thereupon he seizes a spotted sterile cow for the Victorious Maruts ; for the spotted sterile cow is this (earth) : whatever food, rooted and rootless, is here established on her, thereby she is a spotted cow. Now, he who offers the Vâgapeya wins food, for vâga-peya<sup>1</sup> doubtless means the same as anna-peya (food and drink) ; and the Maruts are the peasants, and the peasants are food (for the noble). 'To the Victorious (Maruts) !' he says, even for the sake of victory. It is difficult to obtain an invitory and offering prayer containing the word 'victorious : ' if he should be unable to obtain such as contain the word 'victorious,' any other two verses to the Maruts will do. Difficult to obtain also is a spotted sterile cow : if he cannot obtain a spotted sterile cow, any other sterile cow will do.

4. The course of procedure thereof (is as follows). When the Hotri recites after the Mâhendra libation, then let them proceed with (the offering of) her omentum, for that, the Mâhendra<sup>2</sup>, is Indra's special (nishkevalya) libation ; and his also are the Nishkevalya-stotra and Nishkevalya-sastra. Now the sacrificer is Indra : thus he thereby puts strength into the sacrificer in the very middle (of the sacri-

<sup>1</sup> In Taitt. Br. I, 3, 2, 3, on the other hand, vâgapeya (which doubtless means 'drink of strength') is explained first by vâgâpya, 'that through which the gods wished to obtain (aipsan) strength (vâgam),' and then by 'drink of strength,' i.e. Soma 'by drinking (pîtvâ) which one becomes strong (vâgin).'

<sup>2</sup> For this libation, and the accompanying Nishkevalya-sastra, at the midday Soma-feast, see part ii, pp. 338, 339, note 2.



fiſce): that is why they ſhould proceed with her omentum at that particular time.

5. They cook the portions<sup>1</sup> in two lots. Of the one lot thereof, after making an 'under-layer' of ghee (clarified butter) in the *guhû* ſpoon, he makes two cuttings from each (portion), baſtes them once, and replenishes with ghee (the empty places of) the cuttings. Thereupon he makes one cutting from each into the *upabhrîit* ſpoon, baſtes them twice, but does not replenish (the places of) the cuttings. Now, when of the one lot (of portions) he makes two cuttings from each, thereby that (ſterile cow) becomes whole; and when he proceeds with thoſe (portions), thereby he wins the divine race. He then preſents the (other) half to the human kind: and thereby he wins the human kind (people, viſ).

6. But let him not do it in this wiſe; for verily he who departs from the path of the ſacrifice, ſtumbles; and he who does it in this wiſe certainly departs from the path of the ſacrifice. Hence when they proceed with the omenta of the other victims, only then let them proceed with the omentum of that (cow). They cook the portions in one lot, and do not preſent any to the human kind.

7. He then ſeizes ſeventeen victims for *Pragâpati*. They are all hornleſs, all dark-grey<sup>2</sup>, all (uncaſtrated) males; for he who offers the *Vâga-peya*, wins *Pragâpati*; but *Pragâpati* is food, and the victim (cattle) is food: he thus wins *Pragâpati*. And *Pragâpati* is *Soma*, and the victim is the viſible

<sup>1</sup> For particulars regarding the meat portions, ſee part ii, p. 204 ſeq.

<sup>2</sup> Or, black and white (*sukla-kriſhna-varna*), as '*syâma*' is explained by *Sâyana*.

Soma : he thus wins the visible Pragâpati. There are seventeen (victims), because Pragâpati is seventeenfold : he thus wins Pragâpati.

8. Now, they are all hornless ;—for man is nearest to Pragâpati, and he is hornless, unhorned ; and Pragâpati also is hornless, unhorned ; and these (victims) belong to Pragâpati : therefore they are all hornless.

9. They are all dark-grey. Now, the dark-grey has two forms, the light hair and the black ; and a couple means a productive pair, and Pragâpati (the lord of generation) represents productiveness, and those (victims) belong to Pragâpati : therefore they are all dark-grey.

10. They are all males ;—for the male means productiveness, and Pragâpati represents productiveness : hence they are all males. Difficult to obtain are victims with these perfections : if he cannot obtain them (all) with these perfections, even some with these perfections will do ; for verily Pragâpati is everything here.

11. Now, some seize the last (victim) for Vâç (Speech), thinking, 'If there be anything beyond Pragâpati, that is Speech : we thus win Speech.' But let him not do it in this wise ; for Pragâpati is everything here,—these worlds and everything there is ;—whatever speech speaks in these worlds, that speech he wins : therefore he need not heed this.

12. The course of procedure regarding these (victims is as follows). When the Maitrâvaruṇa recites after the Vâmadevya<sup>1</sup>, let them then proceed

---

<sup>1</sup> The Vâmadevya-sâman (Sâmv. II, 32-34) is the second *Prishṭha-stotra*, after the chanting of which, at the midday feast,

with their omenta ; for the Vâmadevya means productiveness, and Pragâpati means productiveness, and these (victims) belong to Pragâpati : therefore let them proceed with their omenta at that time.

13. And (when) the after-offerings have been performed, and the spoons have not yet been shifted (separated)<sup>1</sup>, then they proceed with the (chief) oblations of those (victims). That (point in the performance) is the end, and Pragâpati is the end : thus he wins Pragâpati at the very end. But were he to proceed therewith sooner, it would be just as if a man had already gone the way he still intends to go,—and where would he be after that<sup>2</sup>?—there-

---

the first assistant of the Hotri, the Maitrâvaruṇa, has to recite his (the second) Nishkevalya-sastra ; see part ii, p. 325, note 2 ; p. 339, note 2.—As regards the Hotri's *Prishṭha*-stotra, the Rathantara-sâman (S. V. II, 30, 31) is used for it ; while the Abhîvarta tune (S. V. ed. Bibl. Ind. III, p. 93) is employed in the chanting of the Brahma-sâman (S. V. II, 35, 36 ; see part ii, p. 434, note 1) instead of the ordinary Naudhasa tune. *Pañk. Br.* 18, 6, 11-14.

<sup>1</sup> On this ceremony with which the concluding rites of the *ishṭi* commence, see I, 8, 3, 1 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Or possibly, what would then become of him ? The author's reasoning seems to be that, if the sacrificer were to offer any of the chief oblations at an earlier point in the performance, he would thereby anticipate the results he wants to obtain from the whole performance,—or, so to speak, he would then already reach the goal for the attainment of which the subsequent oblations are likewise intended. For the same reason the offering of the omentum of the sterile cow, previously to and independently of the omenta of the other victims, was discountenanced in paragraph 6. Our present passage is interpreted rather differently by Professor Delbrück in his *Altindische Syntax*, p. 550 :—Wenn er vorher damit vorginge, so wäre das so, als ob er, nach Betretung des Pfades, den er zu betreten beabsichtigt, wo? wäre (d. h. in's Unglück gerieth): 'Were he to proceed therewith sooner, it would be just as if, after entering on the path he intends to enter upon, he would be where? (i. e. would get into trouble).'

fore they proceed with their (chief) oblations at that time.

14. But let him not do it in this wise ; for he who departs from the path of the sacrifice stumbles ; and he who does it in this wise certainly departs from the path of the sacrifice. Hence whenever they proceed with the omenta of the other victims, let them at the same time proceed with the omenta of these ; and whenever they proceed with the (chief) oblations of the other victims, let them at the same time proceed with the oblations of these. There is but one invitatory prayer, and one offering prayer ; for (these offerings) belong to one deity. He says (to the Maitrāvaruṇa), ' To Pragâpati '—saying this (name) in a low voice—' recite the invitatory prayer for the offering of the bucks ! '—' To Pragâpati '—saying this in a low voice—' urge the ready-standing offering of the bucks ! ' and as the Vashaḥ is uttered, he makes the offering.

#### FOURTH BRĀHMANA.

1. At the midday Soma-feast he consecrates (the Sacrificer) by sprinkling ; and at the midday Soma-feast they run a race ; for, verily, Pragâpati is that sacrifice<sup>1</sup> which is here performed, and from which these creatures have been produced,—and indeed, they are even now produced after this one : thus he thereby wins Pragâpati in the very centre (of the sacrifice).

2. The Mâhendra cup being not yet drawn,—for

<sup>1</sup> In the original, ' pragâpatiḥ ' is the predicate, not the subject, of the sentence ; but considerations of construction seem to render the change desirable in English.

that, the Mâhendra, is Indra's special (nishkevalya) cup, and so also are his that Nishkevalya-stotra and Nishkevalya-sastra; and the Sacrificer is Indra: thus he consecrates him at his own dwelling-place. Hence, the Mâhendra cup being not yet drawn,—

3. He takes down the chariot<sup>1</sup>, with (Vâg. S. IX, 5), 'Thou art Indra's thunderbolt;' for the chariot is indeed a thunderbolt, and the sacrificer is Indra: therefore he says, 'Thou art Indra's thunderbolt;'— 'a winner of wealth,' for the chariot is indeed a winner of wealth;— 'May this one win wealth by thee!'—wealth means food: 'may this one gain food by thee,' is what he thereby says.

4. That chariot, seized by the pole, he turns (from left to right) so as to make it stand inside the vedi<sup>2</sup>, with, 'In the winning of wealth, the great Mother'—wealth means food; 'in the winning of food, the great Mother.'—is what he thereby says;— 'Aditi by name, we praise with speech;' now Aditi is this earth: therefore he says, 'Aditi by name, we praise with speech,'— 'whereon all this being hath settled;' for indeed thereon all being here is settled;— 'thereon may the divine Savitṛi prosper our stay!' whereby he means to say, 'thereon may the divine Savitṛi prosper our Sacrificer!'

5. He then sprinkles the horses with water, either when being led down to be watered, or when brought

<sup>1</sup> The Adhvaryu takes it down from the vâhana, or car-stand.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be placed in the north-eastern part of the vedi, so as to be ready to start on the race northwards along the space between the kâtvâla (or pit) and the utkara (heap of rubbish); the horses thus being close to where the Brahman will have to mount a cart-wheel put up on the utkara (V, 1, 5, 2).

up after being watered. Now in the beginning the horse was produced from the water; while being produced from the water, it was produced incomplete, for it was indeed produced incomplete: hence it does not stand on all its feet, but it stands lifting one foot on each side. Thus what then was left behind of it in the water, therewith he now completes it, and makes it whole: therefore he sprinkles the horses with water, either when being led down to be watered, or when brought up after being watered.

6. He sprinkles them, with (Vāg. S. IX, 6), 'Within the waters is ambrosia, in the waters is medicine: at the praises of the waters may ye wax strong, ye horses!' And with this also, 'O divine waters, what rushing, high-peaked, wealth-winning wave ye have, therewith may this one win wealth!' wealth is food: he thus says, 'May he thereby gain food!'

7. He then yokes (the team of) the chariot. The right horse he yokes (puts to) first; for in human (practice) they indeed put to the left horse first, but with the gods in this way.

8. He yokes it, with (Vāg. S. IX, 7), 'Either the wind, or thought—' for there is nothing swifter than the wind, and nothing swifter than thought: therefore he says, 'Either the wind, or thought;' —'(or) the seven and twenty Gandharvas<sup>1</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Professor Weber (in his essay on the Nakshatras, II, 278; Abhandl. of Berlin Academy, 1861) takes this passage (= Taitt. S. I, 7, 7, 2; Kāṇḍaka 13, 14; Maitr. S. I, 11, 1) to contain the first allusion to the system of Nakshatras, or lunar mansions marking the daily stations occupied by the moon (masc.) during his circuit round the heavens.—In the ritual of the Black Yagus (Taitt. S.

they yoked the horse at first;’ for the Gandharvas indeed yoked the horse at first: ‘May they who yoked the horse at first yoke thee!’ this he thereby says;—‘they laid speed into him,’—he thereby says, ‘May they who laid speed into it, lay speed into thee!’

9. He then yokes the left horse, with (Vâg. S. IX, 8), ‘Become thou swift as the wind, O courser, being yoked!’—thereby he says, ‘Become quick as the wind, O courser, being yoked;’—‘be thou as Indra’s right (steed) in beauty!’—he thereby says, ‘Even as Indra’s right (steed) for beauty, so be thou that of the sacrificer for beauty!’—‘May the all-knowing Maruts yoke thee!’ he thereby says, ‘may gods yoke thee!’—‘May Tvashṭri lay speed into thy feet!’ in this there is nothing obscure. He then yokes the right side-horse; for in human (practice) they indeed yoke the left side-horse first, but with the gods in this way.

10. He yokes it, with (Vâg. S. IX, 9), ‘What speed hath been secretly laid into thee, O courser, and what (speed), bestowed on the eagle, went along in the wind;’—he thereby says, ‘what speed of thine, O courser, is hidden away even elsewhere, therewith win this our sacrifice, Prajāpati!’—‘with that strength be thou strong and wealth-winning for us, O courser, and victorious at the gathering!’—wealth means food: he thus means to say, ‘And be thou a food-winner for us at this our

---

I, 7, 7, 2) this formula runs thus: ‘Either Vāyu, or Manu, or the Gandharvas, the twenty-seven, harnessed the horse at first, laid speed into him,’—which Sâyana, however, interprets as meaning, ‘Vāyu, and Manu, and the (twenty-five) Gandharvas,—these seven and twenty &c.’

sacrifice, at the gathering of the gods win thou this sacrifice, Pragâpati!'

11. Now only those three (horses) are yoked, for what is threefold belongs to the gods, and this (sacrifice is) with the gods. Alongside the yoke (laid) on the side-horse<sup>1</sup> goes a fourth (horse), for that one is human. When he is about to give that (chariot to the Adhvaryu), he gives it after yoking the fourth (horse) thereto. Hence also at any other sacrifice only those three (horses) are yoked; for what is threefold belongs to the gods, and this (sacrifice is) with the gods. Alongside the yoke of the side-horse goes a fourth (horse), for that one is human. When he is about to give that (chariot) away, he gives it after yoking the fourth (horse) thereto.

12. He now takes out material for a wild-rice pap of seventeen plates for *Bṛihaspati*; for he who offers the *Vâga*peya wins food,—*vâga*-peya being doubtless the same as *anna*-peya (food and drink): thus whatever food he has thereby won, that he now prepares for him.

13. And as to why it belongs to *Bṛihaspati*:—*Bṛihaspati* won it in the beginning, therefore it belongs to *Bṛihaspati*.

14. And why it is prepared of wild rice:—*Bṛihaspati* is the Brahman (priesthood), and those wild-rice grains are cooked with the Brahman (prayer),—therefore it is of wild rice. It is one of seventeen plates,

---

<sup>1</sup> Or, of the leader, as would appear from *Sâyana* to *Taitt. S. I, 7, 8* (p. 1024),—'Between the right-hand and the left-hand horse he allows the shafts to project, and between them he puts the horse called "sapti" (in the text).' No fourth horse is, however, apparently mentioned in the ritual of the Black Yagus.



because Pragâpati is seventeenfold: he thus wins Pragâpati.

15. He makes the horses smell it, with 'Ye coursers—;' for horses are coursers (*vâgin*): therefore he says, 'Ye coursers,'—'wealth-winners,'—wealth is food: 'food-winners' he thereby says;—'starting upon the course;' for they are about to run a race;—'smell ye *Brîhaspati*'s portion!' for this indeed is *Brîhaspati*'s portion: therefore he says, 'smell ye *Brîhaspati*'s portion!' And why he makes the horses smell it: he thinks, 'may I win Him<sup>1</sup>!' therefore he makes the horses smell it.

#### FIFTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Now when they run a race, he thereby wins this same (terrestrial) world. And when the Brahman sings a *Sâman* on the cart-wheel set up on (a post) reaching to his navel, he thereby wins the air-world. And when he erects the sacrificial post, he thereby wins the world of the gods. Hence that threefold performance.

2. The Brahman mounts a cart-wheel, set up on (a post) as high as his navel<sup>2</sup>, with (*Vâg. S. IX, 10*),

<sup>1</sup> That is, *Brîhaspati*; unless 'lokam' has to be supplied to 'imam' ('this world'), as might appear probable from the next paragraph. See also V. I, 5, 27-28.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Taittirîya* ritualists, as quoted by *Sâyana* (*Taitt. S. I, 7, 8*), the wheel after being mounted by the Brahman is to be turned round thrice in a sunwise motion;—the (pointed) end of the post being apparently inserted in the navel of the wheel, lying horizontally upon it. The turning wheel is there compared with the *Vagra*, or disk-shaped thunderbolt. While the wheel is turning round its axle, the Brahman sings the *Sâman*. Cf. also *Lâṭy. Sr. V, 12, 9* seq., according to which authority, however, the Brahman

‘At the impulse (sava) of the god Savitri, of true impulsions, may I ascend unto the highest heaven of Brihaspati!’ thus, if a Brâhmana sacrifices; for Brihaspati is the Brahman (priesthood, or sanctity), and the Brâhmana is the Brahman.

3. And if a Râganya sacrifices, (he does so) with, ‘At the impulse of the divine Savitri, of true impulsions, may I ascend unto the highest heaven of Indra!’ for Indra is the Kshatra (nobility, or power), and the Râganya is the Kshatra.

4. Thrice he sings the Sâman<sup>1</sup>. Having thrice sung it, he descends with, ‘At the impulse of the divine Savitri, of true impulsions, I have ascended unto the highest heaven of Brihaspati!’—thus, if a Brâhmana sacrifices, for Brihaspati is the Brahman, and the Brâhmana is the Brahman.

5. And if a Râganya sacrifices,—with, ‘At the impulse of the divine Savitri, of true impulsions, I have ascended unto the highest heaven of Indra!’ for Indra is the Kshatra, and the Râganya is the Kshatra.

6. They put up seventeen drums along the edge of the altar, from the Âgnîdhra backwards (towards

would seem only to put his arms on the wheel, and turn it round, while singing.

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the ‘vâginâm sâman’ (Tândy. Br. 18, 7, 12), Sâman. I, 435, ‘âvir maryâ â vâgam vâgino agman,’ &c. ‘The fiery steeds have gathered fiery mettle, the impulse of the god Savitri; win ye the heaven, O coursers!’ Lâty. Sr. V, 12, 14. This singing of the Sâman takes place while the race lasts, the Brahman remaining all the time on the cart-wheel put up on a short post on (or near) the utkara, or heap of rubbish.—The author then anticipates in this and the next two paragraphs what the Brahman is to do when he descends from the wheel after the race is over. The placing of the drums next referred to must also be imagined as taking place whilst the Brahman is mounting the wheel.

the west); for he who offers the Vāgapeya wins Pragâpati; but Pragâpati is speech, and that doubtless is the supreme speech which is (the outcome) of seventeen drums: he thus wins the supreme speech, the supreme Pragâpati. Seventeen there are, because Pragâpati is seventeenfold: he thus wins Pragâpati.

7. One of these drums he (the Brahman) beats (while praying) with a sacrificial formula: thereby all of them become beaten with a sacrificial formula.

8. He beats it with (Vâg. S. IX, 11), 'O Brîhaspati, win the race! lift ye up your voice unto Brîhaspati: make ye Brîhaspati win the race!' thus, if a Brâhmana sacrifices; for Brîhaspati is the Brahman, and the Brâhmana is the Brahman.

9. And if a Râganya sacrifices, (he does so) with, 'O Indra, win the race! lift ye up your voice unto Indra: make ye Indra win the race!' for Indra is the Kshatra, and the Râganya is the Kshatra.

10. And when those race-running chariots<sup>1</sup> have come up again, he takes down one of those drums with a sacrificial formula; whereby they all become taken down with a formula.

11. He takes it down, with (Vâg. S. IX, 12), 'This hath been your true concord whereby ye (drums) have caused Brîhaspati to win the race;—Brîhaspati ye have caused to win the race: be released, ye wood-lords!' thus, if a Brâhmana

---

<sup>1</sup> Besides the Sacrificer's chariot inside the vedi, sixteen others, each drawn by four horses, have been got ready, outside the vedi, for the race to the udumbara branch, as its goal and turning-point. In paragraphs 10-12 the author again anticipates what is to be done with the drums after the race has taken place, just in order to deal with that item of the ceremonial as a whole.

sacrifices; for *Bṛihaspati* is the Brahman, and the *Brāhmaṇa* is the Brahman.

12. And if a *Rāganya* sacrifices, with, 'This hath been your true concord whereby ye have caused Indra to win the race;—Indra ye have caused to win the race: be released, ye wood-lords!' for Indra is the *Kshatra*, and the *Rāganya* is the *Kshatra*.

13. A *Rāganya* then<sup>1</sup> shoots seventeen arrow's ranges northwards from the edge of the altar; for as much as is one arrow's range, so much is *Pragâpati* crosswise; and as much as are seventeen arrow's ranges, so much is *Pragâpati* lengthwise.

14. And as to why a *Rāganya* shoots,—he, the *Rāganya* is most manifestly of *Pragâpati* (the lord of creatures): hence, while being one, he rules over many; and because '*pragâpati*' has four syllables, and '*rāganya*<sup>2</sup>' also has four syllables, therefore a *Rāganya* shoots. He shoots seventeen arrow's ranges, because *Pragâpati* is seventeenfold: he thereby wins *Pragâpati*.

15. And whichever (horse) he yokes with a formula, up to that the Sacrificer now steps<sup>3</sup>, with (*Vāg. S. IX, 13*), 'At the impulse of the divine *Savitri*,

<sup>1</sup> That is, after (or at the same time when) the drums are put up. He is to shoot northwards through the space between the *utkara* and *kâtvâla*. At the end of the seventeenth arrow's range he plants an *udumbara* branch in the ground to serve as the goal round which the chariots are to turn sunwise on their way back to the sacrificial ground.

<sup>2</sup> Pronounce '*râ-ga-nî-a*.'

<sup>3</sup> In the *Taittirîya* ritual (*Taitt. S. I, 7, 7, 2*; *Taitt. Br. I, 3, 5, 4*) the Sacrificer steps up to the chariot with the three *Vishnu*-strides, with appropriate formulas.

of true impulsion, may I win the race of the race-winning *Bṛihaspati*!’

16. And even as then *Bṛihaspati* hasted up to *Savitri* for his impulsion,—*Savitri* being the impeller among the gods—saying, ‘Impel this for me : impelled by thee, may I win this!’ and *Savitri*, as the impeller, impelled it for him, and impelled by *Savitri*, he won; in like manner does he thereby haste up to *Savitri* for his impulsion,—*Savitri* being the impeller among the gods,—saying, ‘Impel this for me : impelled by thee, may I win!’ and *Savitri*, as the impeller, impels it for him, and impelled by *Savitri* he wins.

17. And if a pupil of the *Adhvaryu*’s or some (other) theological student were to know that prayer, stepping up he makes (the *Sacrificer*) say, ‘O coursers!’—for horses are indeed coursers : therefore he says, ‘O coursers’—‘wealth-winners!’ for wealth is food : ‘food-winners’ he thereby says;—‘keeping the roads,’ for they indeed run keeping (within) the roads;—‘measuring the stages,’ for measuring the stages they run over the course;—‘go ye to the winning-post!’ In order that the evil-doers, the *Rakshas*, may not hurt them mid-ways, he thus says this.—They run the race, they beat the drums, and he (the *Brahman*) sings the *Sâman*.

18. He (the *Adhvaryu*) then<sup>1</sup> either offers or addresses (the horses) with those two *gagati*-verses : whether he offers, or whether he addresses (the

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, he does so whilst the cars are running; the offering or prayers being intended to make the *Sacrificer*’s car win the race.

horses), the significance (of the performance) is the same.

19. He offers, with (*Vâg. S. IX, 14; Rîk S. IV, 40, 4*), 'That courser speedeth after the whip, fettered at the neck and shoulder and mouth: may Dadhikrâ win according to his power; may he run along the windings of the roads, hail!'

20. [*Vâg. S. IX, 15; Rîk S. IV, 40, 3*], 'And of him, the running, speeding, there fanneth like the wing of the eager bird,—as of the gliding eagle,—about the breast of Dadhikrâvan passing along with might, hail!'

21. He then either offers or addresses (the horses) with the following tristich: this is twofold, because he either offers or addresses. Whether he offers, or addresses (the horses), the significance is the same: he thereby speeds those running horses, imbues them with energy. There are here three earths, namely this one, and two beyond it: these he thereby wins.

22. He addresses (the horses, with *Vâg. S. IX, 16; Rîk S. VII, 38, 7*), 'Auspicious be the coursers unto us at the invocations in the divine service, running their measured course, with beautiful song; swallowing the dragon, the wolf, the evil spirits: may they ever keep away from us affliction!'

23. [*Vâg. S. IX, 17; Rîk S. X, 64, 6*], 'Those racers, wont to hear the calls, may they all hear our call, the coursers running their measured course: they, the winners of thousands, eager to win at the winning of oblations, who have carried off great gain in the contests.'

24. [*Vâg. S. IX, 18; Rîk S. VII, 38, 8*], 'In

every race, help us, ye racers, at the prizes, ye wise, immortal knowers of the divine law: drink of this mead, be gladdened, and satisfied walk ye on the paths trodden by the gods!

25. He then <sup>1</sup> steps over against (the horses) with the Bârhaspatya pap, and touches it; for he who offers the Vâgapeya wins food, since 'vâga-peya' is the same as 'anna-peya': 'whatever food he has thus gained that he now, having reached that goal, brings in contact with himself, puts within himself.

26. He touches it, with (Vâg. S. IX, 19), 'May gain of wealth come to me!' wealth means food: he thus says, 'May gain of food come (accrue) to me;'—'May these two, Heaven and Earth, the all-shaped, come to me!' for Pragâpati is Heaven and Earth;—'May father and mother come to me!' for Pragâpati is both father and mother;—'May Soma come to me with immortality!' for Pragâpati is Soma.

27. He makes the horses smell it, with, 'Ye coursers!' for horses are coursers: therefore he says, 'Ye coursers!'—'wealth-winners!' wealth is food: 'food-winners' he thereby says;—'having run the course—' for 'starting (upon the course)' he said before, as then they were indeed starting; but now he says, 'having run,' for they indeed have run (the race): therefore he says, 'having run;'—'smell ye Brihaspati's portion—' for this is Brihaspati's portion: therefore he says, 'Smell ye Brihaspati's portion;'—'taking (it) in!' whereby he imbues the Sacrificer with energy. And as to why

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, after the cars have come back, that of the Sacrificer keeping ahead of the others.

he makes the horses smell,—he made them smell before, thinking, ‘May I win this (world);’ and now (he does so) thinking, ‘I have won this (world):’ that is why he makes the horses smell.

28. Now on one of those race-running (rival) chariots there has been standing either a Vaisya, or a Râganya; he now sits down on the northern hip of the altar. Thereupon the Adhvaryu and Sacrificer, taking the honey-cup, step out by the front door (of the cart-shed), and place it in the Vaisya’s, or Râganya’s, hand. And the Neshtri, taking the cups of Surâ, steps out by the back door. He walks round by the back of the hall, and placing one (of the cups) in the Vaisya’s, or Râganya’s, hand, he says, ‘With this I buy Him of thee!’ For the Soma is truth, prosperity, light; and the Surâ is untruth, misery, darkness: he thus imbues the Sacrificer with truth, prosperity, and light; and smites the Vaisya with untruth, misery, and darkness;—whatever benefit (or enjoyment) he desires, he obtains for himself by those (cups of Surâ). But that cup of honey he presents to the Brahman, together with the golden vessel. In presenting it to the Brahman, he imbues himself with immortal life; for gold is immortal life;—and whatsoever benefit he desires that he thereby obtains for himself.

## SECOND ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMANA.

1. Thereupon, taking the dipping-spoon (sruva) and the pot for melting butter, he goes to the Âhavanīya fire. He either offers those twelve âptis<sup>1</sup>, or makes (the Sacrificer) pronounce (the

<sup>1</sup> The term âpti, literally ‘obtainment, gain,’ is technically used



formulas). Whether he offers, or makes him pronounce (the formulas), the significance is the same.

2. He offers, with (Vâg. S. IX, 20), 'To the ally, hail!—To the good ally, hail!—To the after-born, hail!—To the purpose, hail!—To the Vasu, hail!—To the Lord of day, hail!—To the failing day, hail!—To the failing one, sprung from the evanescent, hail!—To the evanescent one, sprung from the terminal, hail!—To the terminal descendant of being, hail!—To the Lord of being, hail!—To the over-lord, hail!' These twelve âptis (obtainments) he offers, because there are twelve months in the year, and Pragâpati is the year, and the sacrifice is Pragâpati: hence whatever obtainment, whatever accomplishment there is for him<sup>1</sup>, that he thereby wins, that he makes his own.

3. He then either offers six kṛiptis<sup>2</sup>, or makes (the Sacrificer) pronounce them. Whether he offers, or makes him pronounce them, the significance is the same.

4. He makes him pronounce (Vâg. S. IX, 21), 'May the life prosper through sacrifice!—May the breath prosper through sacrifice!—May the eye prosper through sacrifice!—May the ear prosper through sacrifice!—May the back prosper through sacrifice!—May the sa-

---

for the twelve formulas, given in the next paragraph, as well as for the oblations made therewith. The first of these formulas is 'âpaye svâhâ,' whence the above term is probably derived.

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps, 'there is of (belongs to) that (sacrifice).'

<sup>2</sup> This term, literally 'success, accomplishment,' is technically used to denote the succeeding formulas containing the verb 'kṛip,' to succeed, prosper, as well as the oblations made therewith.

crifice prosper through sacrifice!' These six *k/iptis* he makes him pronounce, because there are six seasons in the year, and Pragâpati is the year, and the sacrifice is Pragâpati : thus whatever success, whatever accomplishment there is for him, that he thereby wins, that he makes his own.

5. The sacrificial post is eight-cornered ; for the Gâyatri metre has eight syllables, and the Gâyatri is Agni's metre ; he thereby wins the world of the gods. The post is either wrapt up, or bound up, in seventeen cloths ; for Pragâpati is seventeenfold : he thus wins Pragâpati.

6. There is a wheaten head-piece<sup>1</sup> on it ; for man is nearest to Pragâpati, and he is skinless<sup>2</sup>. And among plants wheat comes nearest to man, (for) it has no skin : thus he thereby wins the world of men.

7. The post has a hollow (at the top), and is not pointed at the end ; for the hollow is sacred to the Fathers : he thus gains the world of the Fathers. It is seventeen cubits long, for Pragâpati is seventeenfold : he thus wins Pragâpati.

8. Thereupon the Neshtrî, being about to lead up the (Sacrificer's) wife, makes her wrap round herself, over the garment of consecration, a cloth, or skirt, made of Kusa grass<sup>3</sup> ; for she, the wife, is the hind

<sup>1</sup> For the ordinary mortar-shaped top-piece fixed on the post, see part ii, p. 168, note 1. On the present occasion it is to be made of wheaten dough.

<sup>2</sup> According to a legend given at III, 1, 2, 13 seq., man had originally a (hairy) skin, or hide ; but the gods having flayed him, put his skin on the cow.

<sup>3</sup> In the ceremonial of the Black Yagus (Taitt. Br. I, 3, 7, 1) the Sacrificer himself has to put on a 'târpya' garment, for which see note on V, 2, 5, 20.

part of the sacrifice<sup>1</sup>; and he wishes her, thus coming forward, to propitiate the sacrifice. But impure is that part of woman which is below the navel, and pure are the plants of (Kusa) grass: thus having, by means of those plants of (Kusa) grass, made pure whatever part of her is impure, he causes her to propitiate the sacrifice, while coming forward. This is why the *Neshtri*, being about to lead up the wife, makes her wrap round herself, over the garment of consecration, a cloth, or skirt, made of Kusa grass.

9. He then leans a ladder (against the post). He may ascend either from the south northwards, or from the north southwards; but let him rather ascend from the south northwards (*udak*), for thus it goes upwards (*udak*).

10. Being about to ascend, he (the Sacrificer) addresses his wife, 'Come, wife, ascend we the sky!'—'Ascend we!' says the wife. Now as to why he addresses his wife: she, the wife, in sooth is one half of his own self; hence, as long as he does not obtain her, so long he is not regenerated, for so long he is incomplete. But as soon as he obtains her he is regenerated, for then he is complete. 'Complete I want to go to that supreme goal,' thus (he thinks) and therefore he addresses his wife.

11. He ascends, with, 'We have become *Pragâ-pati*'s children;' for he who offers the *Vâgapeya* indeed becomes *Pragâ-pati*'s child.

12. He then touches the wheat (top-piece)<sup>2</sup>, with,

<sup>1</sup> Viz. because her ordinary seat is at the back, or west, end of the altar.

<sup>2</sup> According to the ritual of the Black *Yagus* (*Sây.* on *Taitt. S.* I, 7, 9, vol. i, p. 1039), the Sacrificer, having ascended, lifts up his

‘We have gone to the light, O ye gods!’ for he who offers the Vâgapeya, indeed goes to the light.

13. And as to why he touches the wheat : wheat is food, and he who offers the Vâgapeya, wins food, for vâga-peya is the same as anna-peya (food and drink): thus whatever food he has thereby won, therewith now that he has gone to that supreme goal, he puts himself in contact, and possesses himself of it,—therefore he touches the wheat (top-piece).

14. He then rises by (the measure of) his head over the post, with, ‘We have become immortal!’ whereby he wins the world of the gods.

15. Thereupon, while looking in the different directions, he mutters (Vâg. S. IX, 22), ‘Ours be your power, ours your manhood and intelligence, ours be your energies!’ For he who offers the Vâgapeya wins everything here, winning as he does Pragâpati, and Pragâpati being everything here;—having appropriated to himself the glory, the power, and the strength of this All, he now lays them within himself, makes them his own : that is why he mutters, while looking in the different directions.

16. They throw up to him bags of salt ; for salt means cattle, and cattle is food ; and he who offers the Vâgapeya wins food, for vâga-peya is the same as anna-peya : thus whatever food he thereby has gained, therewith now that he has gone to the supreme goal, he puts himself in contact, and makes it his own,—therefore they throw bags of salt up to him.

17. They (the pieces of salt) are done up in asvattha

---

arms to heaven, praying, ‘We have gone to the light, to the gods, we have become immortal ; we have become Pragâpati’s children !’

(*ficus religiosa*) leaves; because Indra on that (former) occasion called upon the Maruts staying on the *Asvattha* tree<sup>1</sup>, therefore they are done up in *asvattha* leaves. Peasants (*vis*) throw them up to him, for the Maruts are the peasants, and the peasants are food (for the nobleman): hence peasants throw them up. There are seventeen (bags), for *Pragâpati* is seventeenfold: he thus wins *Pragâpati*.

18. Thereupon, while looking down upon this (earth), he mutters, 'Homage be to the mother Earth! homage be to the mother Earth!' For when *Bṛihaspati* had been consecrated, the Earth was afraid of him, thinking, 'Something great surely has he become now that he has been consecrated: I fear lest he may rend me asunder<sup>2</sup>!' And *Bṛihaspati* also was afraid of the Earth, thinking, 'I fear lest she may shake me off!' Hence by that (formula) he entered into a friendly relation with her; for a mother does not hurt her son, nor does a son hurt his mother.

19. Now the *Bṛihaspati Soma-feast*<sup>3</sup> is the same as the *Vâgapeya*; and the earth in truth is afraid of that (Sacrificer), thinking, 'Something great

<sup>1</sup> See part ii, p. 334, with note 2. On the '*asvattha devasadana*' cp. also *Ath.-veda* V, 4, 3; *Rig-veda* I, 164, 20-22; A. Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*, p. 126 seq. (*Mythol. Stud.* i. p. 112 seq.).

<sup>2</sup> Or, 'I hope he will not rend me asunder.' For this construction—exactly corresponding to the German '*dass (or, wenn) er mich nur nicht aufreißt!*' (cf. also the colloquial use of the French '*pourvu*,'—'*pourvu qu'il ne me déchire pas!*')—see part ii, p. 31, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> The *Bṛihaspatisava* is performed by a *Brâhmana* with a view to obtaining the office of *Purohita* (royal chaplain, or family priest). For *Âsvalâyana*'s rule, which places it on a level with the *Râgasūya* sacrifice of a king, see p. 4, note 1.

surely has he become now that he has been consecrated: I fear lest he may rend me asunder!' And he himself is afraid of her, thinking, 'I fear lest she may shake me off!' Hence he thereby enters into a friendly relation with her, for a mother does not hurt her son; neither does a son hurt his mother.

20. He then descends (and treads) upon a piece of gold;—gold is immortal life: he thus takes his stand on life immortal.

21. Now (in the first place) he (the Adhvaryu) spreads out the skin of a he-goat, and lays a (small) gold plate thereon: upon that—or indeed upon this (earth) itself—he (the Sacrificer) steps.

22. They then bring a throne-seat for him; for truly he who gains a seat in the air<sup>1</sup>, gains a seat above (others): thus these subjects of his sit below him who is seated above,—this is why they bring him a throne-seat.

23. It is made of udumbara wood,—the Udumbara tree being sustenance, (that is) food,—for his obtaining of sustenance, food: therefore it is made of udumbara wood. They set it down in front of the Havirdhâna (cart-shed), behind the Âhavantya (fire).

24. He then spreads the goat-skin thereon; for truly the he-goat is no other than Pragâpati, for they, the goats, are most clearly of Pragâpati (the lord of generation or creatures);—whence, bringing forth thrice in a year, they produce two or three<sup>2</sup>: thus he thereby makes him (the Sacrificer) to be Pragâpati himself,—this is why he spreads the goat-skin thereon.

<sup>1</sup> The Sacrificer is supposed to have done so by the symbolical act of raising his head above the sacrificial post; see paragraph 14 above.

<sup>2</sup> See IV, 5, 5, 6; part ii, p. 407, note 3.

25. He spreads it, with, 'This is thy kingship<sup>1</sup>!' whereby he endows him with royal power. He then makes him sit down, with, 'Thou art the ruler, the ruling lord!' whereby he makes him the ruler, ruling over those subjects of his;—'Thou art firm, and steadfast!' whereby he makes him firm and steadfast in this world;—'Thee for the tilling!—Thee for peaceful dwelling!—Thee for wealth!—Thee for thrift!' whereby he means to say, '(here I seat) thee for the welfare (of the people).'

### SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. He now proceeds with the Bârhaspatya pap. Its *svishṭakṛit* remains yet unoffered, when he (the Adhvaryu) brings<sup>2</sup> him (the Sacrificer) some food; for he who offers the Vâgapeya wins food, vâgapeya being the same as anna-peya: thus whatever food he (the Sacrificer) has thereby gained, that he (the Adhvaryu) now brings to him.

2. In a vessel of udumbara wood—the Udumbara tree being sustenance, (that is) food—for the obtaining of sustenance, food: therefore it is in a vessel of udumbara wood. He first brings water, then milk, then (other) kinds of food, as they occur to him.

3. Now some bring seventeen kinds of food,

<sup>1</sup> Thus the formula 'iyam te râṭ' is interpreted by Mahîdhara (who, however, takes it to be addressed to the throne-seat, and not, as would seem preferable, to the king), and apparently also by our author. The word 'râg' would indeed seem to mean here something like the energy (*śakti*), or the symbol, of the king. The St. Petersburg dictionary, however, takes it here as the name of a female deity.

<sup>2</sup> He collects (*sambharati*), or provides food for him; this ceremony corresponding to that of equipping or provisioning the sacred fire with the so-called *sambhâras*, at the Agny-âdhâna; see II, 1, 1, 1 seq.; part i, p. 276, note 1.

saying, 'Seventeenfold is Pragâpati.' But let him not do so: surely all the food is not appropriated to Pragâpati<sup>1</sup>, and, compared to him, what is man that he should appropriate to himself all food? Hence, while bringing every kind of food that occurs to him, let him not bring of some one (particular) kind of food.

4. And whatever food he does not bring to him, let him (the Sacrificer) forswear<sup>2</sup> that, and not eat of it as long as he lives: thus he does not go to the end, thus he lives long. Of all that food brought together he offers the (seven) Vâga-prasavanîya<sup>3</sup> oblations, cutting out (pieces) with the dipping-spoon. Thus to whatever deities he is now offering, they give an impulse to him, and impelled by them he

<sup>1</sup> Or 'from Pragâpati;' or perhaps, 'surely not all Pragâpati's food is appropriated.' The Kânva recension reads thus, VI, 2, 3, 3. He first brings water, then milk, then, as they occur to him (other) kinds of food. 'Let him bring those seventeen kinds of food,' they say, 'for Pragâpati is seventeenfold.' Nevertheless (tadu) let him bring whatever kinds of food he can either think of or obtain. 4. Of this his food that has been brought together, let him set aside (udhareṭ) one (particular kind of) food: let him forswear that (tad udbruvîta), and not eat of it as long as he lives (yâvag gîvet). By that much also (or, even so long, tâvad api vai prâgapateḥ sarvam annam anavaruddham) all the food of Pragâpati is not appropriated; and who is man (compared) to him, that he should appropriate to himself all food? Thus he does not go to the end, thus he lives long: that (food) is here left over for his offspring (or people).

<sup>2</sup> Sâyaṇa explains 'tasya udbruvîta' by,—one ought to proclaim it, saying aloud 'such and such food has not been brought;'—na sambhṛitam ity ukṛtais tannâma brūyât.

<sup>3</sup> That is, oblations calculated to promote or quicken (pra-su) the strength (food,—vâga) by their prayers, the first three of which begin with 'vâgasya . . . prasavaḥ.' See p. 2, note 1. In the Black Yagus ritual these oblations are called 'Annahomâḥ' or 'food-oblations.' Taitt. Br. I, 3, 8, 1. The Sûtras seem, however, likewise to use the term 'Vâgaprasavanîya' (or Vâgaprasaviya).



wins: therefore he offers the Vâgaprasavaniya oblations.

5. He offers with (Vâg. S. IX, 23-29), 'The impulse of strength impelled of old that king Soma in the plants, in the waters: may they be rich in honey for us! may we be wakeful in the kingdom, placed in the front, hail!'

6. 'The impulse of strength spread over this sky, and over all these worlds, as the all-ruler; knowing he causeth him to give gifts who wisheth not to give: may he bestow upon us wealth with the full muster of heroes, hail!'

7. 'Yea, the impulse of strength prevailed over all these worlds, on every side; from days of yore the king goeth about knowing, increasing the people, and the well-being amongst us, hail!'

8. 'To king Soma, to Agni we cling<sup>1</sup> for help, to the Âdityas, to Vishnu, to Sûrya, to the Brahman Brîhaspati, hail!'

9. 'Urge thou Aryaman, Brîhaspati, Indra to the giving of gifts, Vâk<sup>2</sup>, Vishnu, Sarasvatî, and the vigorous Savitrî, hail!'

10. 'O Agni, speak to us here, be thou gracious unto us! bestow blessings upon us, O winner of thousands, for thou art the giver of wealth, hail!'

11. 'May Aryaman bestow blessings upon us, and Pûshan, and Brîhaspati! may the divine Vâk give us gifts, hail!'

12. With the remaining (offering material) he sprinkles him (the Sacrificer); he thereby sprinkles

<sup>1</sup> Rig-veda X, 141, 3 reads,—King Soma, Agni we invoke with our voices, the Âdityas, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Rig-veda X, 141, 5 has Vâta (Wind) instead of Vâk (Speech).

him with food, bestows food upon him: for this reason he sprinkles him with the remaining (material) <sup>1</sup>.

13. He sprinkles with (Vâg. S. IX, 30), 'At the impulse of the divine Savitrî, (I sprinkle) thee, by the arms of the Asvins, by the hands of Pûshan!' he thus sprinkles (consecrates) him by the hands of gods;—'I place thee in the leading of Sarasvatî Vâk, the leader;' for Sarasvatî is Vâk (speech): he thus places him in the leading of Vâk, the leader.

14. Here now some say, 'I place thee in the leading of the leader of all the gods;' for all the gods are the All: he thus places him in the leading of the leader of the All. But let him not say so; let him rather say, 'I place thee in the leading of Sarasvatî Vâk;' for Sarasvatî is Vâk: he thus places him in the leading of Vâk.—'I consecrate thee, N. N., with the supreme rulership of Brihaspati!' therewith he mentions the (Sacrificer's) name: he thus makes him attain to the fellowship of Brihaspati, and to co-existence in his world.

15. He then says, 'All-ruler is he, N. N.! All-ruler is he, N.N.!' Him, thus indicated, he thereby indicates to the gods: 'Of mighty power is he who has been consecrated; he has become one of yours; protect him!' thus he thereby says. Thrice he says it, for threefold is the sacrifice.

---

<sup>1</sup> According to the Taittirîyas (Taitt. S., vol. i, p. 1049), the Sacrificer is made to sit on the black antelope skin, with his face to the east, with a small gold and silver plate placed on either side of him; and he is then sprinkled in front, on the head, so that the liquid runs down to his mouth, thus symbolizing the entering of food and strength into him.

16. He then either offers, or makes him pronounce (the formulas of) the *Uggiti* oblations<sup>1</sup>. Whether he offers or makes him pronounce (the formulas), the significance is the same.

17. He makes him say (*Vâg. S. IX, 31-34*), 'With the (word of) one syllable Agni won the breath: may I win that! — —<sup>2</sup> With the (metre of) seventeen syllables *Pragâpati* won the seventeenfold stoma: may I win that!' whatever those deities won by means of those (formulas), that he now wins by them. There are seventeen (formulas), for *Pragâpati* is seventeenfold: he thus wins *Pragâpati*.

18. Thereupon he says, 'Recite (the invitory formula) to Agni *Svishṭakṛit*!' Now, as to why this rite is performed between two oblations. *Pragâpati*, truly, is that sacrifice which is here performed, and from which these creatures have been produced, —and, indeed, they are even now produced after this one: he thus wins *Pragâpati* in the very middle: therefore that rite is performed between two oblations. Having made (the *Āgntidhra*) utter the

<sup>1</sup> That is, oblations of 'victory,' with the formulas used therewith, containing each two forms of the verb *ud-gi*, 'to conquer.'

<sup>2</sup> The intervening formulas here understood, and given in the *Vâg. Samhitâ*, are to the effect that the *Asvins*, by two syllables, gained the two-footed men; *Vishṇu*, by three, the three worlds; *Soma*, by four, the four-footed cattle; *Pûshan*, by five, the five regions (the four quarters and the upper region); *Savitri*, by six, the six seasons; the *Maruts*, by seven, the seven kinds of domestic animals; *Bṛhaspati*, by eight, the *Gâyatri* metre; *Mitra*, by nine, the *Trivṛt* stoma (hymn-tune); *Varuṇa*, by ten, the *Virâg* metre; *Indra*, by eleven, the *Trishṭubh* metre; the *All-gods*, by twelve, the *Gagati* metre; the *Vasus*, by thirteen, the thirteenfold stoma; the *Rudras*, by fourteen, the fourteenfold stoma; the *Ādityas*, by fifteen, the fifteenfold stoma; *Aditi*, by sixteen, the sixteenfold stoma.

Sraushat, he says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Agni Svishṭakṛit!' and offers as the Vashat is uttered.

19. He then puts the Idâ on (the idâpâtri). The Idâ having been invoked<sup>1</sup>, he, having touched water, draws the Mâhendra cup. Having drawn the Mâhendra cup, he sets the chant agoing<sup>2</sup>. He urges him (the Sacrificer) forward to the chant: he gets down (from the throne-seat); he is in attendance at the Stotra, in attendance at the Sastra.

20. Here now some, having performed that, perform that<sup>3</sup>; but let him not do it thus; for the Stotra is his (the Sacrificer's) own self, and the Sastra is his people (or offering): thereby then he ruins the Sacrificer; he goes astray, he stumbles;—hence having performed that, let him perform that:—

21. He puts the Idâ on (the dish). The Idâ having been invoked, he, having touched water, draws the Mâhendra cup. Having drawn the Mâhendra cup, he sets the (Prishṭha-) Stotra agoing. He urges him (the Sacrificer) forward to the chant: he gets down (from the throne-seat); he is in attendance at the chant (stotra), in attendance at the recitation (sastra).

<sup>1</sup> See I, 8, 1, 18 seq.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the (first or Hotri's) Prishṭha-stotra, for which see above, p. 15, note 1; part ii, p. 339, note 2. Its chanting is followed by the Nishkevalya-sastra, recited by the Hotri.

<sup>3</sup> That is to say, according to Sâyana,—they make the Svishṭakṛit, and the rising of the Sacrificer from the throne-seat, take place after the pronunciation of the 'uggiti' formulas, the drawing of the Mâhendra cup, and the performance of the Stotra and Sastra.

## B. THE RĀGASŪYA, OR INAUGURATION OF A KING.

### SECOND ADHYĀYA. THIRD BRĀHMANA.

1. He offers a full-offering<sup>1</sup>; for the full means the All: 'May I be consecrated after encompassing the All!' thus he thinks. At this (offering) he bestows a boon; for a boon means all: 'Having encompassed the All (the universe), may I be consecrated!' thus he thinks. He may perform this offering, if he chooses; or, if he chooses, he may disregard it.

2. And on the following day he prepares a cake on eight potsherds, as sacrificial food for Anumati<sup>2</sup>. And whatever portion of (the grains) being ground,—either flour or rice-grains,—falls down behind the pin, that he throws together into the dipping-spoon

<sup>1</sup> On the pûrnâhuti, or libation of a spoonful of ghee, see part i, p. 302 note. According to Kâty. Sr. XV, 1, 4 seq., Âsv. Sr. IX, 3, 2, and other authorities, this full-offering is preceded by the Pavitra (purificatory ceremony), a Soma-sacrifice with four dikshâs or initiation days (?commencing on the first day of the bright fortnight of Phâlguna), serving as the ordinary opening offering (anvârambhanîyeshî). That it formed part of the ceremonial at the time of the composition of the Brâhmana there can be little doubt (cf. Pañkav. Br. 18, 8, 1), but as it is an ordinary Agnishoma, the author had no reason to refer to it.

<sup>2</sup> I. e. the approval or favour of the deities, personified.—According to Yâgyñika Deva (to Kâty. Sr. XV, 1, 8), the ceremonies now beginning would commence on the 10th day of the bright half of Phalgunî; the fifth day's ceremony from this day, viz. the first of the four seasonal offerings, having to be performed on the Full-moon of that month; see p. 47, note 1.

(sruva)<sup>1</sup>. They take a firebrand from the Anvâhâr-yapaṭana (or southern) fire, and therewith go southward. And where he finds a self-produced hollow<sup>2</sup> or cleft,—

3. Having there made up a fire, he offers with (Vâg. S. IX, 35), 'This, O Nirṛiti, is thy portion: accept it graciously, hail!' For Nirṛiti is this (Earth); whomsoever she seizes upon with evil, him she seizes upon with destruction (nirṛiti): hence whatever part of this (Earth) is of the Nirṛiti nature, that he thereby propitiates; and thus Nirṛiti does not seize upon him, while being consecrated. And the reason why he offers in a self-produced hollow or

<sup>1</sup> The authorities of the Black Yagus prepare therewith a cake on one kapāla. Taitt. S. I, 8, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Sâyana, perhaps rightly, takes 'irīṇa' here (and on Taitt. S. vol. ii, p. 6) in the sense of 'ūshara,' a spot of barren (or saline) soil. Cf. VII, 2, 1, 8: 'In whatever part of this (earth) there is produced (of itself) a cleft, or in whatever part of it plants are not produced, verily that part of it Nirṛiti seizes upon.'—Kausika-sūtra XIII, 28 (A. Weber, *Omina und Portenta*, p. 386) recommends the following propitiatory rites in case of a sudden cleft in the ground: 'If in the village, or house, or fire-house, or meeting-place, (the ground) should burst open, four cows are got ready, a white, a black, a red, and a one-coloured one. For twelve days he puts down the butter, milked together from these. In the morning of the twelfth, having made up a fire north of where there was that cleft, having swept and sprinkled it, and strewn sacrificial grass around it; and having mixed (the butter) with ghee from the white (cow), and addressed it (the spot) with the three verses, Ath-veda XII, 1, 19–21 ("Agni is in the earth, in the plants, the waters carry Agni, Agni is in the flints, Agni is within men; in cows, in horses are Agnis," &c.), and touched it, let him then offer. In the same way on the south side; in the same way on the western side. Having concluded on the north side, let him offer with the (formulas addressed) to Vâstoshpati (the tutelary genius of the dwelling). Having poured the refuse in the cleft, and completed the oblations, he sprinkles the cleft with lustral water.'

cleft, is that that much of this (earth) is possessed with Nirṛiti.

4. They then return (to the sacrificial ground) without looking backward. He now proceeds with the cake on eight potsherds for Anumati. For Anumati is this (Earth); and whosoever knows to do that work which he intends to do, for him indeed she approves (anu-man) thereof: hence it is her he thereby pleases, thinking 'May I be consecrated, approved by that (genius of) approval!'

5. And as to why it is a (cake) on eight potsherds,—the Gâyatrî consists of eight syllables, and this earth is Gâyatrî. And as to why he offers of the same sacrificial food<sup>1</sup> both (oblations): thereby, indeed, both of it comes to be this latter one (viz. Anumati, or approval). A garment is the sacrificial fee for this (offering): for even as one clad in a garment does not venture into the forest, but having deposited that garment (somewhere) escapes (robbers), in like manner no assault befalls him while being consecrated.

6. And on the following day he prepares a cake on eleven potsherds for Agni and Vishṇu, and offers it in the same way as the (regular) ishṭi: this indeed is just what that approved initiation-offering to Agni and Vishṇu is there<sup>2</sup>. Now Agni is all the deities, since in Agni one offers to all deities; and Agni forsooth is the lower end, and Vishṇu is the upper end: 'May I be consecrated, after thus encompassing all the deities, and after encompassing

<sup>1</sup> Though he has offered twice (to Nirṛiti and Anumati), he has only once taken out rice for oblation.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. at the ordinary Soma-sacrifice; for the Dîkshañiyeshṭi, see part ii, p. 12.

the whole sacrifice!' thus he thinks, and hence there is a cake on eleven potsherds to Agni and Vishṇu. Gold is the sacrificial fee for this (offering); for to Agni belongs this sacrifice, and gold is Agni's seed. As to Vishṇu, he is the sacrifice, and Agni forsooth is the sacrifice: nevertheless this is Agni's alone, therefore gold is the fee.

7. And on the following day he prepares a cake on eleven potsherds for Agni and Soma, and offers it in the same way as an (ordinary) *ishî*, for it was thereby Indra slew *Vṛitra*, and thereby he gained that universal conquest which now is his. And in like manner does this (king, the Sacrificer) thereby slay his wicked, hateful enemy, and in like manner does he gain the victory. 'May I be consecrated, when safety and security from evil-doers have been gained!' thus he thinks: hence there is a cake on eleven potsherds for Agni and Soma. For this (offering) a bull set at liberty is the sacrificial fee; for yonder moon<sup>1</sup> they slay while setting him at liberty<sup>2</sup>: to wit, by the full-moon offering they slay him, and by the new-moon offering they set him at liberty;—therefore a bull set at liberty is the fee.

8. And on the following day he prepares a cake on twelve potsherds for Indra and Agni, and offers it in the same way as an (ordinary) *ishî*. Now when

---

<sup>1</sup> On the identification of *Vṛitra* with the moon (and Soma), see I, 6, 3, 17. On the moon serving as food to the gods, see part ii, Introduction, p. xiii. According to a later conception, one *kalâ* (or sixteenth part of the moon's disc) was taken off each day during the period of the waning, and again added to it during the period of the waxing moon.

<sup>2</sup> *Utsargam* . . . *ghnanti*; perhaps the former has to be taken here as infinitive (in order to set him at liberty) rather than as gerund.



Indra slew *Vṛitra*, that vigour and energy of his went out of him, being frightened : by this offering he again possessed himself of that vigour and energy. And in like manner does this (Sacrificer) by this offering possess himself of vigour and energy ; for Agni is fiery spirit, and Indra is vigour and energy : 'May I be consecrated, having embraced both these energies!' thus he thinks : hence there is a cake on twelve potsherds for Indra and Agni. A bull is the fee for this (offering), for by his shoulder he is of Agni's nature<sup>1</sup>, and by his testicles he is of Indra's nature : therefore a bull is the fee for it.

9. Thereupon he performs the offering of first-fruits<sup>2</sup> ; for verily he who performs the *Râgasûya* secures for himself (the benefits of) all sacrificial rites, all *ishṭis*, even the spoon-offerings ; and instituted by the gods, in truth, is that *ishṭi*, the *Âgrayaneshṭi* : 'May this also be offered by me ! May I be consecrated by this (offering) also !' thus he thinks, and therefore he performs the offering of first-fruits. Moreover, it is for the plants that he who is consecrated, is consecrated ; therefore he now makes the plants healthy and faultless, thinking, 'May I be consecrated for (the obtainment of) healthy, faultless plants (crops) !' A cow is the fee for this (offering).

10. Thereupon he performs the Seasonal offerings<sup>3</sup> ; for verily he who performs the *Râgasûya* secures for himself (the benefits of) all sacrificial

<sup>1</sup> Cp. I, 1, 2, 9, '(Like) fire, verily, is the yoke of that cart : hence the shoulder of those (oxen) that draw it becomes as if burnt by fire.'

<sup>2</sup> For the *Âgrayaneshṭi*, see part i, p. 369 seq.

<sup>3</sup> For the four *Kâturmâsya* (enumerated in the next chapter), see part i, p. 383 seq.

rites, all ishṭis, even the spoon-offerings; and instituted by the gods, in truth, is that sacrificial rite, the Seasonal offerings: 'May these also be offered by me! May I be consecrated by these (offerings) also!' thus he thinks, and therefore he performs the Seasonal offerings.

#### FOURTH BRĀHMANA.

1. He offers the Vaisvadeva<sup>1</sup> (All-gods' offering); for by means of the Vaisvadeva, Pragāpati created abundance (of food) and creatures, thinking, 'May I be consecrated, after creating abundance and creatures!' And in like manner does this (Sacrificer) now, by the Vaisvadeva, create abundance and creatures, thinking, 'May I be consecrated, after creating abundance and creatures!'

2. He then offers the Varunapraghâśâḥ<sup>2</sup>; for by means of the Varunapraghâśâḥ Pragāpati delivered the creatures from Varuna's noose, and those creatures of his were produced healthy and faultless: 'May I be consecrated for healthy, faultless crea-

---

<sup>1</sup> This, the first of the Seasonal offerings, is to be performed on the full-moon of Phalgunī, the other three then following after intervals of four months each. During these intervals the ordinary fortnightly sacrifices are to be performed from day to day in this way that either the Full-moon and New-moon sacrifice are performed on alternate days, or the former on each day of the bright fortnights, and the latter on each day of the dark fortnights. Thus, according to Âsv. Sr. IX, 3, 6; while Kāty. XV, 1, 18 allows only the latter mode. The final Seasonal offering, or Sunâsīrya, which ordinarily is performed a twelvemonth after the Vaisvadeva, or on the full-moon of Phālguna, is on the present occasion to be performed just a year after the opening sacrifice, or Pavitra (p. 42, note 1), i. e. on the first day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, being immediately followed by the Pañḍavâtīya.

<sup>2</sup> See part i, p. 391 seq.

tures!' he thought. And in like manner does this (Sacrificer) now, by the Varunapraghâśâh, deliver the creatures from Varuna's noose, and those creatures of his are produced healthy and faultless: 'May I be consecrated for healthy, faultless creatures!' so he thinks.

3. He then performs the Sâkamedhâh<sup>1</sup>; for by the Sâkamedhâh the gods slew Vṛitra, and gained that universal conquest which now is theirs. And in like manner does this (Sacrificer) thereby now slay his wicked, hateful enemy; and in like manner does he gain the victory, thinking, 'May I be consecrated, when safety and security are gained!'

4. He then performs the Sunâśīrya<sup>2</sup>, thinking, 'May I be consecrated, having encompassed both essences!' Thereupon the Pañkavâtīya<sup>3</sup> (oblation to the five winds). Having poked the Âhavanīya fire asunder into five parts, he offers, cutting out butter with the dipping-spoon.

5. He offers in the forepart (of the fire), with (Vâg. S. IX, 35), 'To the Agni-eyed gods, the east-seated, hail!' He then offers in the southern part

<sup>1</sup> See part i, p. 408 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See part i, p. 444 seq., where the word is fancifully explained as composed of suna (prosperity) and sîra (=sâra, sap),—the two essences here referred to. Sâyana, following Yâska (and Sat. Br. II, 6, 3, 6-8?), identifies the two component elements with Vâyu, the wind, and Âditya, the sun; see part i, p. 445, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> The authorities of the Black Yagus (Taitt. Br. I, 7, 1, 5) call this oblation Pañkavâtīya, i.e. 'consisting of fivefold cut (or ladled) ghee, which is offered without disturbing the fire. Prior to this oblation, Âpastamba (Taitt. S., vol. ii, p. 93), however, prescribes a so-called Pañkedhmīya, i.e. an oblation 'on five fire-brands,' the fire being, as here, poked about so as to form separate heaps in the four quarters and in the centre.

with, 'To the Yama-eyed<sup>1</sup> gods, the south-seated, hail!' He then offers in the hind part with, 'To the Visvadeva-eyed gods, the west-seated, hail!' He then offers in the northern part with either, 'To the Mitrâvaruṇa-eyed gods,—or, To the Marut-eyed gods,—the north-seated, hail!' He then offers in the centre with, 'To the Soma-eyed gods, the above-seated, the venerable, hail!'

6. Having then poked (the fire) together, he offers with (Vâg. S. IX, 36), 'The gods that are Agni-eyed, east-seated, to them hail!—The gods that are Yama-eyed, south-seated, to them hail!—The gods that are Visvadeva-eyed, west-seated, to them hail!—The gods that are Mitrâvaruṇa-eyed—or, Marut-eyed—north-seated, to them hail!—The gods that are Soma-eyed, above-seated, venerable, to them hail!' Now as to why he thus offers.

7. Now when, by means of the Sâkamedhâ, the gods were gaining that universal conquest, which now is theirs, they said, 'Verily the fiends, the Rakshas, suck out these (creatures) in the (four) quarters: come, let us throw the thunderbolt at them!' Now the ghee is a thunderbolt: with that thunderbolt, the ghee, they smote the fiends, the Rakshas, in the (four) quarters, and gained that universal conquest which now is theirs. And in like manner does this (Sacrificer) smite the fiends, the Rakshas, in the quarters, by that thunderbolt, the ghee; and thus he gains the victory, thinking, 'May

<sup>1</sup> Yama is the ruler of the departed ancestors, residing in the southern quarter.

I be consecrated, when safety and security have been gained !'

8. And as to why he offers those five latter oblations. Now when they poke the Âhavanīya asunder into five parts, thereby they wound and tear some of the fire ; and hereby now he heals it : therefore he offers those five latter oblations.

9. For this (offering) a carriage and pair, with a side horse, is the priest's fee. Three horses, the warrior, and the charioteer,—these are five breaths, and the breath is the same as the wind : and because that is the fee for this sacrifice, therefore it is called *Pañkavâtīya* (belonging to the five winds).

10. He may also heal (some disease<sup>1</sup>) with this (offering) : For yonder blower (or purifier, the wind) is this breath ; and the breath is the same as the vital energy. Now he (the wind) blows as one only, but on entering into man, he is divided tenfold ; and ten are those oblations he offers : thus he (the priest) endows him with the ten vital airs, with the whole, entire vital energy ; and were he now even as one whose vital spirit has departed, verily by this (offering) he (the priest) brings him round again.

11. Thereupon the *Indraturīya*<sup>2</sup>.—There is a cake on eight potsherds for Agni, a barley pap for Varuna, a pap of gavedhukâ seed (coix barbata) for Rudra ; and a mess of sour curds from a yoke-

<sup>1</sup> Tenâpy etena vish/âvrâge (v. l. vish/âbrâge) bhishagyet. *Kaṇva* rec.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the ceremony in which the fourth oblation belongs to Indra. While the *Mâdhyandinas* perform this ceremony on the same day (the *pratipad* of the bright fortnight of *Phalgunī*), the *Kâṇvas* do so on the following day ; the *Apâmârgahoma* being then likewise shifted on another day.

trained cow for Indra: this Indraturtya he offers. Now Indra and Agni on that occasion consulted with each other: 'Verily the fiends, the Rakshas, suck out these (creatures) in the (four) quarters: come, let us throw the thunderbolt at them!'

12. Agni then spake, 'Let there be three shares for me, one for thee!'—'So be it!'—By that offering those two smote the fiends, the Rakshas, in the (four) quarters, and gained that universal conquest which now is theirs. And in like manner does this (Sacrificer) by that offering smite the fiends, the Rakshas, in the quarters; and gain the victory, thinking, 'May I be consecrated, when safety and security have been gained!'

13. Now what cake on eight potsherds there is for Agni, that is one of Agni's shares; and what barley pap there is for Varuṇa—Varuṇa being the same as Agni—that is Agni's second share; and what pap of gavedhukâ seed there is for Rudra—Rudra being the same as Agni—that is Agni's third share. And as to why it is prepared of gavedhukâ seed: that god surely is (the recipient) of refuse (remains of offering)<sup>1</sup>, and gavedhukâ grass is refuse, —hence it is prepared of gavedhukâ seed. And what mess of sour curds there is from a yoke-trained cow for Indra, that is the fourth share (being that) of Indra—turtiya being the same as katurtha (fourth)—hence the name Indraturtya. That same yoke-trained cow is the fee for this (offering); for by her shoulder she is of Agni's nature, since her shoulder is, as it were, fire-burnt; and in that, being a female, she improperly draws (the cart), that is her Varuṇic

<sup>1</sup> On Rudra's epithet *vâstavya*, see I, 7, 3, 1. 8.

nature ; and in that she is a cow, she is of Rudra's nature<sup>1</sup> ; and in that Indra's sour curds (come) from her, thereby she is of Indra's nature. Indeed that (cow) commands all that : therefore that same yoke-trained cow is the fee.

14. Thereupon he performs the Apâmârgahoma ; for by means of apâmârga plants (achyranthes aspera) the gods wiped away (apa-marg) the fiends, the Rakshas, in the quarters, and gained that universal conquest which now is theirs. And in like manner does this (Sacrificer) now by means of apâmârga plants wipe away the fiends, the Rakshas, in the quarters ; and in like manner does he gain the victory, thinking, ' May I be consecrated, when safety and security have been gained ! '

15. He takes apâmârga grains in a dipping-spoon of either palâra (butea frondosa) or vikañkata (flacourtia sapida) wood. They take a firebrand from the Anvâhâryapaçana (southern) fire ; and proceed therewith eastward or northward ; and there having made up a fire he offers.

16. He takes the firebrand with (Vâg. S. IX, 37 ; Rîk S. III, 24, 1), ' Encounter the arrays, Agni ! '—arrays means battles : ' encounter the battles ! ' he thereby says ;—' Repel the evil-wisher ! '—the evil-wisher is the enemy : ' beat off the enemy ! ' he thereby says ;—' Unconquerable, conquering the evil-doers ! '—unconquerable he is indeed, by the Rakshas, the fiends ; and conquering the evil-doers, for he conquers every evil :

---

<sup>1</sup> Rudra rules over the beasts (III, 6, 2, 20), whence he is also called the lord of beasts (paśûnâm pati, I, 7, 3, 8 ; Parupati V, 3, 3, 7). Pûshan, the genius of thrift and prosperity, is also (like the Greek Pan) regarded as the protector of cattle ; see V, 2, 5, 8.

therefore he says, 'conquering the evil-doers ;'—  
 'Bestow glory upon the offerer of sacrifice!'—  
 'bestowing blessing on the Sacrificer,' is what he  
 thereby says.

17. Thereupon making up the fire he offers with  
 (Vâg. S. IX, 38), 'At the impulse of the God  
 Savitri I offer with the arms of the Asvins,  
 with the hands of Pûshan, with the strength of  
 the Upâmsu !' for the Upâmsu <sup>1</sup> (cup of Soma) is the  
 mouth (or opening) of the sacrifice : thus he slays the  
 fiends, the Rakshas, by the mouth of the sacrifice ;—  
 'Slain is the Rakshas, hail !' thus he slays the  
 fiends, the Rakshas.

18. If the dipping-spoon is of palâsa wood,—the  
 palâsa being the Brahman—it is with the Brahman  
 that he slays the fiends, the Rakshas ; and if it is of  
 vikaṅkata wood,—the vikaṅkata being the thunder-  
 bolt—it is with the thunderbolt that he slays the  
 fiends, the Rakshas : 'For the slaughter of the  
 Rakshas (I take) thee !' therewith he slays the  
 fiends, the Rakshas.

19. If he offers after going eastward, he throws  
 the spoon towards the east ; and if he offers after  
 going northward, he throws the spoon towards the  
 north, with, 'We have slain the Rakshas !' thus  
 he slays the fiends, the Rakshas.

20. Thereupon they return (to the sacrificial ground)  
 without looking back. Now by this (ceremony) also  
 he may make for himself a counter-charm <sup>2</sup>. In  
 whatever direction from there (his evil-wisher) is,

<sup>1</sup> See part ii, p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. an amulet consisting of a band running back into itself.  
 The Kâṇva text has,—Tena hâpy etena vishâvrâge pratisaram  
 kurvîta.



looking back thither he offers ; for the Apâmârga is of a backward effect : whosoever does anything to him there, him indeed he thereby pitches backward. Let him indicate the name of that one, saying, ' We have slain so and so ! So and so is slain ! ' thus he slays the fiends, the Rakshas.

### FIFTH BRÂHMANA.

1. He prepares a cake on eleven potsherds for Agni and Vishnu, a pap for Indra and Vishnu, and either a cake on three potsherds, or a pap, for Vishnu. He performs that Trishamyukta<sup>1</sup> offering. Therewith the gods came by men, and in like manner does this (king) now thereby come by men.

2. Now as to why there is that cake on eleven potsherds for Agni and Vishnu ;—Agni is the giver, and men are Vishnu's : thus Agni, the giver, gives him (the king) men.

3. And as to why there is a pap for Indra and Vishnu ;—Indra is the Sacrificer, and men are Vishnu's : thus Agni, the giver, gives him (the

<sup>1</sup> That is, ' the triply connected,' the ceremony being made up of three rounds, each of which consists of three separate oblations, viz. :—

1. Âgnâvaishnava cake, Aindrâvaishnava pap, Vaishnava pap ;

2. Âgnâpaushna cake, Aindrâpaushna pap, Paushna pap ;

3. Agnîshomiya cake, Aindrâsaumya pap, Saumya pap.

In this way one of the three divinities for whom the offering is intended,—viz. Vishnu, Pûshan, and Soma,—is each time connected with the two head-gods, Agni and Indra.—In the Black Yagur-veda, this set of offerings (not, however, called there by this name), is preceded by another ceremony consisting of five oblations to Dhâtvi, Anumati, Râkâ, Sinivâlî, and Kuhû. Taitt. S. I, 8, 8. Cf. Sat. Br. IX, 5, 1, 38.

Sacrificer) men ; he now puts himself in contact with them, makes them his own.

4. And as to why there is either a cake on three potsherds, or a pap, for Vishṇu ;—whatever men Agni, the giver, gives him, among them he thereby finally establishes him (the king) ; and whatever work he wishes to do with his men, that he is able to do. Thus he thereby approaches the men, thinking, ‘ May I be consecrated, and possessed of men ! ’ A dwarfish bull is the sacrificial fee for this (offering), for the dwarf belongs to Vishṇu <sup>1</sup>.

5. He then performs another Trishamyukta offering. He prepares a cake on eleven potsherds for Agni and Pûshan, a pap for Indra and Pûshan, and a pap for Pûshan : this Trishamyukta he offers. Thereby the gods obtained cattle ; and in like manner does this (king) thereby obtain cattle.

6. Now as to why there is that cake on eleven potsherds for Agni and Pûshan ;—Agni is the giver, and the cattle are Pûshan’s : thus Agni, the giver, gives him cattle.

7. And as to why there is a pap for Indra and Pûshan ;—Indra is the Sacrificer, and the cattle are Pûshan’s : whatever cattle Agni, the giver, gives him, therewith he now puts himself in contact, those he makes his own.

8. And why there is a pap for Pûshan ;—whatever cattle Agni, the giver, gives him, therewith he thereby finally establishes him, and whatever work he wishes to do with his cattle, that he is able

---

<sup>1</sup> See the legend, I, 2, 5, 1 seq., which represents Vishṇu as a dwarf, who obtained from the Asuras as much ground for the gods, as he lay upon.—‘ Tad dhi parushu vaishnavam rūpam yad vā-manasya goḥ. ’ Kāṇva rec.

to do : thus he comes by cattle, thinking, ' May I be consecrated, possessed of cattle ! ' A dark-grey<sup>1</sup> bull is the fee for this (offering), for such a dark-grey one is of Pûshan's nature : there are two forms of the dark-grey, the white hair and the black ; and ' two and two ' means a productive pair, and Pûshan represents productiveness, for Pûshan is cattle, and cattle means productiveness : thus a productive pair is obtained,—hence a dark-grey bull is the sacrificial fee.

9. He then performs another Trishamyukta offering. He prepares a cake on eleven potsherds for Agni and Soma, a pap for Indra and Soma, and a pap for Soma : this Trishamyukta (triply connected) he offers :—Thereby the gods attained glory ; and in like manner does this (king) thereby attain glory.

10. Now as to why there is that cake on eleven potsherds for Agni and Soma ;—Agni is the giver, and Soma is glory : thus Agni, the giver, gives him glory.

11. And as to why there is a pap for Indra and Soma ;—Indra is the Sacrificer, and Soma is glory : whatever glory Agni, the giver, gives him, therewith he now puts himself in contact, that he makes his own.

12. And why there is a pap for Soma ;—whatever glory, Agni, the giver, gives him, therein he now finally establishes him ; and whatever work he, the glorious, wishes to do, that he is able to do. Thus he thereby attains glory,—thinking, ' May I be consecrated, endowed with glory ! ' for the inglorious one has no concern with success. A brown bull is

---

<sup>1</sup> See V, 1, 3, 9.

the fee for this (offering) ; for such a brown one is of Soma's nature.

13. And on the following day he prepares a cake on twelve potsherds for (Agni) Vaisvânara, and a barley pap for Varuṇa. These two offerings he performs either on days following one another, or so as to use the same barhis<sup>1</sup>.

14. And as to why there is that (cake) for Vaisvânara ;—Vaisvânara ('belonging to all men') truly is the year, and Pragâpati is the year; and Pragâpati indeed thereby created abundance and creatures, thinking, 'May I be consecrated, having created abundance and creatures!' And in like manner does that (king) thereby create abundance and creatures, thinking, 'May I be consecrated, having created abundance and creatures!'

15. And why it is one on twelve potsherds ;—twelve months there are in the year, and Vaisvânara is the year : this is why it is one on twelve potsherds.

16. And as to why there is a barley pap for Varuṇa ; he thereby frees the creatures from every snare of Varuṇa, from all that comes from Varuṇa<sup>2</sup> ;

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, he is either to perform the Vaisvânara on one, and the Vâruṇa one on the next—in which case a different barhis, or altar-covering of sacrificial grass, would be needed—or he may perform them both on one and the same day, with the same barhis serving for both.

<sup>2</sup> See III, 8, 5, 10 where I translated, 'from all (guilt) against Varuṇa ;' varuṇya, doubtless, implies both the guilt incurred by the infringement of Varuṇa's sacred laws, and the punishment inflicted by him. As regards the 'swearing by Varuṇa (?)' there referred to, see *Rîk* S. X, 97, 16 where the conjurer mutters : 'May they (the plants) free me from the (evil) resulting from the curse and from Varuṇa ;'—*muṣkantū mā sapathyād atho varuṇyād uta*.

and those creatures of his are produced sound and faultless: 'May I be consecrated for sound and faultless creatures (or subjects)!' he thinks.

17. A bull is the fee for the Vaisvânara (oblation); for Vaisvânara is the year, and Pragâpati is the year; and the bull is the Pragâpati (lord of creatures or generation) among cows: therefore a bull is the fee for the Vaisvânara. A black cloth for the Vâruṇa (oblation), for what is black belongs to Varuṇa. If he cannot obtain a black one, any kind of cloth will do: it is by its knots that the cloth belongs to Varuṇa, for the knot is sacred to Varuṇa.

### THIRD ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. Having taken up both (the Gârhapatya and Âhavanīya) fires on the two kindling-sticks<sup>1</sup>, he goes to the house of the Commander of the army, and prepares a cake on eight potsherds for Agni Anīkavat; for Agni is the head (anīka) of the gods, and the commander is the head of the army: hence for Agni Anīkavat. And he, the commander, assuredly is one of his (the king's) jewels<sup>2</sup>: it is for

<sup>1</sup> Each of the two 'araxis' is held for a moment to one of the two fires, which are thereby supposed to become inherent in them till they are 'churned out' again for the new offering fire required. For this 'mounting' of the fire see part i, p. 396.

<sup>2</sup> Ratna, jewel, precious thing; whence the eleven offerings described in this section are called ratna-havis, or ratninām havīmshi; the recipients of these sacrificial honours, on the part of the newly-consecrated king, being called ratninaḥ, 'possessed of the Jewel (offering)'.—In the ritual of the Black Yagus (Taitt. S. I, 8, 9; Taitt. Br. I, 7, 3) the order of the Ratninaḥ, at whose houses these oblations are performed on successive days, is as follows:—1. Brahman priest (a pap to Br̥haspati); 2. Râganya (a cake of eleven kapālas to Indra); 3. Consecrated Queen (pap to

him that he is thereby consecrated (or quickened), and him he makes his own faithful (follower). The sacrificial fee for this (jewel-offering) consists in gold; for Agni's is that sacrifice, and gold is Agni's seed: therefore the sacrificial fee consists in gold.

2. And on the following day, he goes to the house of the Purohita (the king's court chaplain), and prepares a pap for *Brîhaspati*; for *Brîhaspati* is the Purohita of the gods, and that (court chaplain) is the Purohita ('*praepositus*') of that (king): hence it is for *Brîhaspati*. And he, the Purohita, assuredly is one of his (the king's) jewels: it is for him that he is thereby consecrated, and him he makes his own faithful follower. The sacrificial fee for this is a white-backed bullock; for to *Brîhaspati* belongs that upper region, and there above lies that path of *Aryaman* (the sun)<sup>1</sup>: therefore the fee for the *Bârhaspatya* (oblation) is a white-backed (bullock).

3. And on the following day he prepares a cake on eleven potsherds for *Indra* at the dwelling of him who is being consecrated (the king); for *Indra* is the *Kshatra* (ruling power), and he who is consecrated is

---

*Aditi*); 4. The king's favourite wife (pap to *Bhaga*); 5. A discarded wife (pap to *Nirriti*); 6. Commander of the army (cake of eight kap. to *Agni*); 7. *Sûta* (charioteer, *Sây.*—cake of ten kap. to *Varuna*); 8. *Grâmanî* (cake of seven kap. to *Maruts*); 9. *Kshattri* (chamberlain, or superintendent of seraglio, *Sây.*—cake of twelve kap. to *Savitrî*); 10. *Samgrahîtri* (treasurer, *Sây.*—cake of two kap. to *Arvins*); 11. *Bhâgadugha* (collector of taxes, *Sây.*—pap to *Pûshan*); 12. *Akshâvâpa* (*dyûtakâra*, superintendent of gambling, *Sây.*—*gavidhuka* pap to *Rudra*).—Finally the king offers in his own house two cake-oblations (of eleven kapâlas) to *Indra Sutrâman* (the good protector) and *Indra Amhomu* (the deliverer from trouble).

<sup>1</sup> Whence the back of that upper region is white, or bright.

the Kshatra : hence it is for Indra. The sacrificial fee for this is a bull, for the bull is Indra's own (animal).

4. And on the following day, he goes to the dwelling of the Queen, and prepares a pap for Aditi ; for Aditi is this Earth, and she is the wife of the gods ; and that (queen) is the wife of that (king) : hence it is for Aditi. And she, the Queen, assuredly is one of his (the king's) jewels : it is for her that he is thereby consecrated, and he makes her his own faithful (wife). The sacrificial fee, on her part, is a milch cow ; for this (earth) is, as it were, a milch cow : she yields to men all their desires ; and the milch cow is a mother, and this (earth) is, as it were, a mother : she bears (or sustains) men. Hence the fee is a milch cow.

5. And on the following day, he goes to the house of the Sûta (court-minstrel and chronicler), and prepares a barley pap for Varuṇa ; for the Sûta is a spiriter (sava), and Varuṇa is the spiriter of the gods : therefore it is for Varuṇa. And he, the Sûta, assuredly is one of his (the king's) jewels : it is for him that he is thereby consecrated ; and him he makes his own faithful (follower). The sacrificial fee for this one is a horse, for the horse is Varuṇa's own.

6. And on the following day, he goes to the house of the Headman (Grāmānt<sup>1</sup>), and prepares a cake

---

<sup>1</sup> The exact function of this officer is not clearly defined. Though the term is also used of an ordinary village headman (Patel, Adhikârin, Adigar), this could hardly apply here. Sâyana, on one passage, indeed explains the term by 'Grāmāṇī nayati,' but elsewhere he explains it by 'Grāmāṇī netâ ;' and some such meaning it may perhaps have here,—the head of communal administration, either for a district (like one of Manu's lords of a hundred, or a

on seven potsherds for the Maruts; for the Maruts are the peasants, and the headman is a peasant; therefore it is for the Maruts. And he, the headman, assuredly is one of his (the king's) jewels: it is for him that he is thereby consecrated, and him he makes his own faithful follower. The sacrificial fee for this (jewel) is a spotted bullock, for in such a spotted bullock there is abundance of colours; and the Maruts are the clans (or peasants), and the clan means abundance; therefore the sacrificial fee is a spotted bullock.

7. And on the following day he goes to the house of the Chamberlain (*kshattri*), and prepares a cake on either twelve, or eight, potsherds for *Savitri*; for *Savitri* is the impeller (*prasavitri*) of the gods, and the chamberlain is an impeller: hence it is for *Savitri*. And he, the chamberlain, assuredly is one of his (the king's) jewels: it is for him that he thereby is consecrated, and him he makes his own faithful (follower). The sacrificial fee for this (jewel) is a reddish-white draught-bullock; for *Savitri* is he that burns yonder, and he (the sun) indeed moves along; and the draught-bullock also moves along, when yoked. And as to why it is a reddish-white one;—reddish-white indeed is he (the sun) both in rising and in setting: therefore the sacrificial fee is a reddish-white draught-bullock.

8. And on the following day he goes to the house

---

thousand villages), or for the whole country. If, however, the headman of a single village be intended (as the coupling of the office with the Maruts might lead one to suppose), he would probably be a hereditary territorial proprietor residing near the place where the inauguration ceremony takes place. Cf. V, 4, 4, 18; and Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 171.



of the Charioteer (*samgrahîtri*), and prepares a cake on two potsherds for the Asvins; for the two Asvins are of the same womb; and so are the chariot fighter<sup>1</sup> and the driver (*sârathi*) of the same womb (standing-place), since they stand on one and the same chariot: hence it is for the Asvins. And he, the charioteer, assuredly is one of his (the king's) jewels: it is for him that he is thereby consecrated, and him he makes his own faithful follower. The sacrificial fee for this (jewel) is a pair of twin bullocks, for such twin bullocks are of the same womb. If he cannot obtain twins, two bullocks produced by successive births (of the same cow) may also form the sacrificial fee, for such also are of the same womb.

9. And on the following day he goes to the house

<sup>1</sup> *Savyashîtri* (otherwise *savyeshîtri*, *savyeshîha*;—*savyastha*, *Kânva* rec.) is explained by the commentaries as a synonym of *sârathi*, charioteer (with which it is compounded in *savyeshîha-sârathi*, *Taitt. Br. I, 7, 9, 1*, where *Sâyana* makes them the two charioteers standing on the left and right side of the warrior), but it seems more probable that the former terms refer to the warrior (*παρὰ-βάρης*) himself (as *savyashîhâ*, *Atharva-veda VIII, 8, 23*, undoubtedly does), who stands on the left side of the driver (*sârathi*, *ἡνίοχος*); the change of meaning being perhaps due to caste scruples about so close an association between the Kshatriya warrior and his *Sûdra* servant, as is implied in this and other passages. (Cf. *V, 3, 2, 2* with note.)—On *Taitt. S. I, 8, 9*, *Sâyana* explains *samgrahîtri* as the treasurer (*dhanasamgrahakartâ kosâdhyakshah*), but on *I, 8, 16* optionally as treasurer or charioteer; while the *Sûta* is *I, 8, 9* identified by him with the charioteer (*sârathi*). It is more probable, however, that at the time of the *Brâhmana* the *Sûta* occupied much the same position as that assigned to him in the epics, viz. that of court-bard and chronicler. The connection of the *samgrahîtri* with the Asvins can also scarcely be said to favour the interpretation of the term proposed by *Sâyana* (who, moreover, is himself compelled, on *Taitt. S. I, 8, 15*; *Taitt. Br. I, 7, 10, 6*, to take it in the sense of charioteer).

of the Carver (bhâgadugha<sup>1</sup>), and prepares a pap for Pûshan, for Pûshan is carver to the gods; and that (officer) is carver to that (king): therefore it is for Pûshan. And he, the carver, assuredly is one of his (the king's) jewels: it is for him that he is thereby consecrated, and him he makes his own faithful follower. The sacrificial fee for this (jewel) is a dark-grey bullock: the significance of such a one being the same as at the Trishamyukta<sup>2</sup>.

10. And on the following day, having brought together gavedhukâ (seeds) from the houses of the Keeper of the dice (akshâvâpa<sup>3</sup>) and the Huntsman (govikartana<sup>4</sup>), he prepares a gavedhukâ pap for Rudra at the house of him who is consecrated. These two, while being two jewels (of the king), he makes one for the purpose of completeness. And as to why he performs this offering,—Rudra is hankering after that (cow) which is killed here in this hall;

<sup>1</sup> The meaning 'tax-gatherer, collector of tithes (or rather, of the sixth part of produce)' assigned to the term by Sâyana, both here, and on Taitt. S. I, 8, 9, might seem the more natural one, considering the etymology of the term. See, however, the explanation given of it in our Brâhmana I, 1, 2, 17:—'Pûshan is bhâgadugha (distributor of portions) to the gods, who places with his hands the food before them.' This clearly is Homer's δαιτρός,—Od. I, 141-2:

δαιτρός δὲ κρείων πίνακας παρέθηκεν αἰείρας  
παντοίων, παρὰ δὲ σφί τιθει χρύσεια κύπελλα.

<sup>2</sup> See V, 2, 5, 8.

<sup>3</sup> 'The thrower, or keeper, of the dice,' according to Sâyana. At V, 4, 4, 6 the verb â-vap is used of the throwing the dice into the hand of the player; and it is perhaps that function of the keeper of the dice which is meant to be expressed by the term ('der Zuwerfer der Würfel').

<sup>4</sup> Literally, the cutter up of cows, the (beef-) butcher. But according to Sâyana, this official was the constant companion of his master in the chase.

now Rudra is Agni (fire), and the gaming-board being fire, and the dice being its coals, it is him (Rudra) he thereby pleases. And verily whosoever, that knows this thus, performs the Rāgasûya, in his house that approved (cow) is killed. And he, the keeper of dice, and the huntsman, are (each of them) assuredly one of his (the king's) jewels: it is for these two that he is thereby consecrated, and these two he makes his own faithful followers. The sacrificial fee for this (jewel) is a bicoloured bullock—either one with white fore-feet, or a white-tailed one,—a claw-shaped knife, and a dice-board<sup>1</sup> with a horse-hair band<sup>2</sup>; for that is what belongs to those two<sup>3</sup>.

11. And on the following day he goes to the house of the Courier, and having taken ghee in four ladlings, he offers the ghee to the way, with, 'May the way graciously accept of the ghee, hail!' For the courier is to be dispatched, and when dispatched goes on his way: therefore he offers the ghee to the way. And he, the courier, assuredly is one of his (the king's) jewels: it is for him that he is thereby consecrated, and him he makes his own faithful follower. The sacrificial fee for this (jewel) consists in a skin-covered bow, leathern quivers, and a red turban, for that is what belongs to him.

12. These are the eleven jewels (ratna) he completes; for of eleven syllables consists the Trish-ubh, and the Trish/ubh is vigour: it is for the sake

<sup>1</sup> Or, a dice-box, as 'akshâvapanam' is explained by some commentaries,—akshâ upyante sminn ity akshâvapanam aksha(akshadyûta-)sthânâvapanapâttram, Sây.

<sup>2</sup> Or, fastened with a hair-chain (romasragâ prabaddham, Sây.).

<sup>3</sup> That is to say, the knife and the dice-board are the objects those two officials have chiefly to do with.

of vigour that he completes the (eleven) jewels. Then as to why he performs the oblations of the Ratnins: it is their king he becomes; it is for them that he thereby is consecrated, and it is them he makes his own faithful followers.

13. And on the following day he goes to the house of a discarded (wife), and prepares a pap for Nirṛiti;—a discarded wife is one who has no son. He cooks the pap for Nirṛiti of black rice, after splitting the grains with his nails. He offers it with (Vâg. S. IX, 35), 'This, O Nirṛiti, is thy share: accept it graciously, hail!' For a wife that is without a son, is possessed with Nirṛiti (destruction, calamity); and whatever of Nirṛiti's nature there is in her, that he thereby propitiates, and thus Nirṛiti does not take possession of him while he is consecrated. The fee for this (oblation) consists of a black, decrepit, diseased cow; for such a one also is possessed with Nirṛiti. He says to her (the wife), 'Let her not dwell this day in my dominion<sup>1</sup>!' thus he removes evil from himself.

## SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. After the 'jewels' he offers (a pap) to Soma and Rudra. It is cooked in milk from a white (cow) which has a white calf. And as to why, after the 'jewels,' he offers (a pap) to Soma and Rudra.

2. Now, once upon a time, Svarbhânû, the Âsura, struck the sun with darkness, and stricken with darkness he did not shine<sup>2</sup>. Soma and Rudra

<sup>1</sup> According to the commentary on Kâty. Sr. XV, 3, 35 she has to betake herself to a Brâhman's house, where the king has no power.

<sup>2</sup> According to Rig-veda V, 40, 5-9 (cf. Sat. Br. IV, 3, 4, 23

removed that darkness of his ; and freed from evil he burns yonder. And in like manner does that (king) thereby enter darkness,—or darkness enters him,—when he puts those unworthy of sacrifice<sup>1</sup> in contact with the sacrifice ; and he does indeed now put those unworthy of sacrifice—either Sûdras or whom-ever else—in contact with the sacrifice. It is Soma and Rudra who remove that darkness of his ; and freed from evil he becomes consecrated. And as to why it is cooked in milk from a white (cow) which has a white calf,—darkness is black : that darkness he removes. The sacrificial fee for this (oblation) is a white (cow) which has a white calf.

3. Even he who, while being qualified for fame, is not yet famous, may perform that offering. Now he who is learned (in the Veda), while being qualified for fame, is not famous ; and he who is not famous, is covered with darkness : that darkness of his Soma and Rudra thereby remove ; and freed from evil he becomes a very light by his prosperity and renown.

4. Thereupon he prepares a pap for Mitra and Bṛihaspati<sup>2</sup>. For verily he who departs from the

---

with note) it was Atri who restored the light of the sun. Professor Ludwig (Bohemian Academy of Sciences, Sitzungsber., May, 1885) has tried to prove that solar eclipses (partly available for chronological purposes) are referred to in this and some other passages of the hymns. Compare also Professor Whitney's remarks thereon, Proceedings of Am. Or. Soc., Oct. 1885, p. xvii.

<sup>1</sup> That is, some of those officials of his to whom the ratna-havis were offered ; Sâyaṇa specifying 'the Commander of the army and others' as Sûdras ; and the 'Huntsman and others' as of whatsoever (low) caste.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Taittirīya ritualists this double oblation forms part of the dīkshâ, or initiation ceremony (V, 3, 3, 1). See Taitt. S., vol. ii, p. 108.

path of the sacrifice stumbles; and he does indeed depart from the path of the sacrifice, when he puts those unworthy of sacrifice in contact with the sacrifice, and he does indeed now put those unworthy of sacrifice—either *Sûdras* or whomever else—in contact with the sacrifice. And the path of the sacrifice is *Mitra* and *Bṛihaspati*; for *Mitra* is the Brahman, and the Brahman is the sacrifice; and *Bṛihaspati* is the Brahman, and the Brahman is the sacrifice. Thus he returns again to the path of the sacrifice; and as soon as he has returned to the path of the sacrifice he is consecrated: therefore he prepares a pap for *Mitra* and *Bṛihaspati*.

5. The course of this (is as follows). Any *asvattha* branch broken off by itself, either on the eastern or on the northern side (of the tree), from that he makes a vessel (to hold the pap) for *Mitra*; for that which is hewn by the axe belongs to *Varuṇa*; but that which is broken off by itself belongs to *Mitra*: therefore he makes the vessel for *Mitra* from a branch broken off by itself.

6. Thereupon having curdled the (milk into) curds, and poured it into a leathern bag; and having put (the horses) to the cart, and fastened (the bag on the cart), he tells it to 'fly away.' This is that (kind of) fresh butter which is self-produced<sup>1</sup>; for that which is churned belongs to *Varuṇa*, and that which is self-produced belongs to *Mitra*: therefore it is self-produced butter.

7. They divide the rice-grains into two parts: the smaller and broken ones belong to *Bṛihaspati*,

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, produced in the leathern bottle without further direct human agency, and by the mere motion of the cart.

and the larger and unbroken ones to Mitra. For Mitra injures no one, nor does any one injure Mitra ; neither a kusa stalk nor a thorn pricks him, nor has he any scar ; for Mitra is every one's friend (mitram).

8. He then puts the pap for *Bṛihaspati* on (the fire), covers it with the vessel for Mitra's (pap), pours the butter (into the latter), and throws in the (larger) rice-grains. It is cooked merely by the hot steam<sup>1</sup> ; for what is cooked by fire belongs to *Varuṇa*, and what is cooked by hot steam belongs to Mitra : therefore it is cooked by hot steam. Making cuttings from both these sacrificial dishes, he says, 'Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Mitra and *Bṛihaspati*!' Having called for the *Sraushaṭ*, he says, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer to Mitra and *Bṛihaspati*!' and offers as the *Vashaṭ* is uttered.

### THE ABHISHEKĀNĪYA<sup>2</sup>, OR CONSECRATION CEREMONY.

#### THIRD BRĀHMANA.

1. He performs the initiation ceremony. On the day of preparation he seizes the victim for Agni

<sup>1</sup> That is, by the steam rising from the *Bṛihaspati* pap in the bottom vessel.

<sup>2</sup> The *Abhishekānīya* (or *Abhisheka*, literally 'the sprinkling'), the Consecration ceremony (corresponding to the Anointment of modern times), requires for its performance five days, viz. one *dīkshā* (initiation ceremony), three *upasads*, and one *sutyā* or *Soma-day*, the particular form of *Soma-sacrifice* being the *Ukthya* (part ii, p. 325, note 2). The *Dīkshā* is performed immediately after the expiration of the dark fortnight following the full-moon of *Phalgunī*, that is to say, on the first day of *Kāitra* (about the middle of March).—According to *Kāty.* XV, 3, 47 both the *Abhishekānīya* and *Dasapeya* require special offering-places, the latter being north of the former. Cf. note on V, 4, 5, 13.—As regards

and Soma. Having performed the offering of the omentum thereof, he prepares a cake on eleven potsherds for Agni and Soma<sup>1</sup>. Thereupon the offerings of the Divine Quickeners (Devasû) are prepared.

2. For Savitri Satyaprasava (of true impulse) he prepares a cake from fast-grown (plâsuka) rice<sup>2</sup>, on either twelve, or eight, potsherds; for Savitri is the impeller (prasavitri) of the gods: 'May I be quickened<sup>3</sup>, impelled by Savitri!' thus (he thinks). And as to (its being) of fast-grown rice: 'May they quickly impel me!' he thinks.

3. For Agni Grîhapati (the house-lord) he then prepares a cake on eight potsherds from quick-grown (âsu) rice<sup>4</sup>; for the house-lord's position means prosperity: as much as he (the king) rules over, over

---

the chants (stotra) of the Consecration ceremony, the Pavamâna-stotras are chanted in the thirty-twofold, the Âgya-stotras in the fifteenfold, the Prishûka-stotras in the seventeenfold, and the Agnish-toma-sâman and Uktha-stotras in the twenty-onfold mode of chanting (stoma). Pañk. Br. 18, 10, 9. The Bahishpavamâna is specially constructed so as to consist of the following parts,—Sâma-veda II, 978-80; further six so-called sambhâryâ verses; further II, 125-27; II, 4-6; II, 431-3; II, 128-30; II, 555-59; II, 7-9; II, 981-83; see Pañk. Br. 18, 8, 7 seq.—The Taittirîya ritual (Taitt. Br. I, 8, 7 seq.), on the other hand, prescribes for the Pavamâna-stotras, the thirty-four-versed stoma, commencing the Bahishpavamâna by II, 920; II, 431, &c.

<sup>1</sup> This is the ordinary Paru-purodâsa, or cake of animal (offering). See part ii, p. 199, note 2 (where read Agni and Soma, instead of Indra and Agni).

<sup>2</sup> That is, according to Sâyana, rice which has sprung up again and ripens very rapidly. Taitt. S. I, 8, 10 has 'âsu' instead, for which see next paragraph.

<sup>3</sup> Or, consecrated (sû).

<sup>4</sup> That is, according to Sâyana, rice ripening in sixty days. The Taitt. S. prescribes a cake of black rice for Agni.



that Agni, the house-lord, leads him to hold the position of a master of the house. And as to its being of quick-grown rice: 'May they quickly lead me!' so he thinks.

4. For Soma Vanaspati (the wood-lord or tree) he then prepares a pap of syâmâka millet: thereby Soma, the wood-lord, quickens him for the plants. And as to its being prepared of syâmâka,—they, the syâmâkas among plants doubtless are most manifestly Soma's own: therefore it is prepared of syâmâka grain.

5. For Brîhaspati Vâk<sup>1</sup> (speech) he then prepares a pap of wild rice: thereby Brîhaspati quickens him for speech. And as to its being prepared of wild rice,—Brîhaspati is the Brahman, and they, the wild rice-plants, are ripened by the Brahman<sup>2</sup>: hence it is prepared of wild rice.

6. For Indra Gyeshtha (the most excellent) he then prepares a pap of red rice-grains (hâyana)<sup>3</sup>: thereby Indra, the most excellent, leads him to excellence (or, lordship). And as to its being prepared of red rice: outstanding doubtless are those plants, the red rice, and outstanding is Indra: therefore it is prepared of red rice.

7. For Rudra Pasupati (lord of beasts) he then prepares a Raudra pap of gavedhukâ seeds (coix barbata): thereby Rudra, the lord of beasts, quickens

<sup>1</sup> Brîhaspati Vâkpati (lord of speech), according to the Black Yagus, where the order of the 'Divine Quickeners' is moreover somewhat different.

<sup>2</sup> ? Or cooked by the Brahman, that is by Brâhmans, when living the life of hermits or ascetics.

<sup>3</sup> The Taitt. S. prescribes a cake prepared of large rice (mahâ-vrihi).

him for cattle. And as to its being prepared of gavedhukâ seed ;—that God is (the recipient of) refuse (remains of offering), and gavedhukâ seeds are refuse : therefore it is (prepared) of gavedhukâ seed.

8. For Mitra Satya (the True) he then prepares a pap of Nâmba<sup>1</sup> seed : thereby Mitra the True quickens him for the Brahman. And as to its being prepared of Nâmba seed,—to Varuṇa, no doubt, belong those plants which grow in ploughed ground ; but those, the Nâmba plants, belong to Mitra : therefore it is (prepared) of Nâmba seed.

9. For Varuṇa Dharmapati (the lord of the law) he then prepares a Varuṇa pap of barley : thereby Varuṇa, the lord of the law, makes him lord of the law ; and that truly is the supreme state, when one is lord of the law ; for whosoever attains to the supreme state, to him they come in (matters of) law : therefore to Varuṇa Dharmapati.

10. He then proceeds with the cake for Agni-Soma. The Svishṭakṛit of that (oblation) remains yet unoffered, when he proceeds with those (other) oblations.

11. Thereupon, taking hold of him (the Sacrificer) by the right arm, he mutters (Vâg. S. IX, 39, 40), ‘May Savitrî quicken thee for (powers of) quickening (ruling)<sup>2</sup>, Agni for householders, Soma for trees, Bṛihaspati for speech, Indra for lordship, Rudra for cattle, Mitra for truth, Varuṇa for the lord of the law.’

12. ‘Quicken him, O gods, to be unrivalled!’

<sup>1</sup> The Taitt. S. and Br. read ‘âmba’ instead, ‘a kind of grain,’ according to Sâyana.

<sup>2</sup> Or, perhaps, ‘on the part of the quickeners (rulers, savânâm).’

—he thereby says, ‘Quicken him, O gods, so as to be without an enemy;’—‘for great chiefdom, for great lordship!’ in this there is nothing obscure;—‘for man-rule!’ ‘for the ruling of men,’ he thereby says;—‘for Indra’s energy!’ ‘for vigour’ he means to say when he says, ‘for Indra’s energy;’—‘him, the son of such and such (a man), the son of such and such (a woman),’—whatever be his parentage, with reference to that he says this;—‘of such and such a people,’ that is to say, of the people whose king he is;—‘this man, O ye (people)<sup>1</sup>, is your king, Soma is the king of us Brāhmans!’ He thereby causes everything here to be food for him (the king); the Brāhman alone he excepts: therefore the Brāhman is not to be fed upon, for he has Soma for his king.

13. Now those gods have the power of quickening, whence their name ‘devasû’ (Divine Quickeners). It is those gods who now quicken him thus, and quickened (consecrated) by them he will be consecrated on the morrow.

14. They are double-named, for a coupling means strength: ‘May the strong quicken (him),’ thus he thinks, and therefore they are double-named.

15. He now says, ‘Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni Svishṭakṛit.’ And as to why that ceremony is performed here between two offerings<sup>2</sup>,—verily Pragâpati is that sacrifice which is here performed, and from which all these creatures were produced,—

<sup>1</sup> Here the name of the people, e. g. ‘O ye Kurus, O ye Pañ-kālas!’ is inserted. The Taitt. S. reads, ‘O ye Bharatâh.’

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, the oblations to the ‘Divine Quickeners,’ which were inserted between the chief oblation of the (Agnishomīya) parupurodâsa and the Svishṭakṛit of it; see above, parag. 10.

and so they are even now produced after this one. Thus he places him (the Sacrificer) in the very middle of that Pragâpati, and quickens him in the middle : this is why that ceremony is performed between two offerings. Having called for the Sraushat, he says, 'Urge for Agni Svishṭakṛit !' and offers as the Vashaṭ is pronounced.

#### FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. He collects (various kinds of) water. The reason why he collects water, is that—water being vigour—he thereby collects vigour, the essence of the waters.

2. In a vessel of udumbara wood,—the udumbara (*ficus glomerata*) being sustenance, (that is) food—for the obtainment of sustenance, food : hence in an udumbara vessel (he mixes the different liquids).

3. He first takes (water)<sup>1</sup> from the (river) Sarasvatî, with (Vâg. S. X, 1), 'The gods took honey-sweet water,'—whereby he says, 'the gods took water full of essence ;'—'sapful, deemed king-quickenning,'—by 'sapful' he means to say, 'full of essence ;' and by 'deemed king-quickenning' he means to say, '(water) which is recognised as king-quickenning ;'—'wherewith they anointed Mitra and Varuṇa,' for therewith they did anoint (sprinkle) Mitra and Varuṇa ;—'wherewith they guided

<sup>1</sup> This water gathered from an adjacent river and pond, with some admixture of genuine water from the sacred river Sarasvatî—whence the whole water is also called 'sârasvatya âpaḥ'—is to be used partly in the place of the ordinary Vasatîvarî water, and partly for the consecration or anointment (sprinkling) of the king. The different kinds of water or liquids are first taken in separate vessels of palâra (*butea frondosa*) wood, and then poured together into the udumbara vessel.

Indra past his enemies,' for therewith they indeed guided Indra past the fiends, the Rakshas. Therewith he sprinkles him,—Sarasvatî being (the goddess of) Speech : it is with speech he thereby sprinkles him. This is one kind of water : it is that he now brings.

4. Thereupon the Adhvaryu, having taken ghee in four ladlings, steps down into the water, and takes the two waves which flow away (in different directions) after an animal or a man has stept (or plunged) into it.

5. The one which rises in front of him he catches up with (Vâg. S. X, 2), 'Thou art the male's wave, a bestower of kingship : bestow kingship on me, hail!—Thou art the male's wave, a bestower of kingship : bestow kingship on N. N. !'

6. He then catches up that (wave) which rises up behind him with, 'Thou art the lord of a host of males, a bestower of kingship : bestow kingship on me, hail!—Thou art the lord of a host of males, a bestower of kingship : bestow kingship on N. N. !' With that (water) he sprinkles ; for indeed that is the vigour of the water which rises when either beast or man plunges into it : it is with vigour he thus sprinkles him. This is one kind of water : it is that he now brings.

7. He then takes flowing (water) with (Vâg. S. X, 3), 'Task-plying ye are, bestowers of kingship : bestow ye kingship on me, hail!—Task-plying ye are, bestowers of kingship : bestow ye kingship on N. N. !' With that (water) he sprinkles ; for with vigour these (waters) flow, whence nothing stops them flowing along : it is

with vigour he thus sprinkles him. This is one kind of water: it is that he now brings.

8. He then takes such (water) as flows against the stream of the flowing water with, 'Powerful ye are, bestowers of kingship: bestow ye kingship on me, hail!—Powerful ye are, bestowers of kingship: bestow ye kingship on N. N.!' With that (water) he sprinkles, for with vigour indeed those (waters) flow against the stream of the flowing ones: it is with vigour he thus sprinkles him. This is one kind of water: it is that he now brings.

9. He then takes (water) that flows off (the main current) with, 'Overflowing waters ye are, bestowers of kingship: bestow ye kingship on me, hail!—Overflowing waters ye are, bestowers of kingship: bestow ye kingship on N. N.!' With that (water) he sprinkles. Now that (flow of water), after separating itself from that (main current), comes to be that again<sup>1</sup>; and so there is in his kingdom even one belonging to some other kingdom, and even that man from another kingdom he absorbs: thus he (the Adhvaryu) bestows abundance upon him (the king), and it is with abundance that he thus consecrates him. This is one kind of water: it is that he now brings.

10. He then takes the lord of rivers (sea-water) with, 'Thou art the lord of waters, a bestower of kingship: bestow thou kingship on me, hail!—Thou art the lord of waters, a bestower of kingship: bestow thou kingship on N. N.!'

---

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, it ultimately flows back and mingles again with the main current.

With that (water) he sprinkles him ; and that lord of rivers (the ocean) being the same as the lord of waters, he thereby makes him (the king) the lord of the people. This is one kind of water : it is that he now brings.

11. He then takes (water from) a whirlpool with, 'Thou art the offspring of the waters, a bestower of kingship : bestow thou kingship on me, hail!—Thou art the offspring of the waters, a bestower of kingship : bestow thou kingship on N. N.!' With that (water) he sprinkles. Now the waters enclose the offspring (embryo) : he thus makes him the offspring of the people. This is one kind of water : it is that he now brings.

12. Then what standing pool of flowing water there is in a sunny spot, that (water) he takes with (Vâg. S. X, 4), 'Sun-skinned ye are, bestowers of kingship : bestow ye kingship on me, hail! —Sun-skinned ye are, bestowers of kingship : bestow ye kingship on N. N.!' With that (water) he sprinkles : it is with lustre he thereby sprinkles him, and makes him sun-skinned. Now it is to Varuṇa that those waters belong which, (whilst being part) of flowing water, do not flow ; and Varuṇa's quickening (sava) is that Râgasûya : therefore he sprinkles him therewith. This is one kind of water : it is that he now brings.

13. He then catches such (water) as it rains while the sun shines, with, 'Lustrous as the sun ye are, bestowers of kingship : bestow ye kingship on me, hail!—Lustrous as the sun ye are, bestowers of kingship : bestow ye kingship on N. N.!' With this (water) he sprinkles : it is with lustre he thereby sprinkles him, and lustrous

as the sun he thereby makes him. And pure indeed is such water as it rains while the sun shines, for before it has reached this (earth), he catches it : he thus makes him pure thereby. This is one kind of water : it is that he now brings.

14. He then takes (water) from a pond with, 'Pleasing ye are, bestowers of kingship: bestow ye kingship on me!—Pleasing ye are, bestowers of kingship: bestow ye kingship on N. N.!' With that (water) he sprinkles: he thereby makes the people steady and faithful to him. This is one kind of water: it is that he now brings.

15. He then draws (water) from a well with, 'Fold-dwellers ye are, bestowers of kingship: bestow ye kingship on me, hail!—Fold-dwellers ye are, bestowers of kingship: bestow ye kingship on N. N.!' With this (water) he sprinkles. He thereby brings (some of) the water which is beyond this (earth), and also (he does so) for the completeness of the waters, this is why he sprinkles him therewith. This is one kind of water : it is that he now brings.

16. He then takes dew-drops<sup>1</sup> with, 'Devoted<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sāyana explains 'prushvā' by 'nīhārāḥ' (mist water), the commentators on Kāty. XV, 4, 38, by 'hoar-frost.'

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to see in what sense the author takes *vāsa*. While Mahīdhara (Vāg. S. X, 4) explains it by 'pleasing' or 'desirable' (uryante ganaiḥ kāmante-nnanishpattihetutvāt); Sāyana leaves a choice between that meaning (sarvaiḥ kāmamānā) and that of 'obedient, submissive' (yadvā vasyā stha, nīhāro hi nadīpravāhavan manushyādigatim na pratibadhnāti, ato vasyatvam prushvānām anādyātmakatvam upapādayati; MS. I. O. 657). The St. Petersburg dictionary gives the meaning 'submissive,' but leaves it doubtful whether it may not be derived from *vara*, 'fat, grease.'



ye are, bestowers of kingship: bestow ye kingship on me, hail!—Devoted ye are, bestowers of kingship: bestow ye kingship on N. N.!' With that (water) he sprinkles: it is with food he thereby consecrates him, and food he thereby bestows upon him. For even as this fire burns up (the wood) so does that sun yonder, even in rising, burn up the plants, the food. But those waters coming down, quench that (heat), for if those waters were not to come down, there would be no food left remaining here: it is with food he thus sprinkles him. This is one kind of water: it is that he now brings.

17. He then takes honey with, 'Most powerful ye are, bestowers of kingship: bestow ye kingship on me, hail!—Most powerful ye are, bestowers of kingship: bestow ye kingship on N. N.!' With this (water) he sprinkles, and it is by the essence of the waters and plants that he thereby sprinkles him. This is one kind of water: it is that he now brings.

18. He then takes embryonic (waters) of a calving cow with, 'Mighty ye are, bestowers of kingship: bestow ye kingship on me, hail!—Mighty ye are, bestowers of kingship: bestow ye kingship on N. N.!' With that (water) he sprinkles: it is with cattle he thereby consecrates him. This is one kind of water: it is that he now brings.

19. He then takes milk with, 'Man-supporting ye are, bestowers of kingship: bestow ye kingship on me, hail!—Man-supporting ye are, bestowers of kingship: bestow ye kingship on N. N.!' With that (water) he sprinkles:

it is with cattle he thereby consecrates him. This is one kind of water : it is that he now brings.

20. He then takes clarified butter with, 'All-supporting ye are, bestowers of kingship: bestow ye kingship on me, hail!—All-supporting ye are, bestowers of kingship: bestow ye kingship on N. N.!' With that (water) he sprinkles : it is with the essence of cattle he thereby consecrates him. This is one kind of water : it is that he now brings.

21. Having then caught up (moist) sun-motes with the hollow of his hands, he mixes them (with the other kinds of water), with, 'Self-ruling waters ye are, bestowers of kingship: bestow ye kingship on N. N.!' For those sun-motes are indeed self-ruling waters, since they are flowing, as it were, and, not yielding to one another's superiority, keep being now higher now lower : he thus thereby bestows self-ruling power upon him. This is one kind of water : it is that he now brings.

22. These then are seventeen (kinds of) water he brings together, for Pragâpati is seventeenfold, and Pragâpati is the sacrifice : that is why he brings together seventeen kinds of water.

23. Now sixteen kinds of water are those he offers upon ; and he offers sixteen oblations : that makes thirty-two. On two of them he does not offer, viz. on the water from the Sarasvatî and on the sun-motes : that makes thirty-four. For three and thirty are the gods, and Pragâpati is the thirty-fourth : he thus makes him to be Pragâpati (the lord of creatures).

24. And as to why he takes (water) each time after offering,—the ghee, to be sure, is a thunder-

bolt : having won them, one by one, by means of that thunderbolt, the ghee, and made them his own, he takes them.

25. And as to why he does not offer on the (water) from the Sarasvatî,—Sarasvatî, to be sure, is (the goddess of) Speech, and the ghee is a thunderbolt : ‘Lest I should injure (the goddess of) Speech!’ thus (he thinks, and) therefore he does not offer on the water from the Sarasvatî.

26. And as to why he does not offer on the sun-motes : ‘Lest I should offer that oblation in a doubtful way<sup>1</sup>!’ thus (he thinks, and) therefore he does not offer on the sun-motes.

27. He pours them together into an udumbara vessel with, ‘Let the honey-sweet mix with the honey-sweet!’—‘Let those full of essence mix with those full of essence!’ he thereby says;—‘Winning great power (kshatra) for the Kshatriya!’ in saying this he prays in a covert way for power to the Sacrificer.

28. He deposits them in front of the Maitravaruna’s hearth, with, ‘Unimpaired rest ye, the strengthful!’—‘unimpaired by the Rakshas rest ye!’ he thereby says; and by ‘strengthful’ he means to say ‘powerful;’ ‘bestowing great power on the Kshatriya;’—in saying this he prays in an overt way for power to the Sacrificer.

#### FIFTH BRÂHMANA.

1. He consecrates him at the midday Soma-feast. Now Pragâpati is that sacrifice which is here performed, and whence these creatures have been

<sup>1</sup> On account of the doubtful nature of the watery sun-motes.

produced,—and so they are even now produced after this one: he thus places him in the very middle of that Pragâpati, and consecrates him in the middle.

2. Before the Mâhendra (cup) has been drawn,—for that Mâhendra cup is Indra's special (nishkevalya) cup, and so is that Nishkevalya Stotra (hymn) and Nishkevalya Sastra (recitation); and the Sacrificer is Indra: he thus consecrates him in his own resting-place. Hence before the Mâhendra (cup) has been drawn,—

3. He spreads a tiger-skin in front of the Maitrâ-varuṇa's hearth<sup>1</sup>, with (Vâg. S. X, 5), 'Thou art Soma's beauty.' For because when Soma flowed through Indra he (Indra) thereupon became a tiger, therefore he is Soma's beauty: this is why he says, 'Thou art Soma's splendour;'—'may my beauty become like unto thine!' He thus bestows the tiger's beauty on him: therefore he says, 'May my beauty become like unto thine!'

4. He then offers the Pârtha oblations. Now Prithin Vainya was consecrated first of men. He desired that he might appropriate to himself all food. They offered up for him those (oblations), and he appropriated to himself all the food here on earth. They would even call forest beasts to him, saying, 'Come hither thou (beast) so and so, the king wants to cook thee!' Thus he appropriated all food here on earth; and verily he appropriates to himself all food for whom that knows this those (oblations) are offered.

5. There are twelve of them,—for there are

---

<sup>1</sup> Viz. before the 'waters' deposited there, according to V, 3, 4, 28.

twelve months in the year: therefore there are twelve of them.

6. Six he offers before, and six after, the consecration: he thereby places him in the very middle of that Pragâpati, and consecrates him in the middle.

7. Now of those which he offers before the consecration, *Bṛihaspati* is the last (recipient), and of those which he offers after the consecration, *Indra* is the first;—but *Bṛihaspati* is priestly dignity (brahma), and *Indra* is might, vigour: with these two kinds of vigour he thus encloses him on both sides.

8. Those which he offers before the consecration, he offers (resp.) with, 'To *Agni* hail!'—*Agni* is brightness (*tegas*): with brightness he thus sprinkles (endows) him;—'To *Soma* hail!'—*Soma* is princely power (*kshatra*): with princely power he thus sprinkles him;—'To *Savitri* hail!'—*Savitri* is the impeller of the gods: impelled by *Savitri* he thus consecrates him;—'To *Sarasvati* hail!'—*Sarasvati* is Speech: he thus sprinkles him with Speech;—'To *Pûshan* hail!'—*Pûshan* is cattle: with cattle he thus sprinkles him;—'To *Bṛihaspati* hail!'—*Bṛihaspati* is priestly dignity: with priestly dignity he thus sprinkles him. These he offers before the consecration: these are called the *Agni*-named ones.

9. Those which he offers after the consecration, he offers (resp.) with, 'To *Indra* hail!'—*Indra* is vigour: with vigour he thus sprinkles him;—'To the roar hail!'—roar means vigour: with vigour he thus sprinkles him;—'To the noise hail!'—noise means vigour: with vigour he thus sprinkles him;—'To *Amsa* hail!'—*Amsa* is vigour: with vigour he thus sprinkles him;—'To *Bhaga* hail!'—*Bhaga* is vigour: with vigour he thus sprinkles

him;—‘To Aryaman hail!’—he thus makes him the friend (aryaman) of everything here. These he offers after the consecration: these are called the Âditya-named<sup>1</sup> ones.

10. In front of the Maitrâvaruṇa’s hearth are the (four) consecration vessels in which that consecration water is contained<sup>2</sup>.

11. There is a palâsa (*butea frondosa*) one: with (the water of) that (vessel) a Brâhman sprinkles;—the Palâsa tree is priestly dignity (brahman): it is with priestly dignity that he sprinkles (endows) him.

12. There is an udumbara (*ficus glomerata*) one: therewith one of his own (kinsmen, or brothers) sprinkles. The udumbara tree means sustenance, (that is) food, and the ‘own’ means sustenance, for as far as a man’s own goes, so far he does not hunger: thereby his ‘own’ is sustenance, and therefore one of his own (kinsmen) sprinkles with an udumbara (vessel).

13. There is one made of the foot (stem) of the nyagrodha (*ficus indica*): therewith a friendly (mitrya) Râganya sprinkles: for by its feet<sup>3</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> Viz. because three of the recipients of these libations—*Aṃsa*, *Bhaga* and *Aryaman*—belong to the deities called Âdityas, or sons of Aditi.

<sup>2</sup> The water in the Udumbara vessel is now distributed into these four (smaller) vessels.

<sup>3</sup> That is, by its pendant branches. It is well known that the *ficus indica*, or banyan-tree, as it is ordinarily called, has the habit of bending its branches down to the ground, which then strike root and develop new secondary trunks, so that a single tree may in course of time form a large grove. Hence the name here used for the tree (*nyag-rodha*, the downward-growing one). ‘A family tends to multiply families around it, till it becomes the centre of a tribe, just as the banyan tends to surround itself with a forest of its own offspring.’ MacLennan, *Primitive Marriage*, p. 269.

nyagrodha tree is supported, and by the friend (mitra) the Râganya (nobleman or king) is supported: therefore a friendly Râganya sprinkles with (the water of a vessel) made of the foot of a nyagrodha.

14. There is an asvattha (ficus religiosa) one: therewith a Vaisya sprinkles. Because Indra on that (former) occasion called upon the Maruts staying on the Asvattha tree<sup>1</sup>, therefore a Vaisya sprinkles with an asvattha (vessel). These are the consecration vessels.

15. He then prepares two strainers (pavitra), with (Vâg. S. X, 6), 'Purifiers ye are, Vishnu's own; '—the significance is the same (as before<sup>2</sup>). He weaves gold (threads) into them. With them he purifies those consecration waters. As to why he weaves gold (threads) in,—gold is immortal life: that immortal life he lays into these (waters), and hence he weaves gold (threads) in.

16. He purifies with, 'By the impulse of Savitrî I purify you with a flawless purifier, with the rays of the sun.' The significance is the same (as before<sup>3</sup>). 'Not downfallen thou art, the friend of Speech, born of heat,'—'unimpaired by the Rakshas' he means to say when he says, 'not downfallen; '—'the friend of Speech'—as long as there is water in the vital airs, so long (man) speaks with speech: therefore he says, 'the friend of Speech.'

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 34, note 1. The Maruts are constantly identified with the Vis, or people (peasants, &c.) generally, whilst Indra is taken as the divine representative of the ruling class (the king and nobleman).

<sup>2</sup> See I, 1, 3, 1 (part i, p. 19).

<sup>3</sup> See I, 1, 3, 6 (part i, p. 21).

17. 'Born of heat' he says, for from fire springs smoke, from smoke the cloud, from the cloud rain,—it is from fire that these are produced: hence he says, 'born of heat.'

18. 'Soma's portion thou art;,' for when they consecrate him with those (waters), then there is an oblation: therefore he says 'Soma's portion thou art;—'Hail, spiriters of kings!—it is with 'Hail' that he thus purifies them.

19. He distributes them over those (consecration) vessels, with (Vâg. S. X, 7), 'Playmates are these glorious waters;,'—'not overbearing' he means to say, when he says 'playmates;,' and by 'these glorious waters' he means to say 'the powerful ones;,'—'unimpaired, active, enveloping,' he thereby means to say 'ye are unimpaired by the Rakshas;,'—'In the habitations Varuṇa hath made a home;,'—the habitations are the people (clans): 'in the people Varuṇa has made a support' he thereby says;—'he, the child of the waters, in the best of mothers;,'—for he who performs the Râgasûya is indeed the child of the waters: therefore he says, 'the child of the waters, in the best of mothers.'

20. He then makes him (the king) put on garments. There is that one called târpya<sup>1</sup>; therein are

---

<sup>1</sup> This is variously explained, by Kâtyâyana and Sâyaṇa, as a linen one, or simply one soaked in ghee, or a tripâṇa one—i.e. one made of tripârṇa plants, or a thrice saturated one (with ghee)—or one woven out of materials derived from the tripâ plant. It is quite evident that they did not exactly know what to make of it. Indeed, it would almost seem as if the author of the Brâhmaṇa himself was already doubtful as to the meaning of the term. Goldstûcker (s.v. abhisheṣanîya) perhaps rightly takes it to mean a silk under-garment.



wrought<sup>1</sup> all forms of sacrifice : that he makes him put on, with (Vâg. S. X, 8), 'Thou art the inner caul of knighthood (kshatra)!' He thus causes him to be born from out of what is the inner caul (amnion) of knighthood.

21. He then makes him put on one of undyed wool, with, 'Thou art the outer caul of knighthood!' He thus causes him to be born from what is the outer caul (chorion) of knighthood.

22. He then throws over the mantle, with, 'Thou art the womb of knighthood!' He thus causes him to be born from what is the womb of knighthood.

23. He then draws the head-band together, and conceals it (tucks it under) in front<sup>2</sup>, with, 'Thou art the navel of knighthood!' He thus places him in what is the navel of knighthood.

24. Now some wind it quite round about (the navel) saying, 'that (band) is his navel, and this navel goes all round.' But let him not do this, but let him merely tuck it under in front, for this navel is in front. And as to why he makes him put on the garments ;—he thereby causes him to be born<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> According to the commentators, figures of sacrificial spoons, cups, &c., are sewn in by means of a needle.

<sup>2</sup> The commentators do not seem to be quite in accord in regard to this particular item of the ceremonial. The most natural explanation, however, seems to be this : the head-band (turban, *ushnîsha*) is wound (? once) round the head and tied behind ; the ends being then drawn over the shoulders so as to hang down from the neck in the manner of a brahmanical cord (or like the ribbon of an order) ; and being finally tucked in under the mantle somewhere near the navel.

<sup>3</sup> Viz. inasmuch as the garments are intended to symbolically represent the vestures of the embryo and stages of birth.

thinking, 'I will anoint him when born : ' that is why he makes him put on the garments.

25. Now some put off those garments<sup>1</sup>, and make him put on again the garment of initiation. But let him not do this ; for, the limbs<sup>2</sup> being his natural vestments, they deprive him of his limbs, of his native bodily form. The garment of initiation belongs to Varuṇa. Let him put on one of those same garments : he (the priest) thereby causes him to be furnished with his limbs, his native bodily form. The garment of initiation belongs to Varuṇa : he thus saves him from the Varuṇic garment of initiation.

26. And when he enters the bath<sup>3</sup> they throw it into (the water). This is a congruous<sup>4</sup> performance. After putting on one of those same garments he comes out (of the bath). Let him give away those (garments) either when the omentum of the barren cow has been offered<sup>5</sup>, or at the completing oblation<sup>6</sup>.

27. He (the Adhvaryu) then strings the bow, with, 'Thou art Indra's Vṛitra-killer ;' for the bow

<sup>1</sup> This change of garments takes place optionally when the Mâhendra libation is about to be offered. Kâty. XV, 5, 16 ; 7, 23-26.

<sup>2</sup> That is, according to Sâyana, the skin, &c.

<sup>3</sup> That is, at the end of the Râgasūya. In case of the change of garments before the Mâhendra libation, the king keeps on the initiation garment in entering and coming out of the bath. This paragraph is of course put in here by anticipation, merely in order to state all that relates to the garments.

<sup>4</sup> Viz. inasmuch as it is in accordance with what is done at an ordinary Soma-sacrifice, at the end of which the Sacrificer and his wife enter the bath and come forth with fresh garments. See part ii, p. 385. In the present case the king is to enter the bath clothed in one of those three garments, and in coming out he is to put on another of them.

<sup>5</sup> See part ii, pp. 391-2.

<sup>6</sup> For the Udavasâniyâ-ishî, see ib. p. 389.

is indeed a *Vṛitra*-killer, and the Sacrificer is Indra, —he is Indra in a twofold way, both as a Kshatriya, and as Sacrificer: therefore he says, ‘Thou art Indra’s *Vṛitra*-killer.’

28. He then strokes the two arms<sup>1</sup>, with, ‘Mitra’s thou art,—Varuṇa’s thou art;’ for the bow is within the two arms, and by his two arms the *Rāganya* pertains to Mitra and Varuṇa: therefore he says, ‘Mitra’s thou art, Varuṇa’s thou art.’ He hands it to him, with, ‘May he slay *Vṛitra* by thee!’ whereby he means to say, ‘May he slay by thee his spiteful enemy!’

29. He then hands him three arrows. That first one by which he pierces on shooting<sup>2</sup>, that is one, that one is this earth, that one is called ‘*drībā*.’ And the one by which (the enemy) being pierced lies either living or dead, that is the second, that is this air, that is called ‘*rugā*.’ And the one with which he misses (his aim)<sup>3</sup>, that is the third, that is yonder sky, that is called ‘*kshumā*.’ For these are the three (kinds of) arrows: therefore he hands him three arrows.

30. These he hands to him with, ‘Protect ye him in front<sup>4</sup>!—Protect ye him from behind!—Protect ye him from the side!—Protect ye

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the arms of the king, as it would seem, according to *Sâyana*; but the arms (or ends) of the bow, according to Karka and Mahîdhara.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, on fixing (the arrow on the string); or perhaps, on hitting (the enemy).

<sup>3</sup> *Sâyana* takes *apa-râdhnoti* in the sense of ‘he hurts (or hits)’ the enemy. In the *Kânva* text (Grantha MS.) the three arrows are called *rugā*, *drīvā*, and *kshupā* resp.

<sup>4</sup> Or perhaps,—whilst (he is) moving forward,—whilst moving backward,—whilst moving sideways.

him from (all) quarters!’ Thus he makes all the quarters safe from arrows for him. And as to why he hands the bow to him;—this, the bow, truly is the nobleman’s strength: it is because he thinks, ‘I will consecrate him when endowed with strength!’ that he hands the weapon to him<sup>1</sup>.

31. Thereupon he makes him pronounce the âvid formulas<sup>2</sup> (Vâg. S. X, 9), ‘In sight, ye mortals!’ This is mysterious, for mysterious is Pragâpati: he thus announces him to Pragâpati, and this one approves of his consecration; and approved by him he is consecrated.

32. ‘Present is Agni, the house-lord;’—Agni is the priesthood (brahman); he thus announces him to the priesthood; and it approves of his consecration, and approved by it he is consecrated.

33. ‘Present is Indra, the far-famed;’—Indra is the nobility: he thus announces him to the nobility; and it approves of his consecration, and approved by it he is consecrated.

34. ‘Present are Mitra and Varuṇa, the upholders of the law;’—Mitra and Varuṇa are the out-breathing and in-breathing: he thus announces him to the out-breathing and in-breathing, and they approve of his consecration, and approved by them he is consecrated.

35. ‘Present is Pûshan, the all-possessing;’

<sup>1</sup> For a sham fight with arrows forming part of the ceremony in the Black Yagus ritual, see p. 100, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> That is, as would seem, the formulas of information (or perhaps of announcement, introduction); the first of these formulas beginning with âvis (in sight), the others with the participle âvitta, i. e. ‘obtained, present;’ Sâyaṇa and Mahîdhara, however, taking it in the sense of ‘informed,’—a meaning which, indeed, the word may perhaps have been intended to convey in these formulas.

Pūshan is (the lord of) cattle : he thus announces him to the cattle, and they approve of his consecration ; and approved by them he is consecrated.

36. 'Present are Heaven and Earth, the all-propitious;'—he thus announces him to those two, the heaven and the earth, and they approve of his consecration ; and approved by them he is consecrated.

37. 'Present is Aditi, of wide shelter;'—Aditi is this earth : he thus announces him to this earth, and she approves of his consecration, and approved by her he is consecrated. Thus to whatever deities he announces him, they approve of his consecration, and approved by them he is consecrated.

#### FOURTH ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMAṆA.

1. He puts a piece of copper<sup>1</sup> into the mouth of a long-haired man, with (Vâg. S. X, 10), 'Removed by sacrifice are the mordacious.' For verily he who performs the Râgasūya escapes all kinds of death, all murderous blows, and old age alone is his death : hence whatever kind of death, whatever murderous blow there is, past that he now guides him, as past the mordacious ones.

2. And as to why it is of a long-haired man,—such a long-haired man is neither woman nor man ; for being a male, he is not a woman, and being long-haired (a eunuch), he is not a man. And copper (or bronze) is neither iron nor gold ; and those mordacious ones (snakes) are neither worms nor non-worms. And as to its being copper,—reddish

<sup>1</sup> Lohâyasa, literally, 'red metal,' apparently either copper, or an alloy of copper and some other metal.—The eunuch is sitting in the Sadas.

to be sure are mordacious ones: therefore (he throws it in the face) of a long-haired man.

3. He then makes him ascend the regions, with (Vâg. S. X, 10-14), 'Ascend thou the East! May the Gâyatrî (metre) protect thee, the Rathantara-sâman, the threefold stoma, the spring season, the Priesthood, that precious treasure!'

4. 'Ascend thou the South! May the Tri-*shṭubh* protect thee, the *Bṛîhat-sâman*, the fifteenfold stoma, the summer season, the Knighthood, that precious treasure!'

5. 'Ascend thou the West! May the *Gagatî* protect thee, the *Vairûpa-sâman*, the seventeenfold stoma, the rainy season, the Peasantry, that precious treasure!'

6. 'Ascend thou the North! May the *Anu-*shṭubh** protect thee, the *Vairâga-sâman*, the twenty-onfold stoma, the autumn season, fruit, that precious treasure!'

7. 'Ascend thou the upper region! May the *Paṅkti* protect thee, the *Sâkvara* and *Raivata-sâmans*, the thrice-ninefold and the three and thirtyfold stomas, the winter and dewy season, spiritual lustre, that precious treasure!'

8. And as to why he makes him ascend the quarters,—that is a form of the seasons: it is the seasons, the year, that he thereby makes him ascend; and having ascended the seasons, the year, he is high, high above everything here, and everything here is below him.

9. On the hind part of the tiger's skin<sup>1</sup> a piece of

<sup>1</sup> This was spread out in front of the *Maitrâvaruṇa's* hearth, see V, 3, 5, 3.

lead is laid down. He kicks it off with his foot, with (Vâg. S. X, 14), 'Kicked off is Namukî's head!' Now there was once an Asura, Namukî by name. Indra knocked him down, and trod with his foot upon him. And in that he, thus trodden upon, bulged out, that (is the origin of) a rupture. He tore off his head with his foot, and therefrom sprang a goblin (Rakshas). That one kept calling out to him, 'Whither art thou going? Where wilt thou rid thyself of me?'

10. He beat it off with (a disk of) lead: hence lead is soft; for it has lost its spring, as it beat off (the goblin) with all its might. Hence also, while being like gold, it is not worth anything; for it has lost its spring, as it beat off (the goblin) with all its might. And so, indeed, he (Indra) thereby beat off the fiends, the Rakshas; and in like manner this one (the king) thereby beats off the fiends, the Rakshas.

11. He then makes him step upon the tiger's skin, with (Vâg. S. X, 15), 'Thou art Soma's beauty;'—For because when Soma flowed through Indra, he (Indra) thereupon became a tiger, and therefore he is Soma's beauty: this is why he says, 'Thou art Soma's beauty;'—'May my beauty be like unto thine!'—The tiger's beauty he thereby bestows upon him: therefore he says, 'May my beauty be like unto thine!'

12. Below (the king's foot) he throws a (small) gold plate, with, 'Save (him) from death!'—Gold is immortal life: he thus takes his stand on immortal life.

13. Then there is (another) gold plate, perforated either with a hundred, or with nine, holes. If with

a hundred holes,—man here lives up to a hundred (years), and has a hundred energies, a hundred powers; therefore it is perforated with a hundred holes. And if with nine holes,—there are in man those nine vital airs: therefore it is perforated with nine holes.

14. That (gold plate) he lays upon his head, with, 'Might thou art, victory thou art, immortality thou art!' Gold being immortal life, he thus lays immortal life into him. And as to why there are gold plates on both sides,—gold being immortal life,—he thus encloses him on both sides with immortal life: this is why there are gold plates on both sides.

15. He then lifts up his arms, with (Vâg. S. X, 16<sup>1</sup>), 'Golden-bodied, ye two lords rise like the sun: mount ye the chariot, O Mitra and Varuṇa, and thence behold Aditi and Diti!' Mitra and Varuṇa verily are the two arms, and the chariot (-seat) is the man: therefore he says, 'Mount ye the chariot, O Mitra and Varuṇa!'—'thence behold Aditi and Diti!' By this he means to say, 'See ye your own (property) and that of others!'

16. Let him not lift up (the king's arms) with that one, but let him rather lift them up with, 'Thou art Mitra, thou art Varuṇa;' for Mitra-Varuṇa are the two arms, and by his arms the Râganya belongs to Mitra and Varuṇa: let him therefore lift up his arms with, 'Thou art Mitra, thou art Varuṇa.'

---

<sup>1</sup> In *Rîk* S. V, 62, 8 the verse runs as follows:—At the glow of the dawn, at the rising of the sun, ye, O Mitra and Varuṇa, mount your golden-formed, iron-pillared chariot; thence ye behold Aditi and Diti (? the boundless space and the bounded).



17. And as to why he anoints him (standing) with upstretched arms;—those arms in truth are the Râganya's power, and power also is that collected essence of the waters wherewith he now anoints him: 'Lest that power, the collected essence of the waters, weigh down (paralyze) this power of mine, the arms,' thus he thinks, and therefore he anoints him (standing) with upstretched arms.

## SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. He (the king) is anointed (sprinkled) whilst standing with his face turned towards the east. A Brâhman—either the Adhvaryu, or he who is his (the king's) court chaplain—sprinkles him in front, from behind;—

2. With (Vâg. S. X, 17), 'With Soma's glory I sprinkle thee,'—'with vigour' he thereby says;—'With Agni's glow...<sup>1</sup>,'—'with vigour' he thereby says;—'With Sûrya's splendour...,'—'with vigour' he thereby says;—'With Indra's energy...,'—'with vigour' he thereby says;—'Be thou the chieftain of chiefs!'—'be thou the supreme king of kings' he thereby says;—'Guard (him)<sup>2</sup> against darts!'—darts meaning arrows, it is past murder by arrows that he thus guides him: therefore he says, 'guard him against darts!'

3. [Vâg. S. X, 18] 'Quicken him, O gods, to

<sup>1</sup> While the preceding formula is used by the priest, the present and two succeeding ones (each with the words '... I sprinkle thee; guard him against darts!') are pronounced by the other three persons specified in V, 3, 5, 12-14, each sprinkling the king with the water in his respective vessel.

<sup>2</sup> Mahîdhara explains: 'O Soma, protect him, the Sacrificer, in overcoming the enemy's missiles.'

be unrivalled!—he thereby says, ‘Quicken him, O gods, so as to be without an enemy;’—‘For great chiefdom, for great lordship!’—in this there is nothing obscure;—‘For man-rule!’—‘for the ruling of men’ he thereby says;—‘For Indra’s lordly sway!’—‘for power’ he means to say, when he says, ‘for Indra’s lordly sway!’—‘Him, the son of such and such (a man), the son of such and such (a woman),’—whatever be his parentage regarding that he says this;—‘of such and such a people’—that is to say, of the people whose king he is;—‘This man, O ye (people), is your king, Soma is the king of us Brâhmans!’—he thereby causes everything here to be food for him (the king); the Brâhman alone he excepts: therefore the Brâhman is not to be fed upon, for he has Soma for his king<sup>1</sup>.

4. He (the king) then rubs the sprinkled water

---

<sup>1</sup> Either at this juncture, or after the game at dice, the *Hotri* recites the legend of *Sunaśsepha*, as given Ait. Br. VII, 13–18.—‘King *Harisandra*, of the race of *Ikshvâku*, being childless, made a vow that if he obtained a son he would sacrifice him to *Varuṇa*. A son was born, who received the name of *Rohita*, but the father postponed, under various pretexts, the fulfilment of his vow. When at length he resolved to perform the sacrifice, *Rohita* refused to be the victim, and went out into the forest, where he lived for six years. He then met a poor Brâhman *Rishi* called *Agîgarta*, who had three sons, and *Rohita* purchased from *Agîgarta*, for a hundred cows, the second son, named *Sunaśsepha*, to be the substitute for himself in the sacrifice. *Varuṇa* approved of the substitute, and the sacrifice was about to be performed, the father receiving another hundred cows for binding his son to the sacrificial post, and a third hundred for agreeing to slaughter him. *Sunaśsepha*, however, saved himself by reciting verses in honour of different deities, and was received into the family of *Viśvâmitra*, who was one of the officiating priests.’ Dowson, Dict. of Hindu Mythology.

over himself with the horn of a black antelope; for that collected essence of the waters wherewith he now anoints him means vigour: 'May this vigour of mine spread through my whole self,' thus he thinks, and therefore he rubs it all over himself.

5. He rubs it over himself, with (Vāg. S. X, 19), 'Forth from the back of the mountain, of the bull,'—even as the mountain stands out here, even as the bull stands out beyond the cattle, so does he who performs the Rāgasūya stand out beyond everything here, and everything here is below him: therefore he says, 'Forth from the back of the mountain, of the bull,'—'The ships keep moving, the self-pouring; they, the upwards bent, have turned back downwards, flowing after the 'dragon of the deep'¹.'

6. He then makes him step the (three) Vishṇu-steps within (the extent of) the tiger's skin, with, 'Vishṇu's outstepping thou art! Vishṇu's outstep thou art! Vishṇu's step thou art!' Now Vishṇu's outstepping (vikramaṇa), Vishṇu's outstep (vikrānta), and Vishṇu's step (krānta)² are these (three) worlds: thus having ascended these worlds, he is high above everything here, and everything here is below him.

7. He then pours the remainders (of the water) together into the Brāhman's vessel: he thereby makes the Brāhman an object of respect after the king, whence the Brāhman is an object of respect after the king.

¹ Ahi Budhnya, the Πύθων ὄφις of Hellenic mythology (St. Petersburg dict.).

² In the Black Yagus ritual the three steps are called 'krama, krānta, and vikrānta.'

8. And to him who is his (the king's) dearest son, he hands that vessel, thinking, 'May this son of mine perpetuate this vigour of mine!'

9. He then returns to the Gârhapatya fire, (his son) holding on to him behind, and offers, with (Vâg. S. X, 20), 'O Pragâpati, than thee none other hath encompassed all these forms: for whatsoever object we sacrifice, let that accrue unto us!—This one is the father of N. N.!'—him who is the son, he makes the father, and him who is the father, he makes the son<sup>1</sup>: he thereby links together the vigour of both of them.—'N. N. is the father of this one!' him who is the father, he makes the father, and him who is the son, he makes the son: after linking together the vigour of these two, he puts it again in the proper way,—'May we be the lords of riches, hail!'—this is the blessing of that ceremony: a blessing he thereby invokes.

10. And any residue that is left over, he offers in the Âgnîdhriya; for redundant is that residue, and redundant also is the Âgnîdhriya,—in the Gârhapatya they cook the oblations, and in the Âhavantiya they offer, but that one is redundant: thus he puts the redundant to the redundant. He offers it on the north part (of the hearth), for that is the region of that god (Rudra): hence he offers it on the north

<sup>1</sup> By way of illustration, Mahîdhara explains what would have happened at the inauguration of king Dasaratha (of Ayodhyâ), the father of Râma; viz. in that case the first formula would run,—'Râma is the father of Dasaratha;' and the second—'Dasaratha is the father of Râma.' According to the ceremonial of the Black Yagus the offering of the residue takes place at the house (first of the favourite son, according to Âpastamba, and then) of the queen. Taitt. S., vol. ii, p. 154.

part. He offers with, 'O Rudra, whatever potent<sup>1</sup>, highest name is thine, therein thou art an offering, thou art a home-offering, hail!'

### THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. North of the Âhavanîya he places a hundred, or more than a hundred, cows of that relative of his. The reason why he does so is this :

2. When Varuṇa was consecrated, his energy, his vigour departed from him. Probably<sup>2</sup> that collected essence (life-sap) of the waters wherewith they were sprinkling him, drove out his energy, his vigour. He found it in the cattle, and because he found it in them, therefore cattle are an object of respect. And having found it in the cattle, he again took to himself his energy, his vigour. And in like manner this one ;—that energy does not indeed depart from him, but he does it (thinking), 'This Râgasûya is Varuṇa's consecration, and Varuṇa did so.'

3. He takes down the chariot (from the stand<sup>3</sup>) ; for whatever turns away from the warrior (râganya) that he overtakes with his chariot : for this reason he takes down the chariot.

4. He takes it down with (Vâg. S. X, 21), 'Thou art Indra's thunderbolt!' The chariot is indeed a thunderbolt ; and the Sacrificer is Indra ;—he is Indra for a twofold reason, namely because he is a

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of krivi (krayi, Taitt. S.) is doubtful. Mahîdhara derives it from 'kar' (to make or injure), in the sense of either 'efficacious,' or 'destructive.'—A Grantha MS. of the Kâṇva text reads kavi, 'wise.'

<sup>2</sup> I am now inclined to think that some such meaning as 'probably, perhaps' (more nearly, German 'wohl'), fits all the passages (in the Brâhmanas at all events) where *śasvat* occurs.

<sup>3</sup> See above, V, 1, 4, 3 seq.

Kshatriya, and because he is a Sacrificer : therefore he says, 'Indra's thunderbolt thou art.'

5. Having turned it (so as to stand) inside the Vedi, he yokes it with, 'I yoke thee by the direction of Mitra and Varuna, the directors<sup>1</sup>;' for Mitra and Varuna are the two arms, and by his arms the Râganya belongs to Mitra and Varuna : that is why he says, 'I yoke thee by direction of Mitra and Varuna, the directors.'

6. He yokes it with four (horses). He passes along by the same way as that on which the dakshinâs<sup>2</sup> go,—behind the Sadas, and in front of the hall. He stops it behind the kâtvâla, and in front of the Âgnidhra.

7. He mounts it with, 'For unfeebleness (I mount) thee, for svadhâ<sup>3</sup> (I mount) thee!'—by 'for unfeebleness thee' he means to say, 'for a state free from afflictions (I mount) thee;' by 'for svadhâ thee' he means to say, 'for life-sap (I mount) thee;'—'I, the unharmed Arguna!' Now Indra is called Arguna, which is his mystic name; and this (king) is Indra for a twofold reason, namely because he is a Kshatriya, and because he is a Sacrificer : therefore he says, 'the unharmed Arguna.'

8. He then goads on the right yoke-horse, with, 'Conquer thou by the impulse of the Maruts!' For the Maruts are the clansmen, and it is by his

<sup>1</sup> *Prasâstri*, 'the director,' is also another name for the Maitrâ-varuna priest.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the cows given to priests as sacrificial fee. For particulars regarding the passage by which they are driven to their destination, see part ii, p. 344, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Probably here 'for well-being;' the author, however, evidently takes it here in the sense of 'invigorating potion,' the drink offered to the deceased ancestors.

clan that the chieftain wins what he desires to win : therefore he says, ' Conquer thou by the impulse of the Maruts !'

9. He then stops (the chariot) in the midst of the cows<sup>1</sup>, with, ' May we obtain by the mind !' For it is by the mind that everything here (that is obtained) is obtained ; and by the mind therefore he now obtains everything : therefore he says, ' May we obtain by the mind !'

10. He then touches a cow with the end of the bow, with, ' Together with energy !'—energy means vigour, kine : it is energy, vigour, he thereby takes to himself. And he adds, ' I overpower them, I seize them !'

11. Now as to why he stops amidst the cows of his relative,—whatever is tending away from a man, be it either fame, or anything else, that passes over to his relative foremost of all ;—that energy, or vigour, he now takes again from his relative to himself : that is why he stops amidst the cows of his relative.

12. In return he presents to him just as many (cows)<sup>2</sup>, or more. For assuredly he, the Sacrificer,

---

<sup>1</sup> In the ceremonial of the Black Yagus a sham-fight takes place here. East or north of the sacrificial ground a Râganya has posted himself with bow in hand. The king discharges the arrows at him, with, ' Obtained is the mind !' and having thus, as it were, overpowered the enemy, he wheels round in a sunwise direction, with, ' I (have become endowed) with energy, with vigour !' He then puts on shoes of boar's skin, with, ' Thou art the mettle of cattle,' gets down from the chariot, and puts on ornaments of silver, copper (as Sâyana here interprets audumbara), and gold (afterwards to be given to the Brahman). Then follow the oblations relating to the unyoking of the chariot. Taitt. S. I, 8, 15, with commentary.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. as many as he has taken from him, a hundred or more.

is not capable of a cruel deed ; but cruelly indeed he acts when he says, 'I overpower them, I seize them;' and thus that is done by him without cruelty: this is why, in return, he presents to him just as many (cows) or more.

13. He then pulls the right-side (horses, or reins). He passes along on the same way as that on which the dakshinâ (cows) go,—in front of the sacrificial post, and along the south of the Vedi. Behind the Sadas, and in front of the hall, he stops that (car).

14. [Vâg. S. X, 22], 'Lest, O Indra, over-powerer of the mighty, we be wanting thee, heedless through ungodliness,—mount thou, O divine wielder of the thunderbolt, the chariot which thou restrainest (as well as its) well-horsed reins<sup>1</sup>.' With this (verse) he stops (the chariot);—reins (rasmi<sup>2</sup>) means bridle (abhitsu): therefore he says, 'Thou restrainest the well-horsed reins.' Thereupon he offers the (four oblations) relating to the unyoking of the chariot. 'Well-pleased the chariot shall be when unyoked,' he thinks, and therefore he offers the (oblations) relating to the unyoking of the chariot.

15. He offers with (Vâg. S. X, 23), 'To Agni, the House-lord, hail!' He thereby pleases the part of the chariot relating to Agni; and it is the shoulder-pieces of the chariot that relate to Agni: it is the shoulder-pieces (of the yoke) he thereby pleases. And the house-lord's position means prosperity: as much as he (the king) rules over, for

<sup>1</sup> For a different version of this somewhat awkwardly constructed verse, see *Rik* S. V, 33, 3.

<sup>2</sup> The explanation is given because the word has also the meaning 'ray.'



the prosperity, the house-lordship, of that his kingship is thereby rendered free (unopposed).

16. 'To Soma, the wood-lord (tree), hail!' There are two kinds of (objects) coming from trees, the wheels of chariots and waggon, for both of these he thereby ensures safety. And the wood-lord (tree) being Soma,—whatever part of the chariot comes from the tree, that he thereby pleases. Now the parts of the chariot coming from trees are the wooden pieces of the chariot : hence it is the wooden pieces he thereby pleases. And Soma being the nobility, it is over the nobility that his kingship is thereby rendered free.

17. 'To the strength of the Maruts, hail!' He thereby pleases the part of the chariot belonging to the Maruts,—there are four horses, the chariot the fifth, and the warrior (chariot-fighter) and charioteer two—these are seven, and the host of the Maruts consists of (troops of) seven each : he thereby pleases the whole chariot ; and the Maruts being the peasants, it is over the peasantry that his kingship is thereby rendered free.

18. 'To Indra's energy, hail!' He thereby pleases the part of the chariot that belongs to Indra. Now the warrior relates to Indra, and it is the warrior he thereby pleases. And Indra's energy (indriya) means the vigour in Indra<sup>1</sup> : it is in regard to energy, vigour, that his kingship is thereby rendered free.

19. He then puts on shoes of boar's skin. Now the gods once put a pot of ghee on the fire. Therefrom a boar was produced : hence the boar is fat,

---

<sup>1</sup> ? Or, means vigour, Indra.

for it was produced from ghee. Hence also cows readily take to a boar : it is indeed their own essence (life-sap, blood) they are readily taking to. Thus he firmly establishes himself in the essence of the cattle : therefore he puts on shoes of boar's skin.

20. Looking down on this (earth) he then mutters, 'O mother Earth, injure me not, nor I thee!' For the Earth was once afraid of Varuṇa, when he had been consecrated, thinking, 'Something great surely has he become now that he has been consecrated : I fear lest he may rend me asunder!' And Varuṇa also was afraid of the Earth, thinking, 'I fear lest she may shake me off! Hence by that (formula) he entered into a friendly relation with her ; for a mother does not injure her son, nor does a son injure his mother.

21. Now this Râgasûya is Varuṇa's consecration ; and the Earth is afraid of him, thinking, 'Something great surely has he become now that he has been consecrated : I fear lest he may rend me asunder!' And he also is afraid of her, thinking, 'I fear lest she may shake me off.' Hence he thereby enters into a friendly relation with her ; for a mother does not injure her son, nor does a son injure his mother : therefore he mutters thus.

22. He steps down (from the chariot), muttering this *atikhandas* verse (*Vâg. S. X, 24; Rik S. IV, 40, 5*), 'The swan dwelling in the light, the Vasu dwelling in the air, the priest seated on the altar, the guest dwelling in the retreat (house), —the man-dwelling, the space-dwelling<sup>1</sup>, the law-dwelling, the sphere-dwelling, the water-

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps, 'in the best place (vara).' See VI, 7, 3, 11.

born, cow-born, law-born, rock-born (is) the great truth.' For that *atikkandas* (or excessive metre) comprises all the metres: thus evil does not descend along with him.

23. Let not the charioteer get down along with (or, after) him, lest he should descend on the same world on which the anointed (king) has just descended. They put him up, along with the chariot, on the car-stand. Thence he leaps down: thus he does not descend on the same world on which the anointed has just descended <sup>1</sup>.

24. North of the Âhavanīya is the original fire, taken up (from the hearth <sup>2</sup>). Behind the right hind-wheel of the cart-stand he fastens two round *satamānas* <sup>3</sup>.

25. He then hides an *udumbara* (*figus glomerata*) branch (in the wheel-track). He touches one of those two (plates), with (*Vâg. S. X, 25*), 'So great thou art, life thou art: bestow life upon me! A yoke-mate thou art, lustre thou art: bestow lustre upon me!' He thereby takes life and lustre to himself.

26. He then touches the *udumbara* branch, with, 'Sustenance thou art: bestow sustenance upon me!' He thereby takes sustenance (strength) to himself. Those same two round *satamānas* are the fee for this ceremony. He gives them to the

<sup>1</sup> According to *Taitt. Br. I, 7, 9, 6*, the king, on returning to the Veda, is supposed to have ascended to the heavenly world (*suvargaloka*), from which the charioteer is to be excluded by this expedient.

<sup>2</sup> The Âhavanīya of the hall (the so-called 'hall-door fire') has been lifted and placed on a cart.

<sup>3</sup> Or, two round (gold) plates, weighing a hundred *māna* (or berries of *Guṛgā*, or *Abrus Precatorius*, the average weight of which is stated to be  $1\frac{5}{16}$  grains Troy).

Brahman priest, for the Brahman protects the sacrifice from the south : therefore he gives them to the Brahman.

27. In front of the Maitrâvaruṇa's hearth the dish of curds for Mitra and Varuṇa has been deposited. He draws down to it his (the Sacrificer's) two arms<sup>1</sup>, with, 'I draw you down, the arms of Indra, the doer of mighty deeds.' Now curds are the essence of cattle : hence it is to the essence of cattle that he thereby brings down his (the Sacrificer's) arms. And as to its being for Mitra-Varuṇa, it is because Mitra and Varuṇa are the two arms.

#### FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. He proceeds with the curds for Mitra-Varuṇa. Whilst the Svishṭakṛit of it remains yet unoffered, they bring a throne-seat for him (the king) ; for truly he who gains a seat in the air, gains a seat above (others) : thus these subjects of his sit below him who is seated above,—that is why they bring him a throne-seat. It is of khadira (acacia catechu) wood, and perforated, and bound with thongs as that of the Bhâratas.

2. He places it (on the tiger's skin), in front of the Maitrâvaruṇa's hearth, with (Vâg. S. X, 26), 'Thou art pleasant, thou art soft-seated!'—he thereby renders it kindly and auspicious.

3. He then spreads a mantle over it, with, 'Thou art the womb (seat) of knighthood!'—he thus

---

<sup>1</sup> Whilst this is done, the king stands on the tiger's skin, and the Adhvaryu hands him his bow and arrows. Thereupon the dish of curds is taken to the uttaravedi to be proceeded with. Kâty. Sr. XV, 6, 34-35.

makes it (the king's throne) the very womb of knighthood.

4. He then makes him sit down on it, with, 'Seat thee on the pleasant one! seat thee on the soft-seated!'—whereby he says, 'Seat thyself on the kindly and auspicious (seat)!—'Seat thee in the womb of knighthood!'—thus he places him in what is the very womb of knighthood.

5. Having touched him on the chest, he then mutters (*Vâg. S. X, 27; Rik S. I, 25, 10*), 'He hath sat down, the upholder of the sacred law,'—the king indeed is the upholder of the sacred law, for he is not capable of all and every speech, nor of all and every deed; but that he should speak only what is right, and do what is right, of that he, as well as the *Srotriya* (the *Brâhman* versed in sacred writ), is capable; for these two are the upholders of the sacred law among men: therefore he says, 'He hath sat down, the upholder of the sacred law;'—'Varuṇa, in the home-steads,'—the home-steads are the peasants (clans, people): 'among the peasants' he means to say;—'for supreme rule, he the wise!'—'for kingship' he means to say when he says, 'for supreme rule, he the wise.'

6. He then throws the five dice<sup>1</sup> into his hand,

---

<sup>1</sup> The allusions to the game of dice in the early literature are not sufficiently definite to enable us to form a clear idea as to the manner in which the game was played. *Sâyana*, on our passage (as on *Taitt. S. I, 8, 16*), remarks that the dice here used consisted either of gold cowries (shells) or of gold (dice shaped like) *Vibhītaka* nuts. That the (brown) fruit of the *Vibhītaka* tree (*Terminalia Bellerica*)—being of about the size of a nutmeg, nearly round, with five slightly flattened sides—was commonly used for this purpose in early times, we know from the *Rig-veda*; but we do not know in what manner the dice were marked in those days. Accord-

with (Vâg. S. X, 28), 'Dominant thou art: may these five regions of thine prosper!'—now that

ing to the commentators, the game is played with five dice, four of which are called *krîta*, whilst the fifth is called *kali*; and if all the dice fall uniformly (*ekarûpa*)—i. e. with the marked sides either upwards or downwards—then the player wins, and in that case the *kali* is said to overrule the other dice. In this case the *kali* would seem to represent the king. Kâty. Sr. XV, 7, 18-19, however, admits of another mode of playing, by which the *kali* represents the *sagâta* (tribesman), whilst the king and those that come after him (in the enumeration in paragraphs 15-20) play the *krîta*, &c. To understand this mode, we have probably to turn to *Khandog. Up.* IV, 1, 4, where it is said of the saint Raikva, that everything good fell to him, just as the lower dice (or casts) submit to the conquering *krîta*. Here the commentators assign the names *krîta*, *tretâ*, *dvâpara*, and *kali* to different sides of the die, marked respectively with 4, 3, 2, and 1 marks (*aṅka*).—In *Taitt. Br.* I, 7, 10 the game at dice, at the *Râgasūya*, is referred to as follows:—With, 'This king has overcome the regions,' he hands (to the king) five dice; for these are all the dice: he thereby renders him invincible. They engage (to play) for a dish of rice (*odana*), for that is (a symbol of) the chief: he thus makes him obtain every prosperity. He addresses them (with the epithets of) 'far-famed, most prosperous, true king.' The Commentary and *Sûtras* then supply the following explanations:—The keeper of the dice (*akshâvâpa*), having (marked off and) raised the gambling-ground (by means of the wooden sword), and sprinkled it, throws down more than a hundred—or more than a thousand—gold dice. From them he takes five dice and hands them to the king: these, as representing the five regions, are taken to include all those dice. These explanations, so far from clearing up the doubtful points, seem rather to add to them. It may be noted, however, that in the well-known hymn, *Rîk S. X*, 34, in which the gambler's state of mind is pictured in very expressive language, the dice of the game are apparently spoken of as *tripañkâsa vrâta*, or 'the troop of fifty-three' (or thrice five, according to Ludwig's rather improbable conjecture). For other particulars see R. Roth, *Zeitsch. d. deutsch. morg. Ges.* II, p. 122; A. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* I, p. 284. According to Goldstücker (s.v. *abhishekanîya*) this game of dice is intended to symbolize the victory of the present age, or *kali-yuga*, over the former ages; but the commentator rather takes it as symbolizing the king's dig-vigaya, or victorious sway in every quarter.

one, the Kali, is indeed dominant over the (other) dice, for that one dominates over all the dice : therefore he says, 'Dominant thou art : may these five regions of thine prosper !' for there are indeed five regions, and all the regions he thereby causes to prosper for him.

7. They (the Adhvaryu and his assistants) then silently strike him with sticks on the back ;—by beating him with sticks (*danda*) they guide him safely over judicial punishment (*dandabadha*) : whence the king is exempt from punishment (*adandya*), because they guide him safely over judicial punishment.

8. Thereupon he chooses a boon ; and, verily, whatsoever boon he who has been anointed chooses, that is completely fulfilled for him : therefore he chooses a boon.

9. 'O Brahman !' thus he addresses (the priest) the first time<sup>1</sup>, thinking, 'I will first utter the (word)

---

<sup>1</sup> If it were not for the clear and unmistakable interpretation of the commentators on the Brâhmana and Kâtyâyana, one might feel inclined to translate, 'thus he addresses the first—the second,' &c., so as to bring it into accord with the practice of the Black Yagus. This practice is as follows (Taitt. S. I, 8, 16, with commentary).—The priest moves the previously uplifted arms of the Sacrificer down to the Vaisraveda dish of curds (cf. above, V, 4, 3, 27), with, 'Thou art Mitra !—thou art Varuna !' He then places the khâdira throne-seat on the vedi, covers it with a leathern (or fur) cover, with, 'Thou art the navel of the Kshatra, the womb of the Kshatra,' and makes the king sit down with, 'Seat thee on the pleasant one, seat thee on the soft-seated !' The king sits down, with, 'May it not injure thee ! may it not injure me !' The priest then addresses him, with, 'He hath sat down, the upholder of the sacred law, Varuna in the home-steads, for supreme rule, he the wise !' The priests and Ratnins (see V, 3, 1, 1 seq.) then sit down in a circle round the king in order to do homage to him,—the Adhvaryu being seated towards the east, the Brahman towards the south, the Hotri

Brahman, I will speak speech sped by the Brahman : ' this is why he first addresses him with ' O Brahman ! ' The other answers, ' Thou art Brahman ! Thou art Savitri of true impulsions ! '—he thereby lays vigour into him, and causes Savitri to be of true impulsions.

10. ' O Brahman ! ' thus he addresses him the second time. The other answers, ' Thou art Brahman ! Thou art Varuna of true power ! '—he thereby lays vigour into him, and causes Varuna to be of true power.

11. ' O Brahman ! ' thus he addresses him the third time. The other answers, ' Thou art Brahman ! Thou art Indra, mighty through the people <sup>1</sup> ! '—he thereby lays vigour into him, and causes Indra to be mighty through the people.

12. ' O Brahman ! ' thus he addresses him the

---

towards the west, the Udgâtri towards the north. The king then addresses the Adhvaryu, with, ' O Brahmân, (Om) ! ' That priest replies, ' Thou, O king, art Brahman, thou art Savitri of true impulsions. ' In the same way the king addresses the Brahman, ' O Brahmân ! ' and that priest replies, ' Thou, O king, art Brahman, thou art Indra, of true energy ! ' Then the Hotri, who replies, ' . . . thou art Mitra, the most kindly ! '—the Udgâtri: ' . . . thou art Varuna, of true laws ! ' Thereupon the Brahman hands the sacrificial sword to the king, with, ' Indra's thunderbolt thou art ! ' He then hands to him five dice, with, ' This king has overcome the regions ! ' see next note.—The charioteer, treasurer, and chamberlain are invited by the king (to the game ?) by auspicious epithets ( ' far-famed one, ' ' most prosperous one, ' ' true king ' ). Thereupon the Hotri recites the story of Sunahsepa, whereupon follows the offering of the svishakrit of the cake of the Maruts, and the dish of curds to the Virve Devâh.

<sup>1</sup> Or, he whose strength is the people (vis, visa),—that is, the Maruts, in the case of Indra, and the subjects or peasantry in that of the king. Sây.



fourth time. The other answers, 'Thou art Brahman! Thou art Rudra, the most kindly!'—he thereby lays into him (the king) those former energies, and he appeases him (Rudra); and he, Rudra, therefore, is gracious to every one, because he (the priest) appeases him.

13. 'O Brahman!' thus he addresses him the fifth time. The other answers (undefinedly), 'Thou art Brahman!'—undefined means unlimited: thus heretofore he laid limited vigour into him; but now he answers undefinedly; and undefined meaning unlimited, he thereby lays complete, unlimited vigour into him: therefore he answers here undefinedly.

14. He then hails him as one bearing auspicious names,—'Much-worker, better-worker, more-worker<sup>1</sup>!' Whoever bears such names speaks auspiciously even with a human voice.

15. A Brāhmaṇa then hands to him the sacrificial (wooden) sword,—either the Adhvaryu, or he who is his (the king's) domestic chaplain—with, 'Indra's thunderbolt thou art: therewith serve me!'—the sacrificial sword being a thunderbolt, that Brāhmaṇa, by means of that thunderbolt, makes the king to be weaker than himself; for indeed the king who is weaker than a Brāhmaṇa, is stronger than his enemies: thus he thereby makes him stronger than his enemies.

16. The king hands it to the king's brother, with, 'Indra's thunderbolt thou art: therewith serve me!' Thereby the king makes his brother to be weaker than himself.

17. The king's brother hands it either to the

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, increaser of the prosperity of himself and his people.

Sûta (minstrel and chronicler), or to the Governor, with, 'Indra's thunderbolt thou art: therewith serve me!' Thereby the king's brother makes the Sûta, or the Governor, to be weaker than himself.

18. The Sûta, or the Governor, hands it to the Grâmanî (village-headman<sup>1</sup>), with, 'Indra's thunderbolt thou art: therewith serve me!' Thereby the Sûta, or the Governor, makes the headman to be weaker than himself.

19. The Grâmanî hands it to a tribesman<sup>2</sup>, with, 'Indra's thunderbolt thou art: therewith serve me!' Thereby the headman makes the tribesman to be weaker than himself. And as to why they mutually hand it on in this way, they do so lest there should be a confusion of classes, and in order that (society) may be in the proper order.

20. Thereupon the tribesman and the Prati-prasthâtṛi<sup>3</sup>, with that sacrificial sword, prepare the gaming-ground, (close) by the original fire<sup>4</sup>, with the puroruḥ verse of the Sukra<sup>5</sup>. The Sukra is the eater: he thereby makes (him) the eater.

21. With the puroruḥ verse of the Manthin<sup>6</sup> they then put up a shed (vimita). The Manthin cup is

<sup>1</sup> See p. 60, note.

<sup>2</sup> The sagâta would seem to be one of the peasant proprietors or 'sharers' constituting the village 'brotherhood' ruled over by the headman, and often actually belonging to the same family as the latter (Gaugenosse, clansman).

<sup>3</sup> The first assistant of the Adhvaryu.

<sup>4</sup> That is, north of the Âhavanîya fire, where the cart stands, containing the original (hall-door) fire.

<sup>5</sup> For this verse (Vâg. S. VII, 12; Rîk S. V, 44, 1), preceding the ordinary formula with which the Soma-cups are drawn, see IV, 2, 1, 9 (part ii, p. 280).

<sup>6</sup> Vâg. S. VII, 16; Rîk S. X, 123, 1; see IV, 2, 1, 10.

he that is to be eaten,—thus having first made (him) the feeder, they now make for him one to be fed upon: that is why they put up a shed with the puroruḥ verse of the Manthin cup.

22. The Adhvaryu then takes clarified butter in four ladlings, places a piece of gold on the gaming-ground, and offers with (Vâg. S. X, 29), ‘May ample Agni, the lord of rites, delighted,—may ample Agni, the lord of rites, accept of the butter, hail!’

23. He (the Adhvaryu) throws down the dice, with, ‘Hallowed by Svâhâ, strive ye with Sûrya’s rays for the middlemost place among brethren!’ For that gaming-ground is the same as ‘ample Agni,’ and those dice are his coals, thus it is him (Agni) he thereby pleases; and assuredly in the house of him who offers the Râgasûya, or who so knows this, the striking<sup>1</sup> of that cow is approved of. On those dice he says, ‘Play for the cow!’ The two draught oxen of the original (hall-door) fire are the sacrificial fee.

24. He then says, ‘Pronounce the invitatory prayer to Agni Svishṭakṛit!’ And as to why that ceremony is performed between two oblations,—verily, Pragâpati is that sacrifice which is here performed, and from which these creatures have been produced,—and, indeed, they are even now produced after this one;—thus he places him (the Sacrificer) in the very middle of that Pragâpati, and consecrates him in the very middle: that is why that ceremony is performed between two oblations.

---

<sup>1</sup> Thus (not the slaying) according to the commentary on Kâty. Sr. XV, 7, 20, hantîs kâhananamâtro na mâranârthaḥ.—The cow is the one staked by the tribesman (sagâta).

Having called for the *Sraushat*, he says, 'Pronounce the offering-formula to Agni *Svishtakṛit*,' and offers as the *Vashat* is uttered.

25. He then puts the *idâ* on (the fire). After the invocation of *Idâ*, he touches water and draws the *Mâhendra* cup. Having drawn the *Mâhendra* cup, he sets the chant agoing. He urges him (the Sacrificer) forward to the chant: he gets down (from the throne-seat); he is in attendance at the chant (*stotra*), in attendance at the recitation (*sastra*).

#### THE DASAPEYA.

#### FIFTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Now when *Varuṇa* was consecrated, his lustre departed from him,—lustre means vigour: that *Vishṇu*, the Sacrifice, it was he that departed from him,—probably that collected essence of the waters wherewith he is anointed on that occasion, drove out his lustre.

2. He stole after it with those deities<sup>1</sup>,—with *Savitri*, the impeller (*prasavitri*); with *Sarasvatî*, speech; with *Tvashtri*, the forms of being; with *Pûshan*, cattle; with *Indra*, on the part of him<sup>2</sup> (the Sacrificer); with *Bṛhaspati*, holiness; with *Varuṇa*, might; with *Agni*, fiery spirit; with *Soma*, the King;

<sup>1</sup> In the Black Yagus ritual the order of deities to whom the '*samsrîpâm havimshi*' are offered is as follows,—Agni, *Sarasvatî*, *Savitri*, *Pûshan*, *Bṛhaspati*, *Indra*, *Varuṇa*, *Soma*, *Tvashtri*, *Vishṇu*. Cf. Taitt. S. I, 8, 17; Taitt. Br. I, 8, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Or, with *Indra*, for (the lost vigour) itself. Hardly, 'for us.' The *Kânva* text has '*indrenâsmai*,' and so *Sâyana* (MS. I. O. 657): *asmai apasrîtâya vîryâya tadadhînakaranârtham indrena*; *yad vâ vibhaktivatyayaâ, anena vîryena vîryavatâ indrena*.

—but only through Vishnu<sup>1</sup>, the tenth deity, he found it.

3. And because he there stole after (*anu-sam-srip*) with those deities, hence the name *Samsripah*. And because he becomes consecrated on the tenth day, therefore (this ceremony is called) *Dasapeya*<sup>2</sup>. And because each time ten (men) steal along<sup>3</sup> after each cup, therefore also it is called *Dasapeya*.

4. Here now they say,—‘Let him steal forth after enumerating ten Soma-drinking grandfathers<sup>4</sup>: it is thus that he obtains for himself the Soma-draught of this (*Dasapeya*), for it is a “drinking of ten.”’ But that is an overburdening<sup>5</sup>, for people (will

<sup>1</sup> It seems rather strange that Varuna and Vishnu should be included amongst the deities, with whose help Varuna sought to recover his vigour, or Vishnu the sacrifice; but—‘Twere to consider too curiously, to consider so.

<sup>2</sup> That is, *dasa* (ten) and *peya* (drink, beverage).

<sup>3</sup> For an explanation of the noiseless mode of moving with bent bodies, called *sarpaṇam*, ‘creeping,’ see part ii, pp. 299, 450. It is in this way they are to move when they betake themselves to the respective fire-places for performing the *samsrip* oblations; as they also do when betaking themselves to the *Sadas* to drink the cups of Soma at the Soma-feast on the next day. When libations of Soma-juice are made from the ten cups (*kamasa*, see part ii, p. 287), each cup is to be followed by ten Brāhmans who then take part in consuming the liquor in the *Sadas*—there being thus altogether one hundred Brāhmans taking part in these potations. The contents of the Sacrificer’s cup, on the other hand, may be drunk by ten Rāḡanyas (i. e. himself and nine others). See Kāty. XV, 8, 18–20; Taitt. S., vol. ii, p. 179.

<sup>4</sup> *Sāyana* takes this literally as meaning that he is to call out the name of the Sacrificer’s grandfather, then the grandfather of that one and so on. The commentary on Kāty. XV, 8, 16, on the other hand, apparently takes it to mean ten forefathers of the Sacrificer who have performed Soma-sacrifices, from the grandfather upwards.

<sup>5</sup> That is, an excessive demand, or, a weighing down, or crushing of the Sacrificer, making it impossible for him to perform the ceremony at all.

be able to) obtain only two or three Soma-drinking grandfathers: hence let him steal forth after enumerating those same deities<sup>1</sup>.

5. For, surely, it was by those same deities that Varuṇa obtained the Soma-draught of that (Consecration-ceremony); and in like manner does this one now obtain the Soma-draught of that (ceremony): let him therefore steal forth after enumerating those same deities. Now as soon as the completing oblation<sup>2</sup> of that Consecration-ceremony comes to an end,—

6. He prepares those (*samsrip*) oblations,—a cake on twelve, or eight, potsherds for Savitri; for Savitri is the impeller of the gods: impelled by Savitri, Varuṇa on that occasion stole along; and in like manner does this one now steal along impelled by Savitri. At this (oblation) he presents one lotus-flower<sup>3</sup>.

7. He then prepares a (rice) pap for Sarasvatī,—for Sarasvatī is speech, and it was with speech that Varuṇa on that occasion stole along; and in like manner does this one now steal along with speech. At this (oblation) he presents one lotus-flower.

8. He then prepares a cake on ten potsherds for Tvashtri,—for Tvashtri (the fashioner, creator) rules over living forms, and with Tvashtri, the living forms, Varuṇa on that occasion stole along; and in

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, after pronouncing the mantra, Vâg. S. X, 30, agreeing partly with paragraph 2 above, viz. beginning, 'By Savitri, the impeller; by Sarasvatī, speech,' . . . and ending, 'by Vishṇu, the tenth deity, impelled I steal forth.'

<sup>2</sup> For the Udavasānīyā ish/i, see part ii, p. 389.

<sup>3</sup> The lotus-flowers presented on this occasion are gold ones, according to Sāyana, or optionally ordinary white or gold ones, according to Kāty. XV, 8, 5-6.

like manner does this one now steal along with *Tvashtri*, the living forms. At this (oblation) he presents one lotus-flower.

9. He then prepares a pap for *Pûshan*;—for *Pûshan* is cattle, and with cattle *Varuṇa* on that occasion stole along; and in like manner does this one now steal along with cattle. At this (oblation) he presents one lotus-flower.

10. He then prepares a cake on eleven potsherds for *Indra*;—for *Indriya* means energy, vigour, and with vigour *Varuṇa* on that occasion stole along; and in like manner does this one now steal along with energy, with vigour. At this (oblation) he presents one lotus-flower.

11. He then prepares a pap for *Bṛihaspati*;—for *Bṛihaspati* means holiness, and with holiness *Varuṇa* on that occasion stole along; and in like manner does this one now steal along with holiness. At this (oblation) he presents one lotus-flower.

12. He then prepares a barley pap for *Varuṇa*;—with what vehemence *Varuṇa* seized the creatures, with that vehemence *Varuṇa* on that occasion stole along; and in like manner does this one now steal along with vehemence. At this (oblation) he presents one lotus-flower.

13. The deities of the *Upasad* are the (eighth, ninth, and) tenth<sup>1</sup>. At these (oblations) he presents

---

<sup>1</sup> For the *Upasad*, or preliminary oblations of ghee to *Agni*, *Soma*, and *Vishṇu*, to be performed twice daily for (usually) three days preceding an ordinary *Soma*-sacrifice, see part ii, p. 104. At the *Darapeya*, the ten *Samsṛip*-oblations take as it were the place of the ordinary *Upasads*, the latter being performed on the last three preliminary days along with, and to the same deities as, the last three *Samsṛip*-oblations; or, according to some authorities,

five lotus-flowers. That wreath of twelve lotus-flowers he puts on himself; that is the initiation: by that initiation he initiates himself.

14. And as to why there are twelve (flowers),—there being twelve months in the year, and the year being All, it is by the All that he thus initiates him: what flowers there are of the lotus, they are a form (an image) of the sky, they are a form of the stars; and what seed-stalks there are, they are a form of the air; and what suckers there are, they are a form of this (earth): thus he initiates him (to rule) over these worlds.

15. And having bought the King (Soma)<sup>1</sup>, and

being substituted for them. There seems also some difference of opinion as to the exact time when the other preliminary ceremonies—the procession and entrance of king Soma, the guest-meal, &c.—are to take place, see paragraph 15.—According to Kâty. XV, 8, 14, these ceremonies are to take place on the seventh day (which the commentator, however, takes to mean the seventh day of the light fortnight of Kâitra; the first seven *Samsrîp*-oblations being, according to him, performed on the day before). The Kânvas, however, perform these offerings on separate days.—The Taittirîya authorities seem also to be at variance with each other as to the exact relation of the Upasads and the last three *Samsrîp*-oblations, the deities of the two being, according to their scheme, only partly identical. According to Âpastamba (and Taitt. Br.) the first seven *Samsrîps* are performed on so many days and, moreover, one Dîkshâ on the seventh day. Then on the last three days the *Samsrîps* and Upasads are combined in this way, that the eighth day's *Samsrîp* is performed previous to, the ninth between, the tenth after the two daily Upasad-performances.—Each of the ten oblations also requires a special set of fires for its performance, the first being laid down immediately north of the one used for the Abhishekanîya ceremony, the second immediately north of the first, &c.; the last *Samsrîp*-oblation being performed in the fire-shed (*sâlâ*) of the Dasapeya proper. Kâty. XV, 8, 2-3; cf. Taitt. S., vol. ii, p. 176.

<sup>1</sup> Namely, at the beginning of the Abhishekanîya, or Consecration-ceremony when Soma-plants are purchased sufficient to last



tied him up in two parts, they drive him around. Having then placed one-half on the throne-seat, he proceeds therewith. Having then placed on the throne-seat that portion which was deposited in the Brahman's house, he proceeds with the guest-meal. Whilst he is proceeding with the guest-meal, he performs the Upasads. Whilst he is performing the Upasads,—

16. He prepares those (three) oblations,—a cake on eight potsherds for Agni; a pap for Soma; and a cake on three potsherds, or a pap, for Vishnu. Thus he performs the sacrifice in this way, if it pleases him.

17. But let him not do it in this way; for he who departs from the path of the sacrifice stumbles, and he who departs from the path of the Upasads certainly departs from the path of the sacrifice: let him therefore not depart from the path of the Upasads.

18. Now when he offers to Agni, he steals along with Agni, with fiery spirit; and when he offers to Soma, he steals along with Soma, the King; and when he offers to Vishnu,—Vishnu being the sacrifice,—he visibly obtains the sacrifice, and having visibly obtained it, he makes it his own (or, takes it in).

19. This same (Dasapeya) is an Agnishṭoma sacrifice (performed) with the seventeenfold (stoma)<sup>1</sup>; for Pragâpati is seventeenfold, and Pragâpati is the

---

for both that ceremony and the succeeding Dasapeya; the portion destined for the latter ceremony being meanwhile deposited in the Brahman's house.

<sup>1</sup> All the chants (stotra) of the Dasapeya are to be executed in the seventeenfold mode of chanting, or Saptadara-stoma; for an example of which see part ii, p. 315, note 1.

sacrifice<sup>1</sup>: thus he visibly obtains the sacrifice, and having visibly obtained it, he makes it his own.

20. Twelve heifers with first calf are the sacrificial fee for this (sacrifice); for twelve months there are in the year, and the year is Pragâpati, and Pragâpati is the sacrifice: thus he visibly obtains the sacrifice, and having visibly obtained it, he makes it his own.

21. These (heifers) have twelve embryo calves,—that makes twenty-four; for twenty-four half-moons there are in the year, and the year is Pragâpati, and Pragâpati is the sacrifice: thus he visibly obtains the sacrifice, and having visibly obtained it, he makes it his own.

22. He gives them to the Brahman, for the Brahman guards the sacrifice from the south: therefore he gives them to the Brahman. To the Udgâtri (chanter) he gives the gold wreath, to the Hotri the gold plate, to the two Adhvaryus two golden mirrors, to the Prastotri (precentor) a horse, to the Maitravaruna a sterile cow, to the Brâhmanâkhamsin a bull, to the Neshtri and Potri two garments, to the Akhâvâka (a cart) laden with barley, and yoked (with an ox) on one side, to the Agnidh an ox<sup>2</sup>.

23. Now there are here either twelve or thirteen<sup>3</sup> presents,—for either twelve or thirteen are there months in the year, and the year is Pragâpati, and Pragâpati is the sacrifice: thus he visibly obtains the sacrifice, and having visibly obtained it he makes it his own.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 8, note.

<sup>2</sup> The text has 'gâm agnidhe,' i.e. either 'a bull,' or 'a cow.' So also Kâty. XV. 8, 27. Sâyana, however, refers to another authority,—*anadvâham agnidha iti sûtritam, . . . vahnir vâ anadvân iti hi taittirîyakam.*

<sup>3</sup> That is, according to Sâyana, counting the unborn calves.

## FIFTH ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMAṆA.

1. There is a cake on eight potsherds for Agni: this he places on the eastern part (of the Vedi). There is either a cake on eleven potsherds for Indra, or a rice-pap for Soma: this he places on the southern part. There is a pap for the Visve Devâḥ (All-gods): this he places on the western part. There is a dish of curds for Mitra-Varuṇa: this he places on the north part. There is a pap for Bṛihaspati: this he places in the middle. This is the five-holed pap<sup>1</sup>;—what five sacrificial dishes (havis) there are, for them there are five holes: hence the name ‘five-holed pap.’

2. And as to why the performer of the Râgasûya should perform this offering: because he (the priest) makes him ascend the regions, the seasons, the hymns and metres, he now redeems him therefrom by this (offering). But were the performer of the Râgasûya not to perform this offering, then verily he would become intoxicated (with pride)<sup>2</sup> and would fall down headlong: that is why the performer of the Râgasûya performs this offering.

3. And why he proceeds with the cake on eight

<sup>1</sup> According to Sâyana (MS. I. O. 657) the term ‘Pañkabila’ is derived from the circumstance that the vessel (pâtṛi) on which the five sacrificial dishes are placed when taken about to be ‘deposited’ on the vedi, contains five holes or openings for the dishes to be taken out. The Pañkabila oblations are to be performed during the light fortnight succeeding the performance of the Darapeya,—that is to say, during the fortnight commencing with the new moon of Vaisākha, or in the latter part of April. The Taittirīya ceremonial calls these oblations the ‘Disâm aveshṭayaḥ,’ i. e. ‘Sacrifices performed for the appeasement of the regions.’

<sup>2</sup> Or, would become giddy (in flying through space), cf. Taitt. Br. I, 8, 3, 1.

potsherds for Agni,—because he makes him ascend the eastern region, the seasons, the hymns and metres, he now redeems him therefrom by this (oblation). The remains of it he pours on the *Bṛihaspati* pap.

4. And why he proceeds with the cake on eleven potsherds for Indra, or with the pap for Soma,—because he makes him ascend the southern region, the seasons, the hymns and metres, he now redeems him therefrom by this (oblation). The remains he pours on the *Bṛihaspati* pap.

5. And why he proceeds with the pap to the All-gods,—because he makes him ascend the eastern region, the seasons, the hymns and metres, he now redeems him therefrom by this (oblation). The remains he pours on the *Bṛihaspati* pap.

6. And why he proceeds with the dish of curds for Mitra-Varuṇa,—because he makes him ascend the northern region, the seasons, the hymns and metres, he now redeems him therefrom by this (oblation). The remains he pours on the *Bṛihaspati* pap. And in that he pours those remains on the *Bṛihaspati* pap, he thereby bestows food upon him<sup>1</sup> (the Sacrificer); and hence food is brought to the king from every quarter.

7. And why he proceeds with the *Bṛihaspati* pap,—because he makes him ascend the upper region, the seasons, the hymns and metres, he now redeems him therefrom by this (oblation).

8. And what cake on eight potsherds there is for Agni, the priest's fee for that is gold; for that offering is for Agni, and gold is Agni's seed: there-

---

<sup>1</sup> Or, puts food into him.

fore the fee is gold. He gives it to the Agnīdh; for he, the Āgnīdhra, is really the same as Agni: therefore he gives it to the Agnīdh.

9. And what cake on eleven potsherds there is for Indra, the fee for that is a bull, for the bull is Indra. And if there be a pap for Soma, then the fee for that is a brown ox, for the brown one is sacred to Soma. He gives it to the Brahman, for the Brahman guards the sacrifice from the south: therefore he gives it to the Brahman.

10. And what pap there is for the All-gods, the fee for that is a piebald bullock; for abundance of forms (marks) there is in such a piebald bullock, and the Visve Devâḥ are the clans, and the clans mean abundance: therefore a piebald bullock is the fee. He gives it to the Hotri, for the Hotri means abundance: therefore he gives it to the Hotri.

11. And what dish of curds there is for Mitra-Varuṇa, the fee for that is a sterile cow, for that one is sacred to Mitra-Varuṇa. If he cannot procure a sterile cow, any unimpregnated one will do; for every sterile cow is indeed unimpregnated. He gives it to the two Adhvaryus; for the Adhvaryus are the out-breathing and the in-breathing, and the out-breathing and in-breathing are Mitra-Varuṇa: therefore he gives it to the two Adhvaryus.

12. And what pap there is for Bṛihaspati, the fee for that is a white-backed bullock; for to Bṛihaspati belongs that upper region<sup>1</sup>, and above that there is that path of Aryaman<sup>2</sup>: therefore a white-backed (bullock) is the fee for the Bṛihaspati (pap). He gives it to the Brahman, for Bṛihaspati is the

<sup>1</sup> Or rather, that upward direction.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the region of light, of the sun. See V, 3, 1, 2 with note.

Brahman of the gods, and this one is his (the Sacrificer's) Brahman : therefore he gives it to the Brahman. Even a *vish/hâvrâgin*<sup>1</sup> who is desirous of food may perform this offering : he (the priest) thereby bestows food upon him from all quarters, and verily he becomes an eater of food.

## SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. He performs the oblations of teams (*prayugâm havimshi*). The reason why he performs the oblations of teams, is that the anointed thereby yokes the seasons, and thus yoked those seasons draw him along, and he follows the seasons thus yoked : therefore he performs the oblations of teams.

2. There are twelve of these (oblations), for there are twelve months in the year : that is why there are twelve. 'Let him make offering month by month,' they say. Who knows about (the life of) man<sup>2</sup>? Let him therefore not make offering month by month. Moving eastward he offers six of them each at the distance of the yoke-pin's throw from the other<sup>3</sup>; and then turning backward he offers six, each at a yoke-pin's throw from the other.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this compound is unknown. Sâyana explains it as meaning 'one who does not move from one spot, one who always remains in one and the same place.' Hence the St. Petersburg dictionary conjectures : 'One whose herd (or cattle-pen, *vraga*, *vrâga*) is stationary.' Similarly, Prof. Weber, in Böhlingk's Dictionary. See, however, the Kâṇva reading above, p. 50, note 1, according to which the word would seem to mean one afflicted with a certain malady (? cholera or dysentery). The '*Pañkabila*' offering may be performed as a special *ishî*, independently of the *Râgasûya*.

<sup>2</sup> 'But who (knows if he) will live a year?' Taitt. Br. I, 8, 4, 3.

<sup>3</sup> In that case, he could offer them as distinct *ishîs*, each with its special *barhis*, and moving eastwards from the *Âhavanîya* fire.

3. But let him not do it thus. He prepares those first six so as to have a common barhis<sup>1</sup>, after the manner of those deities (of the first six oblations); even as in early spring they<sup>2</sup> would yoke their team and go onward until the rainy season, so does he now yoke the six seasons, and thus yoked the six seasons draw him forward and he follows the six seasons thus yoked until the rainy season. Two of the (oxen) drawing the original (hall-door) fire are the sacrificial fee.

4. He prepares the last six oblations so as to have a common barhis, after the manner of those (six) deities. Even as they would return again towards the rainy season, so does he yoke the six seasons, and thus yoked the six seasons draw him towards the rainy season, and he follows the six seasons thus yoked, in the rainy season. Two of the (oxen) drawing the original fire are the sacrificial fee. And as to why the (oxen) drawing the original fire are the sacrificial fee,—the consecrated (king) now yokes the seasons, and it being oxen that (actually) draw (and thus represent the seasons), therefore the (oxen) drawing the original fire are the sacrificial fee.

5. Now as to this the Kurupañkâlas used formerly to say, 'It is the seasons that, being yoked, draw us, and we follow the seasons thus yoked.' It was because their kings were performers of the Râgasûya that they spake thus.

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, the first six oblations are to be combined and performed together as a single offering, without changing the covering of sacrificial grass on the altar.

<sup>2</sup> Sâyana supplies 'kings,' and refers to Taitt. Br. I, 8, 4, 1, where the Kurupañkâla (kings) are said to issue forth in the dewy season (on a raid over the eastern country), and to return with their booty at the end of the hot season. See paragraph 5.

6. There is a cake on eight potsherds for Agni, a pap for Soma, a cake on twelve or eight potsherds for Savitri, a pap for Brihaspati, a cake on ten potsherds for Tvashtri, and one on twelve potsherds for (Agni) Vaisvânara—these are the first six oblations.

7. The six last are paps,—a pap for Sarasvatî, a pap for Pûshan, a pap for Mitra, a pap for Kshetrapati (the Landlord or Lord of the manor), a pap for Varuna, and a pap for Aditi,—these are the last six paps.

8. Thereupon they seize <sup>1</sup> a reddish-white (cow) which is clearly with calf, (as a victim) for Aditi. The mode of procedure regarding her is the same as that of the eight-footed barren cow <sup>2</sup>. Now, Aditi being this earth, it is her embryo (child) he thereby causes him (the king) to be. The sacrificial fee for this (cow-offering) is just such a reddish-white cow that is clearly with calf.

9. They then seize a dappled one, which is clearly with calf, (as a victim) for the Maruts. The mode of procedure regarding this one is the same. The Maruts being the clans, he thereby makes him the embryo <sup>3</sup> of the clans. The sacrificial fee for this (cow-offering) is just such a dappled (cow) that is clearly with calf.

<sup>1</sup> In the Taittirîya ceremonial this animal sacrifice precedes the 'prayugâm havîmshi;' being itself succeeded in the first place by the 'sâtyadûtânâm havîmshi.'

<sup>2</sup> On the course of procedure regarding the 'ashâpadî,' or (supposed) barren cow, found ultimately to be impregnated, see part ii, p. 391 seq.

<sup>3</sup> That is, he causes him to spring forth from the midst of the people, and be protected by them on all sides.



10. These two animal victims, whilst being such, are seized (by some) in a different way. The one that is seized for Aditi, (some) seize for the Âdityas, —the Âdityas being the All, he (the priest) thereby makes him the embryo of the All (universe). And the one that is seized for the Maruts, (some) seize for the All-gods,—the All-gods being the All, he thereby makes him the embryo of the All.

### THE KESAVAPANÎYA.

#### THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. When he has performed the Consecration-ceremony (*Abhisheṣantiya*), he does not shave his hair. The reason why he does not shave his hair (is this):—that collected essence of the waters where-with he is then sprinkled (anointed) is vigour, and it is the hair (of his head) that it reaches first when he is sprinkled; hence were he to shave his hair, he would cause that glory to fall off from him, and would sweep it away: therefore he does not shave his hair.

2. He does not shave his hair for a year<sup>1</sup>,—religious observance is of equal measure with the year, hence he does not shave for a year: the *Kesavapanîya*<sup>2</sup>, namely, is a (day of) praise-

<sup>1</sup> He is, however, allowed to shave his beard. According to *Lâṭy. Sr. IX, 2, 20 seq.*, he is to pass his nights during the year in the fire-house on a tiger's skin; he is never to enter the village, and is constantly to keep up the fire. Nor is any one in his kingdom, except a Brâhman, to get his hair cut, and even the horses are to remain unclipped.

<sup>2</sup> The *Kesavapanîya*, or 'hair-cutting' (sacrifice), the fourth of the seven Soma-sacrifices enjoined for the inauguration of a king, is to be performed on the full-moon of *Gyeshṭha* (about

singing (stoma) with the view of the termination of the religious performance.

3. Twenty-onefold is (each stotra of) its Morning-service, seventeenfold (of) the Midday-service, fifteenfold (of) the Evening-service, together with the Uktha (stotras), the Shodasin, and (the twelve stotras of) the Night-service.

4. The Twilight (hymn)<sup>1</sup> is (performed in the) Trivṛit (stoma), and with the Rathantara (tune). For the twenty-onefold (stoma) is he that burns yonder (the sun); from that twenty-onefold one he (the Sacrificer) parts, and descends again to the seventeenfold one; from the seventeenfold one to the

---

May 1), a twelvemonth after the Abhisheṭāniya, and is to take the form of the Atirātra-Gyotish/oma. As usual, the author only alludes to any special peculiarities from the ordinary performance. The ordinary ascending scale of stomas—viz. the Trivṛit-stoma for the Bahishpavamāna-stotra, the Pañḍadara for the Āgya-stotras and the Mādhyandina-pavamāna; the Saptadara for the Prishṭha-stotras, and the Trītiya-pavamāna; and the Ekavimsa-stoma for the Agnish/oma-sāman—prescribed for the twelve stotras of the Agnish/oma (part i, p. 310 seq.), is to be reversed on the present occasion, and the scale of stomas is to be a descending one. The succeeding stotras—viz. (13–15) the three Uktha-stotras; (16) the Shodasin; and (17–28) the three rounds of the night service requiring four stotras each—are likewise to be performed in the Pañḍadara (or fifteen-versed) stoma, employed for the hymns of the evening pressing.

<sup>1</sup> The Sandhi-stotra, or Twilight hymn, Sāma-veda II, 99–104, is the final stotra of the Atirātra (part ii, p. 398). Each of the three couplets is, as usual, sung as a triplet, the three thus producing the nine verses of the Trivṛit-stoma. The Rathantara tune, to which the couplets are to be sung, is given in the Uhyagāna (Sāma-veda, vol. v, p. 381), but with different verses, viz. Sāma-veda I, 30, 31 (abhi tvā sūra nonumo), the verses most commonly sung to that famous tune. The chanters' manuals of the Atirātra (e.g. Ind. Off. MS. 1748) accordingly adapt the tune to the verses here required (enā vo agnim namaso).

fifteenfold one ; and from the fifteenfold one he plants his foot on this firm footing, the Trivrit (stoma).

5. The Rathantara is the *Prishtha* (stotra)<sup>1</sup> of this (sacrifice) ; for the Rathantara is this (earth) : it is on her, as on a firm footing, he thereby plants his feet. It is an Atirâtra (sacrifice),—the Atirâtra is a firm footing : therefore it is an Atirâtra.

6. He only cuts down his hair, but does not shave it ; for that collected essence of the waters with which he is sprinkled is vigour, and it is the hair that it reaches first when he is sprinkled. Thus were he to shave off his hair he would cause that glory to fall off from him, and would sweep it away. But when he cuts it down, he attaches that glory to his own self : therefore he only cuts down his hair, but does not shave it. This is for him a religious observance : as long as he lives he does not stand on this (earth with bare feet :).

7. From the throne-seat he slips into the shoes ; and on shoes (he stands), whatever his vehicle may be, whether a chariot or anything else. For verily he who performs the Râgasûya is high above everything here, and everything here is beneath him ;—therefore this is for him a religious observance : as long

<sup>1</sup> The first (or Hotri's) *Prishtha*-stotra at the midday-service is either the Rathantara, *Sâma-veda* II, 30, 31 (as for instance at the Agnishoma), or *Bṛihat-sâman* II, 159-160 (as at the Ukthya sacrifice). The *Bṛihat* is also ordinarily chanted at the Atirâtra, but on the present occasion the Rathantara is to be substituted for it.

<sup>2</sup> *Sâyana* interprets this passage so as to imply two separate injunctions:—'For as long as he lives this (cutting down of his hair) is a religious observance for him ; and he does not stand on the ground (without shoes).' The repetition in the next paragraph, however, renders this interpretation very improbable.

as he lives he does not stand on the earth (with bare feet).

## THE SAUTRÂMANÎ.

### FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. There is a reddish-white (he-goat as the victim) for the Asvins<sup>1</sup>, for the Asvins are reddish-white. There is an ewe with teats in the dewlap<sup>2</sup> for Sarasvatî; and a bull he seizes for Indra Sutrâman (the good protector)<sup>3</sup>. Difficult to obtain are beasts with such perfections; if he cannot obtain any

<sup>1</sup> The last three Soma-sacrifices of the Inauguration-ceremony are not even alluded to by the author, their performance involving no features different from those of the normal Soma-sacrifice. The Vyush/i-dvirâtra, or 'two nights' ceremony of the dawn,' consists of an Agnishôma and an Atirâtra Soma-sacrifice, to be performed a month after the Kesavapanîya (or, according to Taitt. Br. I, 8, 10, a fortnight after, viz. on the new-moon, and the first day of the light fortnight respectively). Finally, the Kshatra-dhrîti, or 'wielding of the ruling-power,' an Agnishôma, is performed a month later, or on the full-moon of Srâvâna (about 1 August). Some authorities, however, allow the Soma-sacrifices of the Inauguration-ceremony to conclude with the Kesavapanîya Atirâtra (Kâty. Sr. XV, 9, 26), perhaps for the very reason that no mention is made in the Brâhmana of the remaining three Soma-days. The final Soma-sacrifice is followed, in the succeeding fortnight of the waxing moon, by the performance of the Sautrâmanî, some peculiar features of which the author now proceeds to consider. This ceremony (one of the objects of which is the expiation of any excess committed in the consumption of Soma-juice) is considered in the sacrificial system as the last of the seven forms of Havir-yagña; being a combination of the ishî with the animal sacrifice. As this ceremony is also performed after the Agniṭayana, or construction of the fire-altar, it is more fully dealt with by the author later on (Kâṇḍa XII, 7 seq.).

<sup>2</sup> Prof. R. Wallace's 'India in 1887' (plate 39) contains a photographic representation of an Indian goat with pendicles like teats.

<sup>3</sup> In the case of the 'somâtîpavita,' not the 'somavâmin,' the Taittirîyas slaughter a fourth victim to Brîhaspati.

with such perfections, they may slaughter only goats, for they are easier to cook. And if they seize only goats, that for the Asvins is a red one. Then as to why he performs this sacrifice.

2. Now *Tvashtri* had a three-headed, six-eyed son<sup>1</sup>. He had three mouths; and because he was thus shapen, he was called *Visvarûpa* ('All-shape').

3. One of his mouths was Soma-drinking, one spirit-drinking, and one for other food. Indra hated him, and cut off those heads of his.

4. And from the one which was Soma-drinking, a hazel-cock sprang forth; whence the latter is of brownish colour, for king Soma is brown.

5. And from the one which was spirit-drinking, a sparrow sprang; whence the latter talks like one who is joyful, for when one has drunk spirits, one talks as one who enjoys himself.

6. And from the one which was for other (kinds of) food, a partridge sprang; whence the latter is exceedingly variegated: ghee drops indeed have, as it were, dropped on his wings in one place, and honey-drops, as it were, in another; for suchlike was the food he consumed with that (mouth).

7. *Tvashtri* was furious: 'Has he really slain my son?' He brought Soma-juice withheld from Indra<sup>2</sup>; and as that Soma-juice was, when produced, even so it remained withheld from Indra.

<sup>1</sup> This portion of the legend is but a repetition from I, 6, 3, 1 seq. A few alterations are, however, made here in the translation.

<sup>2</sup> Or, 'Soma from which Indra was excluded' (*apendra*), as formerly translated; a closer rendering of the succeeding clause making this change desirable;—even as Indra was excluded from the Soma-juice when produced, so he remained excluded from it (when it was offered up).

8. Indra thought within himself: 'There now, they are excluding me from Soma!' and even uninvited he consumed what pure (Soma) there was in the tub, as the stronger (would consume the food) of the weaker. But it hurt him: it flowed in all directions from (the openings of) his vital airs; only from his mouth it did not flow. Hence there was an atonement; but had it flown also from his mouth, then indeed there would have been no atonement.

9. For there are four castes, the Brâhmaṇa, the Râganya, the Vaisya, and the Sûdra; but there is not one of them that vomits Soma; but were there any one of them, then indeed there would be atonement.

10. From what flowed from the nose a lion sprang; and from what flowed from the ears a wolf sprang; and from what flowed from the lower opening wild beasts sprang, with the tiger as their foremost; and what flowed from the upper opening that was the foaming spirit (parisrut). And thrice he spit out: thence were produced the (fruits called) 'kuvala, kar-kandhu, or badara<sup>1</sup>.' He (Indra) became emptied out of everything, for Soma is everything.

11. Being thus purged by Soma, he walked about as one tottering. The Asvins cured him by this (offering), and caused him to be supplied with everything, for Soma is everything. By offering he indeed became better.

12. The gods spake, 'Aha! these two have saved him<sup>2</sup>, the well-saved (sutrâta):' hence the name Sautrâmanî.

<sup>1</sup> The berries of three different species of the *Zizyphus jujuba*, or jujube-tree.

<sup>2</sup> The MS. of Sâyana's commentary reads 'atrâsâtâm.'

13. Let him also cure by this (ceremony) one purged by Soma ;—he whom Soma purges is indeed emptied out of everything, for Soma is everything. He now causes him to be supplied with everything, for Soma is everything ; and by offering he indeed becomes better : let him therefore cure thereby also one purged by Soma.

14. And as to why the performer of the Râgasûya performs this offering. He who performs the Râgasûya assuredly gains for himself all sacrificial rites, all offerings, even the spoonful-oblations ; and instituted by the gods indeed is this offering, the Sautrâmanî : ‘May offering be made by me with this one also ! may I be consecrated by this one also !’ thus (he thinks, and) therefore the performer of the Râgasûya performs this offering.

15. And as to why there is (a victim) for the Asvins,—it was the Asvins who cured him ; and in like manner does he (the priest) now cure him through those same Asvins : that is why there is (a victim) for the Asvins.

16. And why there is one for Sarasvatî,—Sarasvatî assuredly is speech, and it was by speech that the Asvins cured him ; and in like manner does he now cure him by speech : that is why there is one for Sarasvatî.

17. And why there is one for Indra,—Indra assuredly is the deity of the sacrifice, and it is by this (offering) that he now heals him : this is why there is one for Indra.

18. On (the meat-portions of) those victims he throws hairs of a lion, hairs of a wolf, and hairs of a tiger, for that was what sprang therefrom, when Soma flowed right through him. He now supplies

him therewith, and makes him whole: therefore he throws those (hairs) thereon.

19. But let him not do it so; for he who throws them on the (portions of) the victims, urges the animals on from behind with a clawed (prickly) fire-brand. Let him therefore rather throw them into the fermented liquor (parisrut<sup>1</sup>),—thus he does not urge on the animals from behind with a clawed fire-brand; and thus alone he supplies him therewith, and makes him whole: let him therefore throw it rather into the spirituous liquor.

20. Now on the day before, he mixes the spirituous liquor (while muttering, Vâg. S. X, 31), 'Get done for the Asvins! get done for Sarasvatî! get done for Indra, the good protector!' When that liquor is (done) he proceeds with that (offering).

21. They take up two fires; on the northern altar<sup>2</sup> (they lay down) the northern (fire), and on a raised (mound) the southern one, thinking, 'Lest we should offer together the Soma-libations, and the Surâ (liquor) -libations:' therefore they take up two fires, and on the northern altar (they lay down) the northern (fire), and on a raised (mound) the southern one. And when he proceeds with the omenta, then he proceeds with that spirituous liquor.

22. He purifies it with stalks of Darbha-grass, thinking, 'Let it be pure,'—with (Vâg. S. X, 31), 'The inviting<sup>3</sup> Soma, purified by the purify-

<sup>1</sup> On the preparation of the parisrut or surâ, see XII, 7; Weber, Ind. Studien, X, p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> The two new fireplaces, to the east of the Âhavanîya, are to be constructed on the model of those of the Varuṇapraghâsâh, see part i, p. 392.

<sup>3</sup> This doubtful interpretation of 'vâyu' is adopted from the St.



ing (strainer), has overflowed backwards, Indra's mated friend.' He then pours in flour of 'kuvala, karkandhu, and badara' berries, for when he (Indra) spit out thrice, that was what was produced therefrom : therewith he now supplies him and makes him whole,—therefore he pours in that (flour).

23. He then draws either one or three cups<sup>1</sup>,—but only one should be drawn, for there is one puroruk-formula, one invitatory prayer, and one offering prayer ; therefore only one (cup) should be drawn.

24. He draws it with (Vâg. S. X, 32), 'Yea, even as the owners of barley cut their barley, spreading it asunder in due order, so hither, hither, bring thou the nourishments of them that offer up the devotional invocation of the Barhis<sup>2</sup>!—Thou art taken with a support—thee for the Asvins, thee for Sarasvatî, thee for Indra, the good protector!' And if he draw three (cups), let him draw them with that same (verse) ; but let him in that case draw them with separate 'supports<sup>3</sup>.' He then says, 'Recite the

---

Petersburg dictionary, where, however, it is only applied to two passages of the Rig-veda. Sâyana here explains it by 'pâtrâni gâk-khan vâyuvaḥ khîgragâmî vâ bhûtvâ pratyāṇ adhovartî pâtrâbhimukhaḥ san.' In the Taitt. S. this verse is preceded by another (Rîk S. IX, 1, 6), 'May Sûrya's daughter purify thy foaming (parisrut) Soma with the never-failing horse-tail (strainer).'

<sup>1</sup> According to the ritual of the Taittirîyas, three cups of Surâ are drawn.

<sup>2</sup> Rîk S. X, 131, 2, and Taitt. S. I, 8, 21 read—'hither, hither bring the nourishments of them that have not gone to the devotional up-pulling (cutting) of the barhis-grass' (but differently Sâyana,—'that have not gone to the neglect of the devotion of the barhis').

<sup>3</sup> That is to say, he is to repeat the formula, 'Thou art taken

invitatory prayer to the Asvins, to Sarasvatî, and to Indra Sutrâman !'

25. He recites (*Vâg. S. X, 33; Rîk S. X, 131, 4*), 'Ye, O Asvins, lords of splendour, having quaffed the cheering (Soma) together with Namukî, the Âsura, helped Indra in his deeds!' Having called for the Sraushat, he says, 'Pronounce the offering prayer to the Asvins, to Sarasvatî, and to Indra Sutrâman !'

26. He prays (*Vâg. S. X, 34; Rîk S. X, 131, 5*), 'As the parents (stand by) their son, so the two Asvins have stood by thee, O Indra, with wise plans and wonderful deeds; when thou quaffedst the cheering (Soma), Sarasvatî cured thee, O Lord, by her services.' Twice the Hotri utters the Vashaṭ, twice the Adhvaryu offers and fetches drink. And if he draw three (cups of liquor), then after the offering of that one the other two are offered.

27. Now there is a pitcher perforated either with a hundred, or with nine, holes. If it is one with a hundred holes,—man lives up to a hundred (years), and has a hundred energies, and a hundred powers : therefore it is perforated with a hundred holes. And if with nine holes,—there are in man those nine vital airs : therefore it is perforated with nine holes.

28. This (pitcher), hung up by a sling, they hold just over the Âhavantya<sup>1</sup>. He pours into it what spirituous liquor has been left over, and whilst it is

---

with a support,' each time followed by a special dedication, 'thee for the Asvins!' &c.

<sup>1</sup> That is, over the southern one of the two new fires, the one laid down on a raised mound.

trickling through, he stands by worshipping with the three verses<sup>1</sup> of the Pitaraḥ Somavantaḥ (the Fathers accompanied by Soma), with three verses of the Pitaro Barishadaḥ (the Fathers seated on the barhis), and with three verses of the Pitaro Agnishvâttaḥ (the Fathers consumed by the fire). And as to why he thus stands by worshipping,—when Soma flowed through Indra, what part of it then went to the Fathers—there being three kinds of Fathers—therewith he now supplies him and makes him whole: therefore he thus stands by worshipping.

29. He then prepares those oblations<sup>2</sup>,—a cake on twelve or eight potsherds for Savitri, a barley pap for Varuṇa, and a cake on eleven potsherds for Indra.

30. And why there is one for Savitri,—Savitri is the impeller of the gods, and impelled by Savitri he now heals<sup>3</sup>: therefore there is one for Savitri.

---

<sup>1</sup> These triplets to the Fathers are given Vâg. S. XIX, 49-51; 55-57; 58-60.—The Taitt. ritual here has a curious variation. After the remainder of the (pure) liquor has been offered to the Fathers, a Brâhman is to be bought over to drink the dregs; and if such an one cannot be found (willing to do it), they are to be poured away on an ant-hill. This is to be done for the sake of atonement.

<sup>2</sup> That is, according to Kâtyâyana (XV, 10, 19) and Sâyana, the *paru-puroḍāra*, or cakes of the animal offering. The performance of these is irregular, inasmuch as their deities are not the same as those of the animal sacrifice (the Asvins, Sarasvatî, and Indra Sutrâman). Taitt. Br. I, 8, 6, 1, however, explains that in this case the animal sacrifices are without 'animal cakes,' the libations of liquor, which indeed are offered to the same deities, being in lieu of them.

<sup>3</sup> The object of the Sautrâmanî offering is to heal or 'make whole' the Sacrificer.

31. And why there is one for Varuna,—Varuna is the injurer, and he thus heals him even by him who is the injurer : therefore there is one for Varuna.

32. And why there is one for Indra,—Indra is the deity of the sacrifice, and he thus heals him by him who is the deity of the sacrifice : therefore there is one for Indra.

33. And if by that (Sautrâmant-offering) he would heal one purged by Soma<sup>1</sup>, then—(after) the after-offering (of the animal sacrifice) has been performed, and the two spoons separated—he proceeds with those (three) oblations<sup>2</sup>. For it is towards the back part that Soma flows through, and at the back part (of the sacrifice) he thus closes him up by that sacrificial essence. Let him in that case prepare a cake on two potsherds for the Asvins ; and when he proceeds with the offering of the omenta, then he also proceeds with that two-kapâla cake for the Asvins.

34. Let him, however, not do it in this way ; for verily whosoever departs from the path of the sacrifice stumbles, and he who does this indeed departs from the path of the sacrifice. Hence at the very time when they proceed with the omenta of those victims, let them then proceed also with those (three) oblations, and let him not then prepare a two-kapâla cake for the Asvins.

35. A castrated bull is the sacrificial fee for this

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, if it is performed, independently of the Râga-sûya, as a special offering with a view to expiating any excess committed at a Soma-sacrifice.

<sup>2</sup> A glance at the list of contents prefixed to part ii will show how this shifting of the Pasu-purodâsa would alter the regular order of procedure.

(sacrifice);—the castrated bull is neither female nor male; for being a male it is not a female, and being a female (unmanned) it is not a male: therefore a castrated bull is the fee. Or a draught-mare;—the draught-mare is neither male nor female; for in that it pulls the cart it is not a female; and being a female, it is not a male: therefore a draught-mare (may be) the fee.

#### FIFTH BRÂHMANA.

1. He prepares a cake on twelve potsherds for Indra and Vishnu. Now as to why he makes this offering. Of old, everything here was within *Vṛitra*, to wit, the *Rik*, the *Yagus*, and the *Sâman*. Indra wished to hurl the thunderbolt at him.

2. He said to Vishnu, 'I will hurl the thunderbolt at *Vṛitra*, stand thou by me!'—'So be it!' said Vishnu, 'I will stand by thee: hurl it!' Indra aimed the thunderbolt at him. *Vṛitra* was afraid of the raised thunderbolt.

3. He said, 'There is here a (source of) strength: I will give that up to thee; but do not smite me!' and gave up to him the *Yagus*-formulas. He (Indra) aimed at him a second time.

4. He said, 'There is here a (source of) strength: I will give that up to thee; but do not smite me!' and gave up to him the *Rik*-verses. He aimed at him a third time.

5. 'There is here a (source of) strength: I will give that up to thee; but do not smite me!' and gave up to him the *Sâman*-hymns (or tunes). Therefore they spread the sacrifice even to this day in the same way with those (three) Vedas, first with the

Yagus-formulas, then with the *Rîk*-verses, and then with the *Sâman*-hymns ; for thus he (*Vṛitra*) at that time gave them up to him.

6. And that which had been his (*Vṛitra*'s) seat, his retreat, that he shattered, grasping it and tearing it out<sup>1</sup>: it became this offering. And because the science (the *Veda*) that lay in that retreat was, as it were, a threefold (*tridhâtu*) one, therefore this is called the *Traidhâtavi* (*ishî*).

7. And as to why the oblation is one for *Indra* and *Vishṇu*, it is because *Indra* raised the thunder-bolt, and *Vishṇu* stood by him.

8. And why it is (a cake) on twelve potsherds,—there are twelve months in the year, and the offering is of equal measure with the year: therefore it is one of twelve potsherds.

9. He prepares it of both rice and barley. He first puts on (the fire) a ball of rice, that being a form (symbol) of the Yagus-formulas; then one of barley, that being a form of the *Rîk*-verses; then one of rice, that being a form of the *Sâman*-hymns. Thus this is made to be a form of the triple science: and this same (offering) becomes the *Udavasântyâ-ishî* (completing oblation) for the performer of the *Râgasûya*.

10. For, verily, he who performs the *Râgasûya* gains for himself (the benefit of) all sacrificial rites, all offerings, even the spoonful-oblations; for him the sacrifice becomes as it were exhausted, and he, as it were, turns away from it. Now the whole sacrifice is just as great as that triple *Veda*; and this (offering) now is made a form of that (*Veda*, or

<sup>1</sup> Cf. III, 2, 1, 28.

sacrifice); this is its womb, its seat: thus he commences once more the sacrifice by means of that triple Veda; and thus his sacrifice is not exhausted, and he does not turn away from it.

11. And, verily, he who performs the Râgasûya gains for himself all sacrificial rites, all offerings, even the spoonful-oblations; and this offering, the Traidhâtavi (ishî), is instituted by the gods: 'May this offering also be performed by me, may I be consecrated by this one also!' thus he thinks, and therefore this is the completing offering for him who performs the Râgasûya.

12. And also for him who would give (to the priests) a thousand (cows) or more<sup>1</sup>, let this be the completing offering. For he who gives a thousand or more becomes as it were emptied out; and that triple Veda is the thousandfold progeny of Vâk (speech): him who was emptied out he thus fills up again with a thousand; and therefore let it be for him also the completing offering.

13. And also for those who would sit through (perform) a long sacrificial session<sup>2</sup>, for a year or more, let this be the completing offering. For by those who sit through a long sacrificial session, for a year or more, everything is obtained, everything conquered; but this (offering) is everything: let it therefore be for them also the completing offering.

14. And indeed one may also practise magic by this (offering); for it was thereby that Ârazi be-

<sup>1</sup> For a (three days') Soma-sacrifice with a sacrificial fee of a thousand cows, the Trirâtra Sahasradakshina, see part ii, p. 414.

<sup>2</sup> See part ii, pp. 426, 440 seq.

witched Bhadrasena Āgâtasatrava<sup>1</sup>: 'Quick, then, spread (the barhis)!' thus Yâgñavalkya used to say. And by this (offering) indeed Indra also shattered Vṛitra's retreat; and, verily, he who therewith practises magic shatters thereby the retreat (of his enemy); therefore one may also practise magic with this (offering).

15. And, indeed, one may also heal thereby; for, verily, whomsoever one would heal by a single *rik*, by a single *yagus*, by a single *sâman*, him he would indeed render free from disease; how much more so by the triple Veda! Therefore one may also heal by this (offering).

16. Three gold pieces of a hundred *mânas*<sup>2</sup> each are the sacrificial fee for this (offering). He presents them to the Brahman; for the Brahman neither performs (like the Adhvaryu), nor chants (like the Udgâtri), nor recites (like the Hotri), and yet he is an object of respect. And with gold they do nothing<sup>3</sup>, and yet it is an object of respect: therefore he presents to the Brahman three gold pieces of a hundred *mânas* each.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the son of Agâtaratru, king of Kâśi, who is mentioned as having been very proficient in speculative theology, and jealous, in this respect, of king Ganaka of Videha.

<sup>2</sup> According to Sâyana, these 'satamânas' are similar to the round plate worn by the king during the Consecration-ceremony; see p. 104, note 2. These plates (as the 'rukmas' generally, VI, 7, 1, 1 seq.) were apparently used for ornament only, not as coins.

<sup>3</sup> Sâyana explains this to mean that gold is not used for actual consumption, but only indirectly, as for vessels on which food is served, or in traffic, as a medium of barter;—the gold thus never losing its appearance, its 'glory.' See II, 1, 1, 5, 'Hence also one does not cleanse oneself with it (?), nor does one do anything else with it.'



17. Three milch cows (he gives) to the *Hotri*;—for three milch cows mean abundance, and the *Hotri* means abundance : therefore (he gives) three milch cows to the *Hotri*.

18. Three garments (he gives) to the *Adhvaryu*;—for the *Adhvaryu* ‘spreads’ the sacrifice, and the garments spread themselves (over the body)<sup>1</sup> : therefore (he gives) three garments to the *Adhvaryu*. A bullock (he gives) to the *Âgnîdh*<sup>2</sup>.

19. Now there are here either twelve, or thirteen gifts<sup>3</sup>, and there are either twelve or thirteen months in the year;—the offering thus is of equal measure with the year : that is why there are either twelve or thirteen sacrificial gifts.

<sup>1</sup> Or, people spread the clothes (either in weaving them, or in putting them on). ‘To spread the sacrifice’ is the regular term for the ceremonial practice of spreading the sacrificial fire from the *Gârhapatya* (or household fire) over the other two hearths, and thus for the performance of the sacrifice generally.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 119, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> That is, taking the calves of the three milch cows into account ; and optionally counting the gift to the *Âgnîdhra*.

## SIXTH KÂNDĀ.

THE AGNIKĀYANA, OR BUILDING OF THE  
FIRE-ALTAR.

## CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE.

## FIRST ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMAṆA.

1. Verily, in the beginning there was here the non-existent<sup>1</sup>. As to this they say, 'What was that non-existent?' The *Rishis*, assuredly,—it is they that were the non-existent<sup>2</sup>. As to this they say, 'Who were those *Rishis*?' The *Rishis*, doubtless, were the vital airs: inasmuch as before (the existence of) this universe, they, desiring it, wore themselves out (*rish*) with toil and austerity, therefore (they are called) *Rishis*.

2. This same vital air in the midst doubtless is Indra. He, by his power (*indriya*), kindled those (other) vital airs from the midst; and inasmuch as he kindled (*indh*), he is the kindler (*indha*): the kindler<sup>3</sup> indeed,—him they call 'Indra' mystically

<sup>1</sup> Or, perhaps, In the beginning this (universe) was indeed non-existent. Thus J. Muir, Or. S. T. IV, p. 22, of which translation of this cosmogonic myth considerable use has been made here. It need scarcely be remarked that 'idam' is constantly used in an adverbial sense in the *Brāhmaṇa*.

<sup>2</sup> In the original, 'the non-existent' is the subject of the clause, not the predicate as would appear from the translation. A similar transposition seems often advisable in English, for the sake of emphasis, and on other grounds. Muir's rendering, 'The *Rishis* say that in the beginning there was non-existence,' is a mistake.

<sup>3</sup> The nominative here is striking, and vivid, cf. paragraph 11 below. In corresponding passages of the preceding books, the accusative would stand here; e. g. II, 1, 2, 4, *saptarshīn u ha sma vai purarṣhā ity āśakshate*; similarly III, 1, 2, 3.

(esoterically), for the gods love the mystic. They (the vital airs), being kindled, created seven separate persons <sup>1</sup> (purusha).

3. They said, 'Surely, being thus, we shall not be able to generate: let us make these seven persons one Person!' They made those seven persons one Person: they compressed two of them <sup>2</sup> (into) what is above the navel, and two of them (into) what is below the navel; (one) person was (one) wing (or side), (one) person was (the other) wing, and one person was the base (i.e. the feet).

4. And what excellence, what life-sap (rasa) there was in those seven persons, that they concentrated above, that became his head. And because (in it) they concentrated the excellence (sri), therefore it is (called) the head (siras). It was thereto that the breaths resorted (sri): therefore also it is the head (siras). And because the breaths did so resort (sri) thereto, therefore also the breaths (vital airs, and their organs) are elements of excellence (sri). And because they resorted to the whole (system) therefore (this is called) body (sarīra).

5. That same Person became Pragâpati (lord of generation). And that Person which became Pragâpati is this very Agni (fire-altar), who is now (to be) built.

6. He verily is composed of seven persons, for this Person (Agni) is composed of seven persons <sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> That is, living beings or souls, individualities, which, in their combined form, are here imagined to take the shape of a bird. Muir's rendering, 'males,' can scarcely commend itself.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, 'those two.'

<sup>3</sup> The fire-altar is usually constructed so as to measure seven

to wit, the body (trunk) of four, and the wings and tail of three; for the body of that (first) Person (was composed of) four, and the wings and tail of three. And inasmuch as he makes the body larger by one person, by that force the body raises the wings and tail.

7. And as to the fire which is deposited on the built (altar),—whatever excellence, whatever life-sap there was in those seven persons, that they now concentrate above, that is his (Pragâpati's) head. On that same (head) all the gods are dependent (*śrita*), for it is there that offering is made to all the gods: therefore also it is the head (*śiras*).

8. Now this Person Pragâpati desired, 'May I be more (than one), may I be reproduced!' He toiled, he practised austerity. Being worn out with toil and austerity, he created first of all the Brahman (neut.), the triple science. It became to him a foundation: hence they say, 'the Brahman (Veda) is the foundation of everything here.' Wherefore, having studied (the Veda) one rests on a foundation; for this, to wit, the Veda, is his foundation. Resting on that foundation, he (again) practised austerity.

9. He created the waters out of Vâk (speech, that is) the world; for speech belonged to it<sup>1</sup>: that was

---

man's lengths square; the particular length being that of the Sacrificer. This, however, is the smallest size allowed for an altar, there being altogether ninety-five different sizes specified, varying between seven and 101 man's lengths square.

<sup>1</sup> Or, perhaps, to him (Pragâpati). Sâyana merely says,—vâg evâsya sâsrigyata, vâk sahakâri rasanam abhavat, tad asrigyatety arthaḥ; sâ vâk sahakâri rasanam prâgâpatya(m) sriṣṭam sad idam sarvam âpnot.—On the part which Vâk (the personification of the Brahman or Veda) takes by the side of Pragâpati in the creation

created (set free). It pervaded everything here; and because it pervaded (âp) whatsoever there was here, therefore (it is called) water (âpa<sup>h</sup>); and because it covered (var), therefore also it (is called) water (vâr).

10. He desired, 'May I be reproduced from these waters!' He entered the waters with that triple science. Thence an egg arose. He touched it. 'Let it exist! let it exist and multiply!' so he said. From it the Brahman (neut.) was first created, the triple science. Hence they say, 'The Brahman (n.) is the first-born of this All.' For even before that Person the Brahman was created<sup>1</sup>: it was created as his mouth. Hence they say of him who has studied the Veda, that 'he is like Agni;' for it, the Brahman (Veda), is Agni's mouth.

11. Now the embryo which was inside was created as the foremost (agri): inasmuch as it was created foremost (agram) of this All, therefore (it is called) Agri: Agri, indeed, is he whom they mystically call<sup>2</sup> Agni; for the gods love the mystic. And the tear (asru, n.) which had formed itself<sup>3</sup> become the 'asru' (m.); 'asru' indeed is what they mystically call 'asva' (horse), for the gods love the

---

of the universe, and the parallelism between Vâk and λόγος, see Weber, Ind. Stud. IX, p. 473 seq.; Muir, Or. S. T. V, p. 391. Thus Pañk. Br. XX, 14, 2, 'Pragâpati alone existed here. He had Vâk indeed as his own, as a second to him.'

<sup>1</sup> Muir takes this differently,—Further, (as) the Veda was first created from that Male, therefore it was created his mouth. This translation, however, takes no account of the particle 'hi.'

<sup>2</sup> For the construction, see above, paragraph 2, with note.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, which had flowed together. It is explained as the embryonic liquid in the amnion, or innermost membrane enveloping the foetus.

mystic. And that which, as it were, cried<sup>1</sup> (ras), became the ass (râsabha). And the juice which was adhering to the shell (of the egg) became the he-goat (aga<sup>2</sup>). And that which was the shell became the earth.

12. He desired, 'May I generate this (earth) from these waters!' He compressed it<sup>3</sup> and threw it into the water. The juice which flowed from it became a tortoise; and that which was spirted upwards (became) what is produced above here over the waters. This whole (earth) dissolved itself all over the water : all this (universe) appeared as one form only, namely, water.

13. He desired, 'May it become more than one, may it reproduce itself!' He toiled and practised austerity; and worn out with toil and austerity, he created foam. He was aware that 'this indeed looks different, it is becoming more (than one); I must toil, indeed!' Worn out with toil and austerity, he created clay, mud, saline soil and sand, gravel (pebble), rock, ore, gold, plants and trees : therewith he clothed this earth.

14. This (earth), then, was created as (consisting of) these same nine creations. Hence they say, 'Threefold (three times three) is Agni;' for Agni is this (earth), since thereof the whole Agni (fire-altar) is constructed.

15. 'This (earth) has indeed become (bhû) a foundation!' (he thought): hence it became the earth (bhûmi). He spread it out (prath), and it

<sup>1</sup> ? Or, that part (of the egg) which made a noise (in cracking).

<sup>2</sup> The word 'aga' is apparently fancifully taken here in the sense of 'unborn (a-ga).'

<sup>3</sup> That is, the earth when as yet in the form of the egg-shell.

became the broad one (or earth, *prithivî*). And she (the earth), thinking herself quite perfect<sup>1</sup>, sang; and inasmuch as she sang (*gâ*), therefore she is *Gâyatrî*. But they also say, 'It was Agni, indeed, on her (the earth's) back, who thinking himself quite perfect, sang; and inasmuch as he sang (*gâ*), therefore Agni is *Gâyatra*.' And hence whosoever thinks himself quite perfect, either sings or delights in song<sup>2</sup>.

### SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. That *Pragâpati* desired, 'May it multiply, may it be reproduced!' By means (or, in the form) of Agni he entered into union with the Earth: thence an egg arose. He touched it: 'May it grow! May it grow and multiply!' he said.

2. And the embryo which was inside was created as *Vâyu* (the wind). And the tear which had formed itself became those birds. And the juice which was adhering to the shell became those sun-motes. And that which was the shell became the air.

3. He desired, 'May it multiply, may it reproduce itself!' By means of *Vâyu* he entered into union with the Air: thence an egg arose. He touched it, saying, 'Bear thou glory!' From it yonder sun was created, for he indeed is glorious. And the tear which (*asru*) formed itself became that variegated pebble (*asman*); for '*asru*' indeed is what

<sup>1</sup> *Abhimâninîstrîvigrahâ yasmâd agâyad tasmâd iyam Gâyatrî, Sây.*—'Because, like a haughty woman, she (the earth) sang, therefore she is *Gâyatrî*.'

<sup>2</sup> On this illustration, which might either be taken as applying to men in easy circumstances, not troubled with cares;—or, perhaps, to a new-born child which cries out lustily, and likes to be sung to,—*Sâyana* only remarks,—*tasmâd u haitad iti svabhâvânuvâdaḥ, kâryadharmena kâraḍadharmânupâdanâya.*

they mystically call 'asman,' for the gods love the mystic. And the juice which was adhering to the shell became those sunbeams. And that which was the shell became the sky.

4. He desired, 'May it multiply, may it reproduce itself!' By means of the Sun he entered into union with the Sky : thence an egg arose. He touched it, saying, 'Bear thou seed!' From it the moon was created, for he (the moon) is seed. And the tear which formed itself became those stars. And the juice which was adhering to the shell became those intermediate quarters ; and that which was the shell became those (chief) quarters (points of the compass).

5. Having created these worlds, he desired, 'May I create such creatures as shall be mine in these worlds !'

6. By his Mind (manas) he entered into union with Speech (vāk) : he became pregnant with eight drops. They were created as those eight Vasus<sup>1</sup> : he placed them on this (earth).

7. By his Mind he entered into union with Speech : he became pregnant with eleven drops. They were created as those eleven Rudras<sup>2</sup> : he placed them in the air.

8. By his Mind he entered into union with Speech : he became pregnant with twelve drops. They were created as the twelve Ādityas<sup>3</sup> ; he placed them in the sky.

---

<sup>1</sup> As here, this class of deities—whose sphere of action are the terrestrial regions—was associated with Agni, the guardian of the earth, at III, 4, 2, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Another class of (storm) deities, here associated with Vāyu, the wind, the guardian of the air-region.

<sup>3</sup> This class of deities (of light) are here associated with the



9. By his Mind he entered into union with Speech : he became pregnant. He created the All-gods : he placed them in the quarters.

10. And so they say, 'After Agni having been created, the Vasus were created : he placed them on this (earth);—after Vāyu, the Rudras : (he placed) them in the air;—after the sun, the Âdityas : (he placed) them in the sky;—after the moon, the All-gods<sup>1</sup> : he placed them in the quarters.'

11. And so they say, 'Pragâpati, having created these worlds, was firmly established on the earth. For him these plants were ripened<sup>2</sup> into food : that he ate. He became pregnant. From the upper vital airs he created the gods, and from the lower vital airs the mortal creatures.' In whatever way he created thereafter, so he created ; but indeed it was Pragâpati who created everything here, whatsoever exists.

12. Having created creatures he, having run the whole race, became relaxed<sup>3</sup>; and therefore even now he who runs the whole race becomes indeed

Sun, who indeed is called the Âditya in paragraphs 4 and 10 (instead of Sûrya).

<sup>1</sup> Professor Weber (Ind. Stud. XIII, p. 268) has drawn attention to the discrepancy between this passage and III, 4, 2, 1, where the Virve Devâh (with Brîhaspati) are denied the privilege of forming a special class of deities,—this being one of many points of difference, doctrinal as well as linguistic, between Books 1-5 and 6-10.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 147, reads 'apakanta,'—the plants matured fruit.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, he fell asunder, or to pieces, became disjointed. Hence, when the gods 'restored' Pragâpati (the lord of generation, identified with the sacrifice, and with Agni, the fire), the verb used is *samskri*, 'to put together;' and this putting together, or restoration, of Pragâpati is symbolically identified with the building up of the fire-altar.

relaxed. From him being thus relaxed, the vital air went out from within. When it had gone out of him the gods left him.

13. He said to Agni, 'Restore me!'—'What will then accrue to me?' said he.—'They shall call me after thee; for whichever of the sons succeeds (in life), after him they call the father, grandfather, son, and grandson: they shall call me after thee,—restore me, then!'—'So be it!' so (saying) Agni restored him: therefore, while being Pragâpati, they call him Agni; and verily, whosoever knows this, after him they call his father, grandfather, son, and grandson.

14. He said, 'Whereon shall we set thee up<sup>1</sup>?—'On the hita (set, or suitable, good)!' he said: the vital air is indeed something good, for the vital air is good for all beings. And inasmuch as he set him up on the hita, therefore one says, 'I shall set up, I am setting up, I have set up<sup>2</sup>.'

15. As to this they say, 'What is hita, and what is upahita?' The vital air, forsooth, is the 'hita,' and speech is the 'upahita,' for it is on the vital air that this speech is based (upa-hitâ). The vital air, again, is the 'hita,' and the limbs are the 'upahita,' for on the vital air these limbs are indeed based.

16. This, then, was his (Pragâpati's) 'ĕitya' (Agni to be set up on an altar-pile); for he had to be built up (ĕi) by him, and therefore was his 'ĕitya.' And

<sup>1</sup> Upa-dhâ. Paragraphs 14 and 15 involve a double meaning of the word hita, the past participle of dhâ, to put,—viz. put, set, or suitable, beneficial.

<sup>2</sup> Or, 'I shall put on,' &c., upa-dhâ, the verb used of the putting on of bricks in building up the altar. Cf. II, 1, 2, 15.

so indeed he now is the Sacrificer's 'kitya;' for he is to be built up by him, and therefore is his 'kitya.'

17. Now it was those five bodily parts (tanu) of his (Pragâpati's) that became relaxed,—hair, skin, flesh, bone, and marrow,—they are these five layers (of the fire-altar); and when he builds up the five layers, thereby he builds him up by those bodily parts; and inasmuch as he builds up (kî), therefore they are layers (kîti).

18. And that Pragâpati who became relaxed is the year; and those five bodily parts of his which became relaxed are the seasons; for there are five seasons, and five are those layers: when he builds up the five layers, he thereby builds him up with the seasons; and inasmuch as he builds up (lays down), therefore they are layers.

19. And that Pragâpati, the year, who became relaxed, is that very Vâyû (wind) who blows yonder. And those five bodily parts of his, the seasons, which became relaxed, are the regions (or quarters)<sup>1</sup>; for five in number are the regions, and five those layers: when he builds up the five layers, he builds him up with the regions; and inasmuch as he builds up, therefore they are layers.

20. And the Fire that is laid down on the built (altar), that is yonder Sun;—that same Agni is indeed (raised) on the altar, and that just because Agni had restored him (Pragâpati).

21. But they say,—Pragâpati, when relaxed, said to the gods, 'Restore me!' The gods said to Agni, 'In thee we will heal this our father Pragâpati.'—

<sup>1</sup> That is, the four quarters, or cardinal points of the compass; and the upper region, or rather the upward (or perpendicular) direction.

'Then I will enter into him, when whole,' he said.—  
'So be it!' they said. Hence, while being Pragâpati, they yet call him Agni.

22. In the fire the gods healed him by means of oblations; and whatever oblation they offered that became a baked brick and passed into him. And because they were produced from what was offered (*ishṭa*), therefore they are bricks (*ishṭakâ*). And hence they bake the bricks by means of the fire, for it is oblations they thus make.

23. He spake, 'Even as much as ye offer, even so much is my happiness:' and inasmuch as for him there was happiness (*ka*) in what was offered (*ishṭa*), therefore also they are bricks (*ishṭakâ*).

24. Here now Âktâkshya used to say, 'Only he who knows abundant bricks possessed of (special) prayers, should build up the fire (altar): abundantly indeed he then heals Father Pragâpati.'

25. But Tândya used to say, 'Surely the bricks possessed of prayers are the nobility, and the space-fillers<sup>1</sup> are the peasants; and the noble is the feeder, and the peasantry the food; and where there is abundant food for the feeder, that realm is indeed prosperous and thrives: let him therefore pile up abundant space-fillers!' Such then was the speech of those two, but the settled practice is different therefrom.

26. Now that father (Pragâpati) is (also) the son: {

<sup>1</sup> In contradistinction to the *yagushmatî* (prayerful) bricks, which bear special names, and have special formulas attached to them; *lokam-prinâ* (space-filling ones) is the technical term for those bricks which have no special prayers belonging to them, but are piled up with a common formula (*Vâg. S. XII, 54*; *Sat. Br. VIII, 7, 2, 1 seq.*), beginning '*lokam prinâ khidram prinâ*,' 'fill the space, fill the gap!'

inasmuch as he created Agni, thereby he is Agni's father; and inasmuch as Agni restored him, thereby Agni is his (Pragâpati's) father; and inasmuch as he created the gods, thereby he is the father of the gods; and inasmuch as the gods restored him, thereby the gods are his fathers.

27. Twofold verily is this,—father and son, Pragâpati and Agni, Agni and Pragâpati, Pragâpati and the gods, the gods and Pragâpati—(for) whosoever knows this.

28. He builds up with<sup>1</sup>, 'By that deity'—that deity, doubtless, is Vâk (speech),—'Ângiras-like,'—Ângiras, doubtless, is the breath;—'lie thou steady!'—that is, 'lie thou firm;' or 'lie thou firmly established.' It is both with speech and with breath that he builds; for Agni is speech, and Indra is the breath; and the fire (agni) relates to Indra and Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus builds him up. And again, Indra and Agni are all the gods, (for) Agni belongs to all deities: thus as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus builds him up.

29. Here now they say, 'Wherefore is Agni (the fire-altar) built of this (earth)?' But, surely, when that deity (Pragâpati) became relaxed (fell asunder), he flowed along this (earth) in the shape of his life-sap; and when the gods restored him (put him together), they gathered him up from this earth: this earth then is that one brick<sup>2</sup>, for Agni is this earth, since

<sup>1</sup> This is the formula (Vâg. S. XII, 53) with which the so-called 'sâdanam' or 'settling' of the bricks is performed. See VII, 1, 1, 30.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the first brick which the wife of the Sacrificer herself forms, and which is called Ashâdhâ. See VI, 3, 1, 1; 5, 3, 1.

it is thereof<sup>1</sup> that the whole Agni is built up. Now this earth is four-cornered, for the quarters are her corners : hence the bricks are four-cornered ; for all the bricks are after the manner of this earth.

30. As to this they say, ' But if he (Agni) thus consists of one brick, how then (comes he to be) a five-bricked<sup>2</sup> one ? ' Now surely the first brick of clay is this earth,—whatever made of clay he places on that (altar) that is that one brick. And when he puts thereon the heads of the animal victims<sup>3</sup>, that is the animal-brick. And when he puts on the gold plate and man<sup>4</sup>, when he scatters gold shavings thereon, that is the golden brick. And when he puts on two spoonfuls (of ghee)<sup>5</sup>, when he puts on the mortar and pestle<sup>6</sup>, and fire-sticks, that is the wood-brick. And when he puts on a lotus-leaf (petal), a tortoise<sup>7</sup>, sour curds, honey, ghee, and whatever other food he puts on, that is the fifth brick, the food. Thus, then, it is a five-bricked (Agni).

31. As to this they say, ' On which side is the head of the brick ? '—' Where he touches it and says a prayer,' so say some, ' on one end of the naturally perforated (brick)<sup>8</sup> alone indeed should he

<sup>1</sup> Viz. by means of the clay bricks, and the loose soil put between the layers.

<sup>2</sup> *Sâyana* only refers here to the fact that the sacrifice (*yagña*) is called 'pânkta,' 'the fivefold.'

<sup>3</sup> See VII, 5, 2, 1 seq.

<sup>4</sup> See VII, 4, 1, 15 seq.

<sup>5</sup> See VII, 4, 1, 32 seq.

<sup>6</sup> See VII, 5, 1, 12 seq.

<sup>7</sup> See VII, 5, 1, 1 seq.

<sup>8</sup> Apparently some kind of porous stone. Three such perforated stones or 'bricks' are used in the construction of the fire-altar ; viz. one which is laid on the gold man in the centre of the bottom layer (a *sâman* relating to *bhûs*, the earth, being pronounced

say a prayer while touching it, but thus all those (bricks) of his are turned towards the naturally perforated one.' Let him not do so, for those bricks doubtless are his (Agni's) limbs, his joints; and it would be just as if he were to put a head on each limb, on each joint. But indeed, the fire which is deposited on the pile, that is the head of all those (bricks).

32. Here they say, 'How many animal victims are laid upon the fire (altar)?'—Let him say 'Five,' for he does lay thereon those five victims.

33. Or, 'One,' he may say; 'a ewe;' for a ewe (avi) is this earth, since she favours (av) all these creatures. And the fire (altar) also is this earth, for the whole fire (altar) is built up thereof: hence he may say, 'One.'

34. Or, 'Two,' he may say, 'two sheep;' for sheep, indeed, are both this (earth) and that (sky), since these two favour all these creatures;—what clay (there is in the brick) that is this earth; and what water there is that is that sky; and the bricks consist of clay and water: therefore he may say, 'Two.'

35. Or he may say, 'A cow (or bullock, go);'—the cow forsooth means these worlds, for whatever walks (gam) that walks in these worlds<sup>1</sup>; and that

---

on it while touching it); the second in the centre of the third layer; and the third one being laid upon the centre of the completed fifth layer. They are meant to represent the three worlds, the holes being intended to afford to the Sacrificer (represented by the gold man) a passage to the highest regions. See VI, 2, 3, 1 seq.

<sup>1</sup> It is not quite clear whether the author indulges in etymological trifling (go—gû). The Bombay MS. of Sâyana reads,—*imâṃstallokân gakkhāṭi kavana(?gavana)karmasâdhanam gosabdam darsayati.*

fire also is these worlds : therefore he may say, 'A cow.'

36. As to this they say, 'For what object is this fire (altar) built?'—'Having become a bird, he (Agni) shall bear me to the sky!' so say some ; but let him not think so ; for by assuming that form, the vital airs became Pragâpati<sup>1</sup> ; by assuming that form, Pragâpati created the gods<sup>2</sup> ; by assuming that form, the gods became immortal : and what thereby the vital airs, and Pragâpati, and the gods became, that indeed he (the Sacrificer) thereby becomes.

### THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. Verily, Pragâpati alone was here in the beginning. He desired, 'May I exist, may I reproduce myself!' He toiled, he practised austerity (or, became heated). From him, worn out and heated, the waters were created : from that heated Person the waters are born.

2. The waters said, 'What is to become of us?'—'Ye shall be heated,' he said. They were heated ; they created foam : hence foam is produced in heated water.

3. The foam (m.) said, 'What is to become of me?'—'Thou shalt be heated!' he said. It was heated, and produced clay ; for indeed the foam is heated, when it floats on the water, covering it ; and when one beats upon it, it indeed becomes clay.

4. The clay (f.) said, 'What is to become of me?'—'Thou shalt be heated!' he said. It was heated,

<sup>1</sup> See VI, I, 1, 2 seq., where the seven vital airs are represented as assuming the form of a bird—the Purusha Pragâpati.

<sup>2</sup> See paragraphs 7-11.



and produced sand; for this clay becomes indeed heated when they plough it; and if only they plough very fine then it becomes, as it were, sandy. So much, then, as to that 'What is to become of me? what is to become of me<sup>1</sup>?'

5. From the sand he created the pebble: whence sand finally indeed becomes a pebble;—from the pebble the stone: whence the pebble finally indeed becomes a stone;—from the stone metal ore: whence from stone they smelt ore;—from ore gold: whence ore much smelted comes, as it were, to have the appearance of gold.

6. Now that which was created was flowing; and inasmuch as it was flowing (aksharat), a syllable (akshara) resulted therefrom; and inasmuch as it flowed eight times, that octosyllabic Gâyatri was produced.

7. 'This has indeed become (bhû) a foundation (resting-place),' so he thought: whence it became the earth (bhûmi). He spread it out (prath): it became the broad (earth, prithivî). On this earth, as on a foundation, the beings, and the lord of beings, consecrated themselves for a year: the lord of beings was the master of the house<sup>2</sup>, and Ushas (the Dawn) was the mistress.

8. Now, those beings are the seasons; and that lord of beings is the year; and that Ushas, the mistress, is the Dawn. And these same creatures, as well as the lord of beings, the year, laid seed

---

<sup>1</sup> He means to say that he will leave this to be supplied in the enumeration of the subsequent creations.

<sup>2</sup> At sacrificial sessions the Sacrificer is called *Grîhapati*. On this, see IV, 6, 8, 3-5.

into Ushas<sup>1</sup>. There a boy (kumâra) was born in a year: he cried.

9. Pragâpati said to him, 'My boy, why criest thou, when thou art born out of labour and trouble?' He said, 'Nay, but I am not freed from (guarded against) evil; I have no name given me: give me a name!' Hence one should give a name to the boy that is born, for thereby one frees him from evil;—even a second, even a third (name), for thereby one frees him from evil time after time.

10. He said to him, 'Thou art Rudra<sup>2</sup>.' And because he gave him that name, Agni became suchlike (or, that form), for Rudra is Agni: because he cried (rud) therefore he is Rudra. He said, 'Surely, I am mightier than that: give me yet a name!'

11. He said to him, 'Thou art Sarva.' And because he gave him that name, the waters became suchlike, for Sarva is the waters, inasmuch as from the water everything (sarva) here is produced. He said, 'Surely, I am mightier than that: give me yet a name!'

12. He said to him, 'Thou art Pasupati.' And because he gave him that name, the plants became suchlike, for Pasupati is the plants: hence when cattle (pasu) get plants, then they play the master<sup>3</sup> (paty). He said, 'Surely, I am mightier than that: give me yet a name!'

13. He said to him, 'Thou art Ugra.' And

<sup>1</sup> On the legend regarding Pragâpati and his daughter Ushas, see I, 7, 4, 1 seq.

<sup>2</sup> On this and several of the other names, see part i, p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> As, when a horse gets much corn, it becomes spirited, 'masterful.' The St. Petersburg dictionary suggests the meaning, 'they become strong.' It might also mean, 'they lord it (over the plants).'

because he gave him that name, Vāyu (the wind) became suchlike, for Ugra is Vāyu: hence when it blows strongly, they say 'Ugra is blowing.' He said, 'Surely, I am mightier than that: give me yet a name!'

14. He said to him, 'Thou art Asani.' And because he gave him that name, the lightning became suchlike, for Asani is the lightning: hence they say of him whom the lightning strikes, 'Asani has smitten him.' He said, 'Surely, I am mightier than that: give me yet a name!'

15. He said to him, 'Thou art Bhava.' And because he gave him that name, Parganya (the rain-god) became suchlike; for Bhava is Parganya, since everything here comes (bhavati) from the rain-cloud. He said, 'Surely, I am mightier than that: give me yet a name!'

16. He said to him, 'Thou art Mahân Devaḥ (the Great God).' And because he gave him that name, the moon became suchlike, for the moon is Pragâpati, and Pragâpati is the Great God. He said, 'Surely, I am mightier than that: give me yet a name!'

17. He said to him, 'Thou art Îsâna (the Ruler).' And because he gave him that name, the Sun became suchlike, for Îsâna is the Sun, since the Sun rules over this All. He said, 'So great indeed I am: give me no other name after that!'

18. These then are the eight forms of Agni. Kumâra (the boy) is the ninth: that is Agni's threefold state<sup>1</sup>.

19. And because there are eight forms of Agni—

<sup>1</sup> That is, his state of being *trivrit*, or three times three.

the Gâyatri consisting of eight syllables—therefore they say, ‘Agni is Gâyatra.’ That boy entered into the forms one after another; for one never sees him as a mere boy (kumâra), but one sees those forms of his<sup>1</sup>, for he assumed those forms one after another.

20. One ought to build him (Agni, the fire-altar) up in (the space of) a year, and recite for a year. ‘For two (years),’ however, say some; ‘for in one year they laid the seed, and in one year that boy was born, therefore let him build for two (years), and recite for two (years).’ Let him, however, build for a year only, and recite for a year; for the same seed which is laid is brought forth; it then lies changing and growing: hence let him build for a year only, and recite for a year. To him (Agni) when built up (ĳita) he gives a name: whereby he keeps away evil from him. He calls him by a bright (ĳitra) name<sup>2</sup>, saying, ‘Thou art bright;’ for Agni is all bright things.

### THE ANIMAL SACRIFICE<sup>3</sup>.

#### SECOND ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. Pragâpati set his mind upon Agni’s forms. He searched for that boy (Kumâra) who had entered

<sup>1</sup> Tatar ka tatprabhṛti tam Agnim kumârarûpam na kvaṇa paryanti kimtv etâny etagḡvalanâdîni rūpâny apurushavidhâni paryanti, Sây.

<sup>2</sup> Or, he calls him by the name of ĳitra (bright), that being the name by which he is actually to address the fire on the altar at the end of the performance. Kâty. XVIII, 6, 23.

<sup>3</sup> This is the so-called ishṛakâ-pasu, or animal sacrifice performed with regard to the bricks; the heads of the victims being used in building up the altar, whilst some of the blood is mixed with the clay of which the bricks are made.

into the (different) forms. Agni became aware of it, —‘Surely, Father Pragâpati is searching for me : well then, let me be suchlike that he knows me not.’

2. He saw those five animals,—the Purusha (man), the horse, the bull, the ram, and the he-goat. Inas-much as he saw (pas) them, they are (called) cattle (pasu).

3. He entered into those five animals; he became those five animals. But Pragâpati still searched for him.

4. He saw those five animals. Because he saw (pas) them, therefore they are animals (pasu); or rather, because he saw him (Agni) in them, therefore they are animals.

5. He considered, ‘They are Agni : I will fit them unto mine own self<sup>1</sup>. Even as Agni, when kindled, glares, so their eye glares ; even as Agni’s smoke rises upwards, so vapour rises from them ; even as Agni consumes what is put in him, so they devour ; even as Agni’s ashes fall down, so do their faeces : they are indeed Agni ; I will fit them unto mine own self.’ He meant to slaughter them for different deities : the Purusha (man) for Visvakarman, the horse for Varuṇa, the bull for Indra, the ram for Tvashtri, the he-goat for Agni.

6. He considered, ‘For different deities, indeed, I mean to slaughter now ; but I myself desire (kam)

<sup>1</sup> Or, I will make them part of mine own self.—Similarly St. Petersburg dictionary, ‘I will change them into myself.’ But differently Professor Delbrück, *Altind. Synt.*, p. 239, ‘I will make myself to be these, change myself into these.’ This is on account of the middle form of the verb, which, however, is quite justified also in the former interpretation. Cf. VI, 8, 2, 1, where there is no question of changing the whole sacrifice into a heap of ashes, but of taking over the ashes, or some of it, to form part of the sacrifice.

Agni's forms: well then, I will slaughter them for the Agnis, as for the (object of my) desire.' He slaughtered them for the Agnis, as for (his) desire,—to wit, 'for the Agnis,' because many were the forms of Agni he had set his mind upon; and 'for the desire,' because it was with a desire that he slaughtered them. Having appeased them and carried the fire round them, he led them northwards and slew them.

7. He considered, 'Those glories (signs of excellence<sup>1</sup>) upon which I have set my mind are contained in the heads: well then, I will only put on the heads<sup>2</sup>.' He cut off the heads and put them on (himself, or the altar). The remaining trunks he then let float on the water<sup>3</sup>, and brought the sacrifice to its completion by means of (the offering of) a he-goat, thinking, 'Lest my sacrifice be pulled to pieces.' After performing that animal sacrifice, Pragâpati saw that he had not yet reached the end of Agni (the fire-altar).

8. He considered, 'I must search for that body<sup>4</sup> which I let float on the water.' He searched for it; and what (part) of those (bodies) cast into the water had settled therein, that water he gathered; and what (had settled) in this earth, that clay (he gathered)<sup>5</sup>. And having gathered both that clay

<sup>1</sup> See VI, I, 1, 4.

<sup>2</sup> That is, on the fire-altar, or (which is the same thing) on himself, Pragâpati, the sacrifice. The heads of the five victims are placed in (a dish introduced into) the bottom layer of the altar so as to impart stability to it. See VII, 5, 2, 1 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Or, he washed them, cleaned them, in water.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, that self, i.e. that part of mine own self, the sacrifice (?).

<sup>5</sup> It seemed desirable here to leave the construction of the original text unchanged.

and water, he made a brick : hence a brick consists of these two, clay and water.

9. He considered, 'Surely, if I fit<sup>1</sup> this (matter) such as it is unto mine own self, I shall become a mortal carcase, not freed from evil : well then, I will bake it by means of the fire.' So saying, he baked it by means of the fire, and thereby made it immortal ; for the sacrificial food which is baked by fire is indeed immortal (or, ambrosia). Hence they bake the bricks with fire : they thereby make them immortal.

10. And inasmuch as he saw them after offering (ish/vâ) the animal, therefore they are bricks (ish/takâ). Hence one must make the bricks only after performing an animal sacrifice ; for those which are made before (or, without) an animal sacrifice are 'anish/takâ<sup>2</sup>.' And, moreover, there is this other (consideration).

11. As to those glories, they are these same heads of the victims ; and those (headless) trunks are these five layers (of the fire-altar) : thus when he builds up the layers after putting on the heads of the victims, he thereby unites those trunks with those heads.

12. And because Agni is all those animal victims, therefore animals delight (being) near the fire<sup>3</sup>,—

<sup>1</sup> Sâyana explains 'abhisamskarishye' by 'âdhiyagñike sarîra upadhâsyâmi,' 'if I were to put this (clay and water) on the sacrificial body.'

<sup>2</sup> A play on the word which may mean either 'non-bricks,' or 'being without oblation (ish/a).'

<sup>3</sup> Sâyana seems to take this to mean, that animals (cattle) delight, or sport, when the sacrificial fire is established ; that is to say, they feel at home and increase wherever a new household is established (?) ;—tasmâd agnâv âhite pasavo ramante, âtmany eva sâ prîtir ity abhiprâyaḥ. Adhunâ = gneḥ pasushv âtmabhûteshu prîtim

there animals sport with animals. Hence the (sacrificial) fire is set up with him who possesses cattle; for inasmuch as Agni (was) the same as cattle, therefore Pragâpati (the lord of creatures or generation) became Agni.

13. Here now some say, 'It is at this (point of the performance) that he should offer up all those (five) victims; for had Pragâpati then offered up all of them, he would certainly have reached the end of the fire (altar): hence were he (the Sacrificer) now to offer up all those (victims) he would certainly reach the end of the fire (altar).' Let him not do so: he thus would stray from where the gods have gone, he would stray from the path;—and what would he then gather<sup>1</sup>? For those same bodies, those layers, he gathers: let him therefore not do so.

14. Now when he slaughters those animals, he prepares a home for Agni; for nowhere but in his home does one enjoy himself. But the home means food: it is that he lays down in front, and when Agni sees that, he turns unto him.

15. There are a man, a horse, a bull, a ram, and a he-goat; for such are all the animals (used for sacrifice). Animals are food: he thus lays down in front whatever food there is; and seeing that, Agni turns unto him.

16. There are five; for there are those five Agnis,

---

darsayann âha, yasmâd agnir esha yat pasavas tasmâd yasya manushyasya paravo bhavanti tasminn etad agnir âdhiyate, tatra hi sa âtmabhûtaiḥ pasubhî ramate nānyatra; evam yad agnyâtmikâḥ paravas tatas tam agnim âtmâ-bhisamskritya pragâpatir agnir abhavat.

<sup>1</sup> That is, what 'sambhâras' or equipments of the fire should he then collect? Cf. part i, p. 276.



to wit, the five layers (of the fire-altar) : for them he thus lays down five homes ; and seeing that, Agni turns unto him.

17. And when (he offers) 'to the Agnis,'—it is because there are here many Agnis, to wit, those layers ; and when (he offers) 'to the desire,' it is in order that the Sacrificer may obtain the object for which he performs that ceremony.

18. A man (purusha) he slaughters first, for man is the first of animals ; then a horse, for the horse comes after man ; then a bull, for the bull (or cow) comes after the horse ; then a ram, for the sheep comes after the cow ; then a he-goat, for the goat comes after the sheep : thus he slaughters them according to their form, according to their excellence.

19. Their ropes may be unequal ; that of the man being the longest, then shorter and shorter : thus he makes the ropes according to the form of the animals, to avoid confusion between good and bad. But let them be all alike, all similar ; for all these victims are alike, all similar, for they are (all) called Agnis, they are called food : hence they are alike and similar.

20. Here now they say, 'How is that complete five-bricked fire of his gained in the animals?'—Well, in the kapālas of the sacrificial cakes that first brick, the earthen one, is obtained ; and when he slaughters the animal, thereby the animal brick is obtained, and when two gold chips are (placed) on both sides of the omentum, thereby the gold brick is obtained ; and what firewood, stake, and enclosing sticks there are, thereby the wooden brick is obtained ; and what ghee, sprinkling-water, and cake there are, thereby the fifth brick, the food, is

obtained : thus then that complete five-bricked fire of his is gained in the animals.

21. For these (victims) there are twenty-four kindling-verses<sup>1</sup>; for the year consists of twenty-four half-moons, and Agni is the year : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus kindles him.

22. And, again, why there are twenty-four,—the Gâyatrī consists of twenty-four syllables, and Agni is Gâyatra<sup>2</sup>: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus kindles him.

23. And, again, why there are twenty-four,—man (purusha) doubtless is twenty-fourfold : ten fingers of the hands, ten toes, and four limbs ; and Pragâpati is the Purusha, and Pragâpati is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus kindles him.

24. He recites both gâyatṛī and trishṭubh verses ; for the gâyatṛī metre is the vital air, and the trishṭubh is the body (self) : by the gâyatṛī verses he thus kindles his vital air, and by the trishṭubh ones the body. The trishṭubh verses are in the middle, and the gâyatṛī verses on both sides thereof ; for this body is in the middle, and the (organs of) the vital airs are on the sides thereof. He pronounces more gâyatṛī verses before, and fewer after (the

<sup>1</sup> For the eleven gâyatṛī verses, used as sâmidhenīś at an ordinary ishī—*and raised to the number of fifteen by repetitions of the first and last verses—see part i, p. 102.* The present animal sacrifice (ish/akâ-paru) adds to these verses nine trishṭubh verses (Vâg. S. XXVII, 1–9), which (according to Kâty. XVI, 1, 11) are to be inserted between the two verses containing the words ‘sâmidhyamâna’ (being kindled) and ‘samiddha’ (kindled) respectively,—that is, between the ninth and tenth of the normal or gâyatṛī kindling-verses (cf. I, 4, 1, 38).

<sup>2</sup> See VI, 1, 1, 15 ; 3, 19.

trish/ubh verses); for there are more (organs of the) vital airs in front, and fewer behind.

25. He recites (Vâg. S. XXVII, 1), 'May the months<sup>1</sup>, O Agni, may the seasons make thee grow!' When Agni restored the relaxed Pragâpati, he (Pragâpati) said to him, 'What kindling-verses there are equal to me (in measure), with them kindle me!'

26. He (Agni) saw these (verses), 'May the months, O Agni, may the seasons make thee grow!' that is, 'May both the months, O Agni, and the seasons make thee grow!'—'The years, the *Rishis*, whatsoever truths' that is, 'May the years, and the *Rishis*, and the truths make thee grow!'—'With heavenly brightness do thou shine!'—the heavenly brightness doubtless is yonder sun: thus 'together with that do thou shine!'—'lighten up the whole four regions!' that is, 'lighten up all the four regions!'

27. These (verses) have one and the same explanation regarding him (Agni-Pragâpati): how one would make him complete, how he would restore and produce him. They relate to Agni and Pragâpati: to Agni, inasmuch as Agni saw (them); to Pragâpati, inasmuch as he (Agni) kindled Pragâpati.

<sup>1</sup> This is the meaning assigned here to 'samâh' by Mahîdhara, a doubtful meaning indeed. Besides the ordinary meaning 'year,' the St. Petersburg dictionary also allows to 'samâ' that of 'half-year' in some passages of the Atharva-veda. In the present passage, the dictionary refers 'samâh' to the adjective 'sama,' hence 'the equal seasons.' This cannot, however, have been the meaning assigned to the word by the author of this part of the Brâhmana, whatever it may originally have been in this verse of the Samhitâs. Sâyana, Taitt. S. IV, 1, 7, takes 'samâh' in the sense of 'the years,' but remarks that 'the months and half-months' have to be understood by it in this verse.

28. Twelve Âprî (propitiatory) verses<sup>1</sup> there are, —twelve months are a year, and the year is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus propitiates (or gratifies) him.

29. And, again, why there are twelve,—of twelve syllables consists the Gagatî, and the Gagatî is this earth, for on her there is everything that moves (gagat) here. And Agni also is this earth, for it is out of her that the whole fire (altar) is built up : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus propitiates him.

30. And, again, why there are twelve,—of twelve syllables consists the Gagatî, and the Gagatî is all the metres, and all the metres are Pragâpati (the sacrifice), and Pragâpati is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus propitiates him.

31. Those 'kindling-sticks of his (Agni) are upright.' When Agni restored the relaxed Pragâpati, he said to him, 'What Âprî-verses there are equal to me, with them propitiate me!'

32. He saw these (verses)<sup>2</sup> :—'Upright are his kindling-sticks,' for upright indeed are the kindling-sticks of him when kindled;—'upwards tending the bright flashes of Agni,' for tending upwards are his bright flashes, his flames;—'they, the most brilliant,' that is 'the most powerful;'—'of the fair-looking son,' for fair-looking indeed Agni is on all sides; and inasmuch as he (the Sacrificer) produces him thereby he (Agni) is his son.

<sup>1</sup> For the purport of these verses which form the offering-prayers at the fore-offerings of the animal sacrifice, see part ii, p. 185, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Vâg. S. XXVII, 11 seq.

33. These (verses) have one and the same explanation regarding him (Agni-Pragâpati): how one would make him complete, how he would restore and produce him. They relate to Agni and Pragâpati, —to Agni, inasmuch as Agni saw (them); to Pragâpati, inasmuch as he (Agni) propitiated Pragâpati.

34. They are unequal, and consist of unequal feet, and unequal syllables; for the metres are unequal: whatever unequal limbs there are at his (Agni's) body, those (limbs) of his he propitiates by these (verses).

35. The animal cake belongs to (Agni) Vaisvânara—Vaisvânara being all the fires—for the obtainment of all the fires.

36. As to why it belongs to Vaisvânara;—those layers (of the altar) no doubt are the seasons, for the seasons are the fires; and the seasons are the year, and the year is Vaisvânara (belonging to all men). Were it (offered) to Agni (Vaisvânara), he would cause it (the formula) to be redundant. It is one on twelve potsherds: twelve months are a year, and the year is Vaisvânara. The offering and invitatory formulas relate to Agni, for the obtainment of Agni's forms. They contain the word 'kâma' (desire), for the obtainment of his desires.

37. Now some, having in that way<sup>1</sup> obtained those heads, put them on (the fire-altar), thinking, 'Either way<sup>2</sup> are they animals.' But they (who do this) become mortal carcases, for unpropitiated are

<sup>1</sup> That is, according to Sâyana, somehow or other, in some worldly manner, as by buying or begging them, without performing the animal sacrifice.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, whether they are consecrated or unconsecrated, in either case they are 'paravah' or animal (victims). Sây.

those (heads) of theirs. In this way, indeed, they did put them on for *Ashâdhi Sausromateya*<sup>1</sup>; but quickly indeed he died after that.

38. Some, however, make gold ones, saying, 'They are immortal bricks (*amṛiteshtakâ*).' But indeed those are false bricks (*anṛiteshtakâ*), those are no heads of victims.

39. Some, again, make earthen ones, thinking, 'Passed away, forsooth, are these animals, and this earth is the shelter of all that has passed away: thus whither those animals have gone, from thence we collect them.' Let him not do so, for whoso knows not both the practice and theory of these (victims), for him let them be passed away. Let him slaughter those very five victims, as far as he may be able to do so; for it was these *Pragâpati* was the first to slaughter, and *Syâparṇa Sâyakâyana* the last; and in the interval also people used to slaughter them. But nowadays only these two are slaughtered, the one for *Pragâpati*, and the one for *Vâyu*. The theory of these two is now (to be) told.

#### SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. The *Karakas* slaughter (a he-goat) for *Pragâpati*, saying, '*Pragâpati*, having built up the fire-altar (*agni*), became *Agni*. When he slaughters that one, then indeed he reaches the end of *Agni* (the fire-altar).'

2. It is a dark grey one; for the grey has two kinds of hair, the white and the black; and two make a productive pair: that is its *Pragâpati*-characteristic. It is a hornless one, for *Pragâpati* is hornless.

<sup>1</sup> The son of *Ashâdha* and *Susromatâ*, according to *Sâyana*.

3. For this (animal sacrifice) there are twenty-one kindling-verses<sup>1</sup>;—twelve months, five seasons, these three worlds, and yonder sun,—that is the twenty-onfold Pragâpati; and Pragâpati is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus kindles him.

4. And, again, why there are twenty-one;—man (purusha) doubtless is twenty-onfold, ten fingers of the hand, ten toes, and the body (make) the twenty-onfold man Pragâpati; and Pragâpati is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus kindles him.

5. He recites both gâyatrî and trish/ubh verses: their significance has been told; and (what applies to) the order of the verses has been told. The libation of ghee<sup>2</sup> he makes with the verse containing (the name) Hiraṇyagarbha<sup>3</sup>; for Hiraṇyagarbha

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the eleven ordinary gâyatrî verses raised, by repetitions, to the number of fifteen; with six special trish/ubh inserted (p. 167, note 1). Kâty. XVI, 1, 34.

<sup>2</sup> On the two libations of ghee, see part i, p. 124 note; p. 128, n. 2. It is doubtful which of the two libations is intended here; whether the first which in any case belongs to Pragâpati, but is usually made with a different formula from the one prescribed here, or the second. The later ritualists themselves seem to have been doubtful on this point; but Kâtyâyana (XVI, 1, 35-37) leans to the opinion, that the second libation must be intended; both libations thus being made to Pragâpati on this occasion. Sâyana remarks,—hiraṇyavatyâ rikâ 'hiraṇyagarbhaḥ samavartatety' ata uttaram samaprakam (? samaprakâram) âghâram âghârâyati; pragâpatir vai hiraṇyagarbhaḥ sa kâgnis tam evam tarpayitvâpnotity abhiprâyaḥ.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Vâg. S. XXV, 10 (XIII, 4; Rîk S. X, 121, 1, 'Hiraṇyagarbhaḥ samavartatâgre), 'Hiraṇyagarbha (the golden child) came first into existence; he was born as the only lord of all being; he sustained this earth and sky: what god (or the god Ka) shall we serve with offering.'

is Pragâpati, and Pragâpati is Agni. There are twelve Âpri-verses: their significance has been told; and (what applies to) the order of the verses has been told. The animal cake belongs to Pragâpati, for the relation of the victim is also that of the animal cake<sup>1</sup>. It is one on twelve potsherds: twelve months are a year, and the year is Pragâpati. The offering and invitatory formulas contain the word 'Ka,' for Pragâpati is Ka<sup>2</sup>.

6. He then slaughters for Vâyu Niyutvat (the wind, driving a team of horses) that white, bearded (he-goat). When Pragâpati had produced living beings, he looked about him, and from exceeding delight his seed fell: it became that white, hornless, bearded he-goat (aga, 'unborn'); for seed is life-sap, and as far as there is life-sap, so far extends the self. And when he slaughters that one, then indeed he reaches the end of Agni (the fire-altar). It is a white one, because seed is white. It is hornless, because seed is hornless. It belongs to Vâyu, because Vâyu (the wind) is the out-breathing; and to Niyutvat, because the teams (niyut<sup>3</sup>) are the in-breathing: the out-breathing and in-breathing he thus lays into him.

<sup>1</sup> See III, 8, 3, 1 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See I, 1, 1, 13 with note.—The above verse, *R̥k* S. X, 121, 1, and following five verses,—each of which ends with, 'what god (or the god Ka) shall we serve with offering,'—are used with the omentum, the animal cake (*pasupurodâsa*), and the animal oblations respectively; viz. the first three verses as invitatory formulas (*anuvākayâ*) and the last three as offering formulas (*yâgyâ*). Âsv. Sr. III, 8, 1.—Vâg. S. XXV, 10–13, only the first four verses are given together; whilst Sâyana, in accordance with Âsvalâyana, remarks,—*vapâ purodâsaparûnâm 'hiraṇyagarbhaḥ samavartatâgra' ity âdayaḥ syuḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> Probably 'niyutaḥ' here with allusion to 'niyuta,' shut in.



7. And, again, why he slaughters that white, hornless (he-goat);—when the gods restored the relaxed Pragâpati, they, by means of this victim, put into him that out-breathing which had gone out of him; and in like manner this one now puts it into him. It belongs to Vâyu, because Vâyu is the out-breathing; and to Niyutvat, because the teams are the in-breathing: he thus puts the out-breathing and in-breathing into him. It is white, because Vâyu (the wind) is white; and it is hornless, because Vâyu is hornless.

8. For this (animal sacrifice) there are seventeen kindling-verses<sup>1</sup>; for the year is seventeenfold—there are twelve months and five seasons—Pragâpati is the year, and Pragâpati is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus kindles him.

9. And, again, why there are seventeen,—man is seventeenfold,—there are ten vital airs, four limbs, the body the fifteenth, the neck-joints the sixteenth, and the head the seventeenth,—Pragâpati is the Person (or man, purusha), and Pragâpati is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus kindles him.

10. He recites both gâyatrî and trishŭbh verses: their significance has been told; and (what applies to) the order of the verses has been told. There are twelve Âpri-verses: their significance has been told; and (what applies to) the order of the verses has been told. The animal cake belongs to Pragâpati: 'Therein then that wish was obtained,'

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, only two additional trishŭbh verses are to be inserted between the 11 (or 15) gâyatrî ones.

Mâhitthi once said,—‘which the *Karakâs* say is in the victim to *Pragâpati*.’

11. And as to why the victim belongs to *Vâyû*, and the animal cake to *Pragâpati*;—one half of *Pragâpati* doubtless is *Vâyû*, and one half is *Pragâpati*: thus, were they both to belong to *Vâyû*, or both to *Pragâpati*, then only one half of him (*Pragâpati*) would be made up, and one half would not (be made up). But in that the victim belongs to *Vâyû*, and the animal cake to *Pragâpati*, thereby he puts together (restores) him, *Pragâpati*, wholly and entirely.

12. And, again, why the victim belongs to *Vâyû*, and the animal cake to *Pragâpati*;—when the gods restored the relaxed *Pragâpati*, they, by means of this victim, put into him that out-breathing which had gone out of him; and by means of this cake they restored that body (trunk) of his. And as to why it belongs to *Pragâpati*, it is because the body (self) is *Pragâpati*; and (why it is) one on twelve potsherds,—twelve months are a year, and *Pragâpati* is the year. One of the offering prayers and one of the invitatory prayers<sup>1</sup> contain (the word) ‘*ka*,’ for *Pragâpati* is *Ka*.

<sup>1</sup> The three chief oblations of the Animal Sacrifice, requiring each an invitatory prayer (*anuvâkyâ*) and an offering prayer (*yâgyâ*), are the omentum-oblation (*vapâ*), the animal cake (*pasu-purodâsa*), and the meat oblations (*pasu-havis*). This is the order on the present occasion, whilst usually the cake-oblation succeeds the offering of meat portions. Now the first of the three invitatory prayers (that of the omentum), viz. *Vâg. S. XXVII, 26 (Rîk S. X, 121, 8)*, and the last of the three offering prayers (that of the meat portions), viz. *Vâg. S. XXVII, 25 (Rîk S. X, 121, 7)*, end with the refrain, ‘what god (or, the god *Ka*) should we serve with offering.’ Thus, then, the first and the last of the six formulas would be

13. Now when in the first place he offers the omentum, he thereby puts into him (Pragâpati) that vital air which is here in front. And when they proceed with that (cake) in the middle, it is because this trunk is in the middle. And when they proceed thereafter with the (meat) oblation, he thereby puts into him that vital air which is behind. The (remaining) offering and invitatory prayers should contain the word 'bright,' with the view of the obtainment of bright forms; and the word 'niyut' (team), for the obtainment of that form which has a team <sup>1</sup>.

addressed to Pragâpati; and to him is also exceptionally offered the animal cake, which is here assigned the central position, and which, in the normal sacrificial order, would belong to the recipient of the animal sacrifice itself, or in the present case, to Vâyu Niyutvat. Sâyana, on the other hand, makes the above two verses, containing the word Ka, the invitatory and offering prayers of the cake-offering, as the MS. makes him say,—kadvatyau yâgyânuvâkye purodâsasya, 'âpo ha yad brîhatîr' (*Rîk* S. X, 121, 7), 'yaskîd âpo' (X, 121, 8) ity etc. This, indeed, would also seem to be the opinion of Kâtâyâna, whose rules (XVI, 1, 39-43) are,—39. To Pragâpati belongs the animal cake at both (animal sacrifices); 40. The offering and invitatory formulas of the Prâgâpatya (animal sacrifice) contain the word 'Ka'; 41. Those of the Vâyavya contain the word 'bright'; 42. Optionally so, those of the omentum (but not at the meat portion, commentary); 43. The remainder is equal in all (three views).—Now it would indeed be the most natural, that the formulas of the cake-offering, here exceptionally assigned to Pragâpati, should be made to correspond to that deity; but the order in which the formulas are given in the Vâg. S. XXVII, 23-28 (cf. Âśval. III, 8, 1), as well as paragraph 13 above, seems to favour the first view; though the next paragraph shows that there were differences of opinion on this point. Cf. next note.

<sup>1</sup> The form of Pragâpati which has a team of horses is Vâyu, the god of wind; while his bright forms are represented by Agni, the fire (VI, 1, 3, 20, 'Agni is all bright things').—Vâg. S. XXVII, 29-34 gives six verses for use as invitatory and offering formulas

14. As to this they say, 'It is rather the two (prayers) of the Omentum that should contain (the word) "bright," for so far as the two (prayers) of the omentum containing (the word) "bright" extend, extends what is bright in the animal (sacrifice); and the two (prayers) of the (meat) oblation should contain (the word) "team," for the obtainment of that form of him (Pragâpati) which has a team.'

15. And, again, why he slaughters this animal;— in this animal doubtless the form of all (the five kinds of) animals is (contained): inasmuch as it is hornless and bearded, that is the form of man, for man is hornless and bearded; inasmuch as it is hornless and furnished with a mane, that is the form of the horse, for the horse is hornless and furnished with a mane; inasmuch as it is eight-hoofed, that is the bull's form, for the bull is eight-hoofed; inasmuch as its hoofs are like those of the sheep, that is the form of the

at the *ishakâpasu* to *Vâyû*. Five of these contain the word 'niyut,' team, but only the first two contain the word 'sukra' (bright): these two are presumably to be used on the present occasion; though I am at a loss to see what other two verses containing the word 'bright' are to be used; unless indeed 'suklavatyaḥ' in the text means 'verses containing some word for bright,' in which case the ordinary verses used at an animal offering to *Vâyû* *Niyutvat*, viz. *Vâg. S. XXVII, 23* and *24* (*Rik S. VII, 91, 3; 90, 3*) which contain the word 'sveta' (white, light), might be used. The MS. of *Sâyana's* commentary is unfortunately very corrupt in this place; it alludes to the latter two verses, but whether to recommend them, or set them aside, for the present occasion, is not clear. He does, however, specially except the formulas of the animal cake from being included in the above specification. In the view put forth in paragraph 14, the above-mentioned two verses would apparently have to be used for the omentum-oblation, the two verses containing 'Ka' for the cake-oblation, and (any) two verses containing the word 'team' (either the ordinary ones, *Rik S. VII, 92, 5; VI, 49, 4*; or some of the special ones) for the meat-oblation.

sheep; and inasmuch as it is a he-goat, that is that of the goat. Thus when he slaughters this one, thereby indeed all those (five) animals are slaughtered for him. Whichever of these may suit him—either those five animals, or that (he-goat) for Pragâpati, or that one for (Vâyu) Niyutvat <sup>1</sup>—

16. Let him slaughter it at full moon. 'Let him slaughter at new moon,' so say some, 'for Pragâpati is yonder moon: during that night (of new moon) he dwells here (on earth) <sup>2</sup>, and it would be just as if he slaughtered him while staying near.'

17. But, indeed, this (takes place) at full moon, for the victim is yonder moon, and him the gods slaughter at full moon <sup>3</sup>: 'I will slaughter him at the time when the gods slaughter him,' thus he thinks, and therefore (he does so) at full moon. And, again, why at full moon;—the full moon no

<sup>1</sup> Sâyaṇa here supplies 'let him perform that,'—eshâm karmānām madhye yat karmāśya sampadyeta tat kuryād iti seshah; but he then adds, that the pronoun 'it' (tam) at the beginning of the next paragraph is caused by proximity of the Niyutvatiya.

<sup>2</sup> See I, 6, 4, 5. 'Now this king Soma, the food of the gods, is no other than the moon. When he (the moon, masc.) is not seen that night either in the east or in the west, then he visits this world, and here he enters into the waters (f.) and plants (f.).' Thus Pragâpati is here identified with Soma, the moon, and food.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. I, 6, 4, 12-13. 'The full-moon oblation, assuredly, belongs to the Vṛitra-slayer, for by means of it Indra slew Vṛitra; and this new-moon oblation also represents the slaying of Vṛitra, since they prepared that invigorating draught for him who had slain Vṛitra. An offering in honour of the Vṛitra-slayer, then, is the full-moon sacrifice. Vṛitra, assuredly, is no other than the moon; and when during that night (of new moon) he is not seen either in the east or in the west, then he (Indra) finishes in destroying him by means of that (new-moon sacrifice), and leaves nothing remaining of him.'

doubt was the first to shine forth, hence also (the sacrifice takes place) at full moon.

18. And furthermore, at the Phâlguna (full moon), for that full moon of Phâlguna, that is, the second (Phâlguna)<sup>1</sup>, is the first night of the year ; and that first (Phâlguna) is the last (night of the year) : he thus begins the year at the very mouth (beginning).

19. Now, as soon as he has performed the full-moon offering, let him slaughter the victim. For Indra, having driven away *Vṛitra*, evil, by means of the full-moon offering, thus freed from evil entered upon this sacrificial performance; and in like manner the Sacrificer, having driven away *Vṛitra*, evil, by means of the full-moon offering, thus freed from evil now enters on this (sacred) performance.

20. This is (performed) in a low voice, for by means of these victims *Pragâpati* sought to obtain this (sacred) work<sup>2</sup> ; but that (work) was then, as it were, uncertain, indistinct : hence in a low voice.

21. And, again, why in a low voice ;—this performance assuredly belongs to *Pragâpati*, for it is *Pragâpati* he enters upon by this performance ; and *Pragâpati* is undefined.

22. And, again, why in a low voice ;—there is seed here in the sacrifice, and seed is cast silently—the

<sup>1</sup> In the older division of the year the first or spring season (*vasanta*) begins with the month of Phâlguna, that is the month when the moon is in conjunction with the nakshatra of the Uttare Phalgunî, whence that full moon, in the Kaush. Br. 5, 1, is called the mouth, and that of the first Phalgunî the tail, of the year. See A. Weber, *Nachrichten von den Naxatra*, II, p. 329. In the above, somewhat bold figure, we are, *Sâyana* reminds us, to understand the fifteenth or last day (of the dark fortnight) of the first Phalgunî, and the pratipad, or first day of the second Phalgunî.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the construction of the fire-altar.

omentum, the animal cake, and the chief oblation, for of that much consists the animal sacrifice.

23. On the eighth day (after full moon) he collects (the materials for) the fire-pan ; for sacred to Pragâpati is that day, the eighth (after full moon), and sacred to Pragâpati is this (sacred) piece of work, the fire-pan : on a day sacred to Pragâpati he thus performs the work sacred to Pragâpati.

24. And as to why (it is performed) on the eighth day ;—that eighth day no doubt is a joint of the year, and that fire-pan is a joint of Agni (the fire-altar) : he thus makes joint upon joint.

25. And, again, why on the eighth day ;—eightfold doubtless is the pan<sup>1</sup>—the bottom part, the two side-parts, the horizontal belt (or rim), that makes four ; and four upright (bands), that makes eight : he thus makes the eightfold on the eightfold (or eighth).

26. He performs the initiation on the day of new moon ; for from out of the new moon the sacrifice is spread : 'Whence the sacrifice is spread, thence will I generate the sacrifice,' so he thinks.

27. And, again, why he (does so) at new moon ;—when he performs the initiation, he verily pours out his own self, as seed, into the fire-pan, the womb ; and when he becomes initiated, he makes for it (his self) that world (or place) beforehand<sup>2</sup>, and he is

<sup>1</sup> For the construction of the fire-pan, in which the sacred fire has to be kept up for a year, during which the initiation-ceremony is repeated day after day, see VI, 5, 2, 1 seq.

<sup>2</sup> There is kept up in these paragraphs a play on the word 'loka,' meaning both 'space' and 'world (or place of living),'—and applying both to the space occupied by a brick, in building up the altar ; and to the place which the Sacrificer, by this performance, gains for himself in another world. The initiation period is here represented

born into the world made by him : hence they say, 'Man is born into the world made (by him)<sup>1</sup>.'

28. Now, were he to be initiated during less than a year, he would build up bricks without space (for them)<sup>2</sup>: the bricks would exceed the spaces. And if, after making more spaces<sup>3</sup>, he were not to fill up bricks in accordance therewith, the spaces would exceed the bricks. And when, after initiating himself at new moon, he buys (Soma) at new moon<sup>4</sup>, he piles up as many bricks as he (during the interval) makes space for ; and when his (Agni's second) wing is covered (with loose soil), the whole Agni is built up.

29. As to this they say, 'If at the time of the buying (of Soma) the days and nights (of the initiation-period) amount to just as many as there are bricks of that fire-altar, why then are not those

---

as the time during which the Sacrificer prepares both the requisite space for the altar (as it were, adding day by day so many brick-spaces, thus becoming available for the altar-pile at the time of construction), and an adequate place for himself in the celestial regions.

<sup>1</sup> That is, man receives, in a future existence, the reward or punishment for his deeds during this life.

<sup>2</sup> The author argues in support of the orthodox initiation-period of just one year, as just the amount of time required for preparing the exact amount of space (or brick-spaces) requisite for an altar of proper size. If the initiation were to last less than a year, he would not have had sufficient time to prepare the necessary amount of space, or rather, number of spaces required for the bricks ; and, by implication, he would not acquire for himself an adequate place hereafter.

<sup>3</sup> That is to say, if he were to make the initiation-period last longer than a year, thus providing for more space than his supply of bricks would suffice to fill up.

<sup>4</sup> That is, after the expiration of the period of initiation, or just a year after the commencement of the latter.



spaces of his filled up (which are prepared) during the days there are after the buying (of Soma)<sup>1</sup>? Well, when he buys (Soma) at new moon, after becoming initiated at new moon (a year previously), then he piles up just as many bricks as (during that interval) he makes space for; and what days there then are after the buying (of Soma), during that interval the Adhvaryu builds up the fire-altar. But when should he build up, if there were not that interval? As many as there are days and nights in the year, so many are the bricks of that fire-altar. Thereto (comes) a thirteenth month, for there is that thirteenth month;—thus during the days there are after the buying (of Soma), those spaces of it (the altar) are filled up afterwards with those bricks of the thirteenth month: thus the spaces and the bricks become equal.

30. Thus, then, what first full moon there is (in the year) on that he slaughters the victim; and what first eighth-day there is, on that he prepares the fire-pan; and what first new moon there is, on that he becomes initiated: thus whatever first days there are in the year, of those he thereby takes possession for him (Agni, the altar), those he thereby gains. Now then as to the total amount (of the fire-altar)<sup>2</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, during the days from the commencement to the completion of the altar. These are the upasad-days (part ii, p. 104 seq.), the number of which varies from three days up to three years. During this period the Upasads have to be performed twice daily, and in the interval between the two performances the building of the altar takes place, a certain number of bricks being added each day.

<sup>2</sup> Or, rather, the correspondence, in toto, of the sacrificial performance with the object to be attained, viz. Agni, the fire-altar.

31. Here now they say, 'How does that sacrificial performance of his (the animal sacrifice) gain the year, Agni? how does it correspond<sup>1</sup> with the year, with Agni?' Well, for those five victims there are twenty-five kindling-verses, twelve Âpri-verses,—that makes thirty-six;—eleven after-offerings, eleven by-offerings<sup>2</sup>,—that makes fifty-eight.

32. Now what forty-eight there are (in these fifty-eight), they are the *Gagati* (metre) consisting of forty-eight syllables;—the *Gagati* doubtless is this earth, for it is thereon that everything is that moves (*gagat*); and Agni also is this earth, for it is thereof that the whole Agni is built up: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become<sup>3</sup>.

33. And, again, why there are forty-eight;—of forty-eight syllables consists the *Gagati*; the *Gagati* (comprises) all the metres; all the metres are *Pragâpati* (the sacrifice<sup>4</sup>); and *Pragâpati* is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become.

34. And what (remaining) ten there are (in those fifty-eight), they are the *Virâg*, consisting of ten syllables; and the *Virâg* is Agni,—there are ten regions, and the regions are Agni; ten vital airs, and the vital airs are Agni: as great as Agni is,

<sup>1</sup> Or, come up to, tally with,—*katham samvatsarena sampadyate sangakkhate* = *vayavasâmyena*, Sây.

<sup>2</sup> For these supplementary oblations at the animal sacrifice, see III, 8, 4, 10 seq.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the animal sacrifice that has been performed is thus made out to be equal to Agni, or to the object for which it was performed.

<sup>4</sup> That is, because all the metres are employed in the chants and recitations during the sacrifice.

as great as is his measure, so great does this become.

35. The omentum and the animal cake, that makes sixty;—sixty are the days and nights of a month: thus he gains the month; the month gained gains the season; and the season (gains) the year: he thus gains the year, Agni, and the wishes which are contained in the year, and what other food than that there is in the year, all that (he gains).

36. And for that (victim) of Pragâpati there are twenty-one kindling-verses, and twelve Âpri-verses, that makes thirty-three;—eleven after-offerings, eleven by-offerings, that makes fifty-five;—omentum, animal cake, and chief oblation, that makes fifty-eight: whatever wish is contained in the fifty-eight, that he gains even here<sup>1</sup>;—two libations of ghee, that makes sixty: whatever wish is contained in the sixty, that he gains even here; and what other food than that there is in the year, all that (he gains).

37. And for that (victim) of (Vâyu) Niyutvat, there are seventeen kindling-verses, and twelve Âpri-verses, that makes twenty-nine;—eleven after-offerings, and eleven by-offerings, that makes fifty-one;—omentum, animal cake, and chief oblation, that makes fifty-four;—two libations of ghee, two (oblations to Agni) Svishṭakṛit, that makes fifty-eight: whatever wish is contained in the fifty-eight, that he gains even here;—the wood-lord<sup>2</sup> (tree) and the oblation of gravy, that makes sixty: whatever wish is con-

<sup>1</sup> ?That is, also in this calculation, or in the parts of the sacrifice here enumerated.

<sup>2</sup> For the oblation to Vanaspati, see part ii, p. 208; for the vasâhoma, ib. 205.

tained in the sixty, that he gains even here, and what other food than that there is in the year, all that (he gains); and thus that sacrificial performance gains for him the year, Agni; thus it (the animal sacrifice) corresponds with the year, with Agni.

38. As to this they say, 'Of that animal he should offer no Samishṭayagus, nor should he go down with the heart-spit to the purificatory bath<sup>1</sup>; for that animal (sacrifice) is the commencement of Agni; the Samishṭayagus are the gracious dismissal of the deities<sup>2</sup>; and the purificatory bath is the completion;—lest he should at the very commencement dismiss the deities, and complete the sacrifice.' Let him nevertheless complete (the sacrifice): Pragâpati, having offered that animal, saw that he had not reached the end of him, Agni,—let him therefore complete (the sacrifice). And, again, why he completes it;—that animal sacrifice is his vital air, and if anything were to cut him off from that, it would cut him off from the vital air; and if anything were to cut him off from the vital air, he would thus die: let him therefore complete (the sacrifice). Now, then, as to the vows (rites of abstinence).

39. Here now they say, 'After he has performed that animal offering, he must not sleep upon (a couch), nor eat flesh, nor hold carnal intercourse; for that animal sacrifice is the first Dikshâ, and improper surely it would be, were the initiated to sleep upon (a couch), or were he to eat flesh, or hold carnal intercourse.' But in no way is this a Dikshâ, for there is neither a girdle, nor a black

<sup>1</sup> See III, 8, 5, 8 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See I, 9, 2, 26–27.

antelope skin<sup>1</sup>; but he makes this the first brick<sup>2</sup>: let him therefore, if he like, sleep upon (a couch); and whatever food animals here eat, all that is here obtained and taken possession of by him; and whatever kinds of food there are other than honey, of all those he may eat at pleasure, if he can get them. Carnal intercourse, however, he may not hold prior to the (offering of) clotted curds to Mitra and Varuna<sup>3</sup>: the purport of this (will be explained) hereafter.

40. Here now they say, 'At this sacrifice he should give a Dakshinâ (sacrificial gift); thinking, "Lest my sacrifice should be without a dakshinâ!" let him give to the Brahman the prescribed dakshinâ, for the Brahman is the entire sacrifice: thus the entire sacrifice of his becomes healed.' Let him not do so; for he makes this a brick, and it would be just as if he were to give a present with each brick: only at that (proper) time<sup>4</sup> let him therefore give what it befits him (to give).

### THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. Now, the gods said, 'Meditate ye!'—whereby, no doubt, they meant to say, 'Seek ye a layer<sup>5</sup> (for the fire-altar)!' Whilst they were meditating,

<sup>1</sup> For the antelope skin used at the initiation-ceremony, see III, 2, 1, 1; for the girdle, ib. 10.

<sup>2</sup> See above, VI, 2, 1, 20.

<sup>3</sup> This is the concluding oblation of the Soma-sacrifice, performed at the close of the Agnikayana; see IX, 5, 1, 54.

<sup>4</sup> Viz. at the proper time when the priests receive their fees, after the mid-day Soma-service, see part ii, p. 340.

<sup>5</sup> The author here connects the causal verb 'ketay' (to reflect) with 'âi,' to pile, to build; or rather with 'âitim ish,' to desire building (an altar).

Pragâpati saw this earth, as a first naturally-perforated<sup>1</sup> layer: hence it is by means of Pragâpati that he lays on that (brick)<sup>2</sup>.

2. Agni said to him (Pragâpati), 'I will step nigh!'—'Wherewith?'—'With cattle!'—'So be it!' He thereby doubtless meant to say, 'with the cattle-brick;' for that cattle-brick is the same as the dûrvâ-brick<sup>3</sup>: hence the dûrvâ-brick is laid so as not to be separated from the first naturally-perforated one; hence also not separated from this earth are the plants, the cattle, the fire,—for not separated (from the earth)<sup>4</sup> he (Agni) stepped nigh with this (brick).

3. They said, 'Meditate ye yet!' whereby no doubt they meant to say, 'Seek ye a layer! seek ye (to build) from hence upwards!' Whilst they were

<sup>1</sup> See p. 155, note 8.

<sup>2</sup> Or, that (layer), the three naturally-perforated bricks occupying the centre of the first, third, and fifth layers of the altar, these bricks are, as it were, the representatives of the respective layers. This first svayam-âtrinnâ brick is laid down with the formula, 'May Pragâpati settle thee!' See VII, 4, 2, 6.

<sup>3</sup> A stalk of Dûrvâ (Dûb) grass—*Panicum* (or *Cynodon*) dactylon, or *Agrostis linearis*—is laid upon the first naturally-perforated brick (which again lies on the man of gold) in such a way that the root lies upon it and the tops hanging down to the ground. 'Its flowers in the perfect state are among the loveliest objects in the vegetable world, and appear through a lens like minute rubies and emeralds in constant motion from the least breath of air. It is the sweetest and most nutritious pasture for cattle, and its usefulness, added to its beauty, induced the Hindus in the earliest ages to believe it was the mansion of a benevolent nymph.' Sir W. Jones, Works, vol. v, p. 78. Professor R. Wallace, in his 'India in 1887,' gives an excellent illustration of this famous grass. He remarks (p. 282) that 'it has a wonderful power of remaining green, being the grass of all Indian grasses which retains its succulence throughout the extreme heat of summer.'

<sup>4</sup> That is to say, immediately after (the earth-brick had been laid on).

meditating, Indra and Agni, and Visvakarman saw the air, as a second naturally-perforated layer : hence he lays on that (brick<sup>1</sup>) by means of Indra and Agni, and Visvakarman.

4. Vâyû said to them, 'I will step nigh!'— 'Wherewith!'—'With the regions!'—'So be it!' He thereby doubtless meant to say, 'with the regional (bricks<sup>2</sup>):' hence on the second naturally-perforated one the regional ones are laid, without being separated from it<sup>3</sup>; and hence not separated from the air are the regions, the wind; for not separated therefrom he (Vâyû) stepped nigh with this (brick).

5. They said, 'Meditate ye yet!'—whereby no doubt they said, 'Seek ye a layer! seek ye (to build) from hence upwards!' Whilst they were meditating, Parameshthî saw the sky, as a third naturally-perforated layer: whence it is by Parameshthî (the most high) he lays on that (brick<sup>4</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> This second naturally-perforated brick, representing the air, forms the centre of the third layer of the altar. See VIII, 3, 1, 1 seq.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the bricks marking the regions, or quarters (*disyâ*); five of these are laid down immediately after the self-perforated one, in the four directions from it, two of them being laid on the south. See VIII, 3, 1, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Viz. without being separated from the layer which the second *svayam-âtrinnâ* represents. They would seem to lie about a foot away from the central brick; but as no other special brick lies between them, they may on that account be considered as not separated from it.

<sup>4</sup> The third *svayam-âtrinnâ*, though considered as forming part of the fifth layer, is really laid on the top of it or rather on the 'punashtiti'—an additional pile of eight bricks laid over the central, *gârhapatya*-like, portion of the fifth layer (cf. VI, 6, 1, 14, with note). It is laid down with the formula 'May the Most High settle thee!'—and on it the fire is subsequently placed. See VIII, 7, 3, 13 seq.

6. Yonder Sun said to him, 'I will step nigh!'— 'Wherewith?'— 'With a space-filling (brick <sup>1</sup>).'— 'So be it!'— Now he (the sun) indeed is the space-filler: 'by (mine own) self,' he thus means to say. Hence the third naturally-perforated one is laid on so as not to be separated from the space-filling one <sup>2</sup>; and hence yonder sun is not separated from the sky, for not separated therefrom did he step nigh with this (brick).

7. These six deities forsooth became all this (universe), whatsoever exists here. The gods and the *Rîshis* said, 'Those six deities forsooth have become all this (universe): bethink ye yourselves how we also may share therein!' They said, 'Meditate ye!' whereby doubtless they meant to say, 'Seek ye a layer! seek ye how we also may share in this <sup>3</sup>!' Whilst they were meditating, the gods saw a second, the *Rîshis* a fourth, layer <sup>4</sup>.

8. They said, 'We will step nigh!'— 'Wherewith?'— 'With what is over and above these worlds!'— 'So be it!' Now what there is above the earth on this side of the air, therewith the gods stepped nigh, that is this second layer; and what there

<sup>1</sup> See p. 153, note.

<sup>2</sup> The layering down of the last *svayam-âtrinnâ* (together with the likewise perforated '*vikarnî*') is immediately preceded by the filling up of the fifth layer with the 'space-filling' bricks, only one of which has the common formula pronounced over it. See VIII, 7, 2, 1 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Viz. in this universe, and, as a representation thereof, in this fire-altar.

<sup>4</sup> In the foregoing 1-5 paragraphs only those three layers, which have a 'naturally-perforated' brick in the centre, viz. the first, third, and fifth layers, were mentioned. The author now remarks on the two other layers, representing as it were the space between the three worlds.



is above the air on this side of the sky, therewith the *Rishis* stepped nigh, that is this fourth layer.

9. Now when they said, 'Meditate ye (*ketaya-dhvam*)!' they doubtless meant to say, 'Seek ye a layer (*kitim ikkṛkata*)!' and inasmuch as meditating (*ketay*) they saw them, therefore they are 'layers' (*kitayaḥ*).

10. *Pragāpati* saw the first layer: *Pragāpati* assuredly is its (spiritual) ancestry. The gods saw the second layer: the gods assuredly are its ancestry. *Indra* and *Agni*, and *Visvakarman* saw the third layer: they assuredly are its ancestry. The *Rishis* saw the fourth layer: the *Rishis* assuredly are its ancestry. *Parameshthin* saw the fifth layer: *Parameshthin* assuredly is its ancestry. And, verily, whosoever so knows that (spiritual) ancestry of the structures (layers of the fire-altar), his structures are indeed possessed of an ancestry, possessed of relations (or, of mystic significance, *bandhu*).

### THE SÂVITRA LIBATIONS.

#### THIRD ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMANA.

1. The gods then said, 'Meditate ye!' whereby doubtless they meant to say, 'Seek ye a layer!' Whilst they were meditating, *Savitri* saw those *Sâvitra* (formulas); and inasmuch as *Savitri* saw them, they are called *Sâvitra*. He offered that eightfold-taken libation; and when he had offered it, he saw this eightfold-appointed *Ashâdhâ*<sup>1</sup>, which had been created aforetime.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the 'invincible' brick, being the first brick which is made, and that by the Sacrificer's chief wife (*mahishî*) herself. See VI, 5, 3, 1 seq.—*Sâyana* remarks,—*tām āhutim hutvā imām prithivīm ādhiyagñikim ash/adhāvihitām mr̥ṣīkatābhiḥ prithivyavairiyam* (? *prithivyāngair imām*) *ash/avihitātmikām ashād/hām ish/a-*

2. Now when they said, 'Meditate ye!' they doubtless meant to say, 'Seek ye a layer!' and inasmuch as they saw it whilst meditating (*ketay*), therefore it is a layer (*keti*). And the libation is a sacrifice; and inasmuch as he saw it after sacrificing (*ishṭvâ*), it is a brick (*ishṭakâ*).

3. Now that same (libation of ghee), while being a single one, he offers as an eightfold one<sup>1</sup> with eight formulas: whence this ('invincible' brick), while being a single one, is eightfold appointed.

4. He offers while raising upwards (the spoon);—he thereby raises this earth upwards by means of its forms<sup>2</sup>: whence this earth is raised (above the water) by its forms.

5. He offers it continuously;—for at that time the gods were afraid lest the Rakshas, the fiends, should come thither after them! They saw that continuous libation for preventing the Rakshas, the fiends, from coming after them: hence he offers it continuously.

6. And, again, why he offers that libation;—this Agni is Savitrî, and him he gratifies at the outset by this libation; and having sacrificed to, and gratified, him (Agni), he then puts him together. And inasmuch as by this (libation) he gratifies Savitrî, they (the formulas are called) Sâvitra: that is why he offers this libation.

---

kâm aparyat; puraiva lokâpavarga kala (? kâle or kâlât) *srîshṭâm* satîm. Though in the cosmogonic account, VI, 1, 1, 13 seq., the earth is rather said to consist of nine different elements, the 'invincible' brick is commonly identified with the earth. See VI, 5, 3, 1. For the (eightfold) compositions of the clay used for the fire-pan and bricks, see VI, 5, 1, 1 seq.

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, the offering-spoon is filled by eight dippings with the dipping-spoon.

<sup>2</sup> That is, by means of its constituent elements;—*prithivîm ūrdhvâṃ rūpair mṛidâdibhir udgamayati*, Sây.

7. And, again, why he offers this libation ;—this Agni is Savitri, and him he pours out as seed at the outset by this libation ; and whatlike seed is poured into the womb suchlike (offspring) is born. And inasmuch as by this (libation) he pours out Savitri as seed, they (the offering-formulas are called) Sâvitra : that is why he offers this libation.

8. Both an offering-spoon (sruḥ) and a dipping-spoon (sruva) are used thereat ; for the offering-spoon is speech, and the dipping-spoon is breath ; and with speech and breath the gods sought this sacred rite at the beginning : hence there are an offering-spoon and a dipping-spoon.

9. And, again, why there are an offering-spoon and a dipping-spoon,—what Pragâpati was, that indeed is this dipping-spoon, for the dipping-spoon is the breath, and the breath is Pragâpati. And what Vâḥ (speech) was, that is this offering-spoon ; for Vâḥ is a female, and the offering-spoon (sruḥ, f.) is a female ; and those waters which went forth from the world of Vâḥ (speech)<sup>1</sup>, they are this (ghee) which he offers (in) this libation.

10. He offers it continuously, for those waters flowed continuously. And inasmuch as that Pragâpati entered the waters with the threefold science<sup>2</sup>, that is these prayers (yagus) with which this (priest) now offers.

11. The first three which there are, are these (three) worlds ; and what fourth prayer there is that

<sup>1</sup> See VI, 1, 1, 9.

<sup>2</sup> VI, 1, 1, 10.—The construction of the text is somewhat peculiar,—what the author means to say seems to be,—the threefold science (the Veda) with which Pragâpati entered the waters is the same as the prayers now offered up.

is the threefold science, that is the *Gagatī*,—the *Gagatī* being all the metres, and all the metres (making up) the threefold science; and what last four (prayers) there are, they are the quarters: now *Pragâpati* indeed is those worlds and the quarters; and that (*gagatī* verse in the middle) is the threefold science.

12. He offers with (*Vâg. S. XI, 1*), 'Harnessing first the mind,'—*Pragâpati*, assuredly, is he that harnesses, he harnessed the mind for that holy work; and because he harnessed the mind for that holy work, therefore he is the harnessing one.

13. '*Savitri*, stretching out the thoughts,'—for *Savitri* is the mind, and the thoughts are the vital airs;—'gazing reverently at Agni's light,'—that is, having seen Agni's light;—'bore up from the earth;' for upwards from the earth he indeed bears this (offering).

14. [*Vâg. S. XI, 2*] 'With harnessed mind we,'—he thereby harnesses the mind for this work, for with unharnessed mind one cannot now do anything;—'at the impulse of the god *Savitri*,'—that is impelled (sped) by the god *Savitri*,—'with power (we strive) for the heavenly;'—'that by this holy work he may go to the heavenly world,' he thereby means to say; 'with power,' he says, for by power (energy) one goes to the heavenly world.

15. [*Vâg. S. XI, 3*] '*Savitri*, having harnessed the gods,'—*Savitri* is the mind, and the gods are the vital airs;—'going by thought to the light, to heaven,'—for as such as are going to the heavenly world by thought (devotion) he has harnessed them for this holy work;—'going to produce a mighty light,'—the mighty light assuredly is yonder sun, and

he is this Agni, and him they are indeed going to fit together (or, restore);—‘may Savitri speed them!’—that is, ‘may they perform this holy work, sped by Savitri.’

16. [Vâg. S. XI, 4] ‘They harness the mind, and they harness the thoughts,’—for both the mind and the vital airs he harnesses for this holy work;—‘the priests of the priest,’—the priest is Pragâpati, and the priests are the gods;—‘of the great inspirer of devotion,’—the great inspirer of devotion<sup>1</sup> is Pragâpati;—‘he hath assigned the priestly offices,’—now when he (Agni-Pragâpati) is built up, then he assigns the priestly offices, for the priestly offices are assigned over the built-up (fire-altar);—‘the finder of rites,’—for he indeed found this rite;—‘he alone,’ for he alone found this whole holy rite;—‘mighty is the praise of the god Savitri,’—that is, ‘great is the praise of the god Savitri.’

17. [Vâg. S. XI, 5; Rîk S. X, 13, 1] ‘By devotions I harness your old inspiration,’—the old inspiration (brahman) doubtless is the vital air, and devotion is food, and that food is this oblation: by means of this oblation, by means of this food, he harnesses the vital airs for this holy work,—‘May the praise spread abroad on the lord’s path,’—this he says in order that there may be for the Sacrificer the praise of fame among both gods and men;—‘may all sons of the immortal hear!’—the immortal one doubtless is Pragâpati, and his sons are all the gods;—‘who have resorted

---

<sup>1</sup> See III, 5, 3, 12, where ‘*br̥hat vipas̥kīt*’ (in the same formula) is explained as referring to the sacrifice.

to the heavenly abodes ;'—the heavenly abodes are these worlds : the gods that are in these worlds, with regard to them he says this.

18. [Vâg. S. XI, 6; *Rîk* S. V, 81, 3] 'Whose course the others have followed,'—for Pragâpati first performed this rite, whereupon the gods performed it;—'the gods with vigour, the god's greatness,'—the greatness is the sacrifice, thus: 'the gods with vigour (followed) the god's sacrifice, his energy;,'—'that dappled steed who hath measured the terrestrial (regions),'—whatsoever is on this earth that is terrestrial, all that he measures out; for with his rays he reaches down to it;—'the regions, he the god Savitri by his greatness,'—the regions are these worlds, and the god Savitri is yonder sun: he measures them by his greatness.

19. [Vâg. S. XI, 7] 'God Savitri, speed the sacrifice, speed the lord of sacrifice unto his share!,'—the god Savitri is yonder sun, and his share is the sacrifice, that he means to say when he says 'speed the sacrifice, speed the lord of sacrifice!,'—'May the heavenly, thought-cleansing Gandharva cleanse our thought!,'—the heavenly Gandharva is yonder sun, and thought is (sacrificial) food; thus, 'May the food-cleanser cleanse our food!,'—'May the lord of speech render agreeable our speech!,'—this sacred rite is speech, and the lord of speech is the breath: thus, 'May the breath render agreeable this rite of ours!'

20. [Vâg. S. XI, 8] 'Further, O god Savitri, this our sacrifice!,'—the god Savitri is yonder sun, and whatever sacrificial rite he furthers, that

reaches its end safely and auspiciously;—‘as one pleasant to the gods,’—that is, as one which shall please the gods;—‘friend-gaining, ever-winning, wealth-winning, heaven-winning,’—that is, one that may gain all this;—‘Make the hymn-tune successful with the *rik* (verse), the Rathantara with the Gâyatra (metre), and the Brîhat, moving in Gâyatra measures!’—thus the sâmans (hymns);—‘Hail!’ thus the sacrificial formulas: this threefold science is first produced, even as it was there and then produced. And the Agni who was produced, he is this Agni (fire-altar) who is built up from hence upwards.

21. These then are the eight Sâvitra (formulas<sup>1</sup>);—the Gâyatri has eight syllables, and Agni is Gâyatra: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by just so much he pours him out as seed. There are nine of them, the call of ‘Hail’ (being) the ninth,—there are nine regions, and Agni is the regions; nine vital airs, and Agni is the vital airs: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he pours him out as seed. There are ten of them, the libation (being) the tenth,—the Virâḡ has ten syllables, and Agni is Virâḡ (the widely shining<sup>2</sup>); there are ten regions, and Agni is the regions; ten vital airs, and Agni is the vital airs: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become.

22. This libation having been offered, Agni went away from the gods. The gods said, ‘Agni is the

<sup>1</sup> Or, the single oblations, as distinguished from the whole continued libation.

<sup>2</sup> Dîptyâ virâḡamânaḥ, Sây.

cattle (or, an animal), let us search for him by means of the (different kinds of) cattle : he will become manifest unto his own form.' They searched for him by means of the cattle, and he became manifest to his own form: and hence even to this day the animal becomes manifest to its own form (kind)<sup>1</sup>, cow to cow, horse to horse, and man to man.

23. They said, 'Surely, if we search with all of them, they will become used up and affording no livelihood; and if not with all, we shall get him (Agni) incomplete.' They saw one animal (as a substitute) for two animals<sup>2</sup>, namely, the ass (as a substitute) for the cow and the sheep; and because they saw that one beast (would do) for two beasts, therefore that one (the he-ass), whilst being one, doubly impregnates<sup>3</sup>.

24. The sham-man<sup>4</sup> (they saw to be a substitute) for man,—a sham-man doubtless is he who pleases neither the gods, nor the fathers, nor men. Thus they searched by means of all the beasts, and yet they (the beasts) did not come to be used up and affording no livelihood.

25. With three he searches,—Agni is threefold: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus searches for him. They are five

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, it shows itself openly, appears fearlessly before others of its kind;—Svāya rūpāyeti tādarthye katurthī; āviḥ prakāso bhavati, tadanukāreṇedānīm api pasuḥ svāya rūpāya samānagâtīyāyā prakāso bhavati, Sây.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, they saw that one animal might do for two,—pañkamī pratinidhau, Sây. (Pân. II, 3, 11.)

<sup>3</sup> Viz. the she-ass and the mare.

<sup>4</sup> Anaddhā-purusham alika-purusham purushât pratyapasyan purushasthāne kalitavantas, Sây. Thus probably a counterfeit of a man, a doll or human effigy.



by way of (mystic) correspondence<sup>1</sup>,—Agni (the fire-altar) has five layers; five seasons are a year, and the year is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become.

26. They are fastened with halters of reed-grass to guard (Agni) against injury<sup>2</sup>;—Agni went away from the gods; he entered into a reed, whence it is hollow, and whence inside it is, as it were, smoke-tinged: (thus) that, the reed, is Agni's womb, and Agni is these cattle; and the womb does not injure the child. For<sup>3</sup> it is from a womb that he who is born is born: 'from the womb he (Agni) shall be born when he is born,' thus he thinks.

27. They (the halters) are triple (strings), for Agni is threefold. They are made like a horse's halter, for the horse's halter lies all round the mouth, and the womb lies all round the child: thus it is made like the womb.

28. They (the animals) stand facing the east, first the horse, then the ass, then the he-goat; for this

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, in order that this item of the sacrificial performance should correspond with the nature of Agni. The number of five is obtained by the three beasts actually led forward,—a horse, an ass, and a he-goat—and the two beasts for which the ass was stated to be a substitute, viz. the cow (or bullock) and the sheep.—Sâyana, whose comment is very corrupt in this place, remarks,—*nânaddhâpurusho=tra ganyate*.

<sup>2</sup> In the text the dative of purpose ('*ahimsâyai*') is as usual shifted right to the end of the train of reasoning explaining the *raison d'être* of this item of the performance.

<sup>3</sup> This final clause with '*vai*' supplies the reason why Agni entered the womb, viz. because otherwise he could not be born;—just as the preceding clause with '*vai*' (the womb does not injure the child) supplies the reason why reed grass is used; whilst the preceding clauses explain how the reed comes to be the womb whence Agni sprung.

is their proper order. For that horse (asva) is the tear (asru) which there (at the creation) formed itself; and that ass (râsabha) is that which, as it were, cried (ras); and that he-goat (aga, unborn) is the juice which adhered to the shell; and that clay which they are about to fetch is nothing else than the shell (of the egg): for it was from these forms that he was created at first<sup>1</sup>, and from them he thus produces him.

29. They stand on the south side;—for the gods at that time were afraid, lest the Rakshas, the fiends, should smite their sacrifice from the south. They saw that thunderbolt, yonder sun; for this horse is indeed yonder sun; and by means of that thunderbolt they drove off the Rakshas, the fiends, from the south, and spread this sacrifice in a place free from danger and devilry. And in like manner does the Sacrificer now by this thunderbolt drive off the Rakshas, the fiends, from the south, and spread this sacrifice in a place free from danger and devilry.

30. On the right (south) side is the Âhavaniya fire, and on the left (north) lies that spade; for the Âhavaniya (m.) is a male, and the spade (abhri, f.) a female, and the male lies on the right side of the female<sup>2</sup>. [It lies] at a cubit's distance, for at a cubit's distance the male lies by the female.

31. It should be made of bamboo. Agni went away from the gods. He entered into a bamboo-stem; whence that is hollow. On both sides he made himself those fences, the knots, so as not

<sup>1</sup> See VI, 1, 1, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Dakshirato vai vṛishâ yoshâm upasete;—compare: uttarato hi strî pumâmsam upasete, I, 1, 1, 20; II, 5, 2, 17.

to be found out; and wherever he burnt through, those spots came to be.

32. It (the spade) should be spotted, for such a one is of Agni's nature. If he cannot procure a spotted one, it may be unspotted, but hollow it must be, to guard (Agni) from injury<sup>1</sup>;—(for) such a one alone is of Agni's nature; that, the bamboo, is Agni's womb; and this (lump of) clay is Agni; and the womb does not injure the child. For it is from a womb that he who is born is born: 'from the womb he (Agni) shall be born when he is born,' so he thinks.

33. It may be a span long, for the voice here speaks but as far as a span's distance<sup>2</sup>. It is, however, a cubit long, for the cubit is the arm, and strength is exerted by the arm: it thus becomes equal to his strength.

34. It may be sharp on one side only, for on one of the two sides is there a keen edge to this speech of ours<sup>3</sup>. But indeed it is one that is sharp on both sides, for on both sides is there a keen edge to this speech of ours, inasmuch as it speaks both what is divine and what is human<sup>4</sup>, and both truth and untruth: therefore it is one that is sharp on both sides.

<sup>1</sup> For the construction, see p. 198, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Prâdesamâtram hîdam mukham abhi vâg vadati, mukham abhi varnâtmikâ vâg vadati vâktâstis (?) tasyâs ka prâdesamâtratvam adhyâtmâvadhâritam ato trâpi prâdesamâtrâ . . . yuktâ, Sây.*

<sup>3</sup> According to Sâyana the tip of the tongue is indicated (as VII, 2, 3, 3; 2, 4, 14, 'vâk' means 'mouth'); but perhaps it is rather sharp, vituperative speech addressed to another person that is intended here.

<sup>4</sup> Sâyana identifies the divine speech with *Samskrit*, and the human speech with the *Apabhramsas*, or low dialects (?*mânusham kâpâtrosam*, MS.).

35. And, again, why it is sharp on both sides,—the strength of the spade doubtless is on that side on which there is its sharp edge: he thus lays strength into it on both sides.

36. And, again, why it is sharp on both sides,—when the gods had there discovered him (Agni), they dug him out from these worlds; and in like manner does he now, after discovering him, dig him out from these worlds.

37. When it digs thus (downwards), then it digs him out from this world; and when it moves upwards, then from yonder world; and when it moves about between the two, then from the air-world: it thus digs him out from all these worlds.

38. He takes it up, with (Vâg. S. XI, 9), 'At the impulse of the god Savitrî, I take thee by the arms of the Asvins, by the hands of Pûshan, by the Gâyatrî metre, Aṅgiras-like!' By means of those deities he thus takes it up, impelled by Savitrî; by the Gâyatrî metre: he thus imparts the Gâyatrî metre to it. 'From the Earth's seat, Aṅgiras-like, bring thou Agni Purîshya<sup>1</sup>!'

<sup>1</sup> Mahîdhara says, Agni is called 'purîshya,' because loose soil (purîsha) is put in the fire-pan (ukhâ), on which the fire is then placed. It also doubtless refers to the loose soil which is spread over the different layers of the altar, thus serving as mortar to the bricks. In this epithet of Agni, 'purîsha' seems, however, to be taken in yet another, more subtle sense, the author apparently connecting with it its etymological meaning of 'that which fills, fillings, Germ. Füllung, Füllsel;' whilst the reference to cattle might also seem to point to the later ordinary meaning, 'faeces, manure.' Mahîdhara, on the force of the symbolical identification 'pasavo vai purîsham,' seems straightway to take 'purîsha' as a synonym of 'pasu,' when he says,—purîshebhyaḥ pasubhyo hitaḥ purîshyaḥ. Sâyana's comment here is corrupt,—pasavo vai purîsham pûranâmûhi(?) kâryam pasavaḥ pûrayanti.

now soil means cattle : thus, 'from the earth's lap bring thou Agni, favourable to cattle, as Agni (did)!'—'by the Trishṭubh metre, Aṅgiras-like!' he thereby takes it with the Trishṭubh metre and thus lays into it the Trishṭubh metre.

39. [Vâg. S. XI, 10] 'A spade thou art,'—for a spade it is : he thus takes it by means of the truth ;—'A woman thou art!'—the spade is a thunderbolt, and the woman is a female, and a female injures no one : he thus appeases it so as not to do any injury. 'By thee may we be able to dig out Agni in the seat!' the seat no doubt is this (spot) : thus, 'By thee may we be able to dig out Agni in this seat (place).'—'By the Gagatī metre, Aṅgiras-like!' he thus takes it up by means of the Gagatī metre, and lays the Gagatī metre into it.

40. With three (formulas) he takes it up,—three-fold is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus takes it. Having taken it up with three (formulas), he addresses it with a fourth ; for the gods having thus taken it with three (formulas), then laid vigour into it by means of a fourth ; and in like manner does he now, after taking it up with three (formulas), lay strength into it with the fourth.

41. [Vâg. S. XI, 11] 'Having taken into his hand, Savitrī,'—for it has indeed been taken into his (the Adhvaryu's) hand,—'bearing the spade,'—for he indeed bears it,—'the golden,'—for golden indeed is the one that consists of the metres (the Veda) ;—'beholding Agni's light,'—that is, seeing Agni's light,—'lifted it up from the earth,'—for he indeed lifts it up from the earth ;—'by the Anushṭubh metre, Aṅgiras-like ;'—he thus takes

it up by means of the Anushṭubh metre, and lays the Anushṭubh metre into it: for his undertaking that spade of bamboo is thus made to be those metres.

42. Some, indeed, make it of gold, saying, 'It is spoken of as golden.' Let him not do so: in that it is the metres, thereby that (spade) is gold, immortal gold, the immortal metres.

43. He takes it up with four (formulas), for all speech consists of four syllables: 'vâk' (speech) is one syllable, and 'aksharam' (syllable) consists of three syllables. Now that monosyllable 'vâk' is the same as this last one, the Anushṭubh; and that trisyllable 'aksharam' is the same as those former formulas: he thus digs up Agni by the whole speech, and equips it with the whole speech,—hence with four (formulas).

44. And, again, why with four (formulas);—there are four quarters: he thus lays speech into the four quarters, whence speech speaks in the four quarters. He takes it up both by metres and by formulas, that makes eight—there are four quarters, and four intermediate quarters: he thus lays speech into all the quarters, whence speech speaks in all the quarters.

### THE SEARCH AND DIGGING FOR AGNI (THE LUMP OF CLAY).

#### SECOND BRĀHMAṆA.

1. The spade is still in his hand, when he addresses the beasts. For when the gods at that time were about to search (for Agni) in these (animals) they placed their vigour in front; and in like manner does

this one, now that he is about to search in these (animals), place his vigour in front.

2. He addresses the horse, with (Vâg. S. XI, 12), 'Most speedily<sup>1</sup>, O courser, run hither,'—what is swift, that is speedy, and what is swifter than swift, that is most speedy;—'along the widest range,'—the widest range doubtless is this (earth): thus, 'along this wide range;'—'in the sky is thy highest home, in the air thy navel, upon earth thy womb:' he thus makes it to be those deities, Agni, Vâyu, and Âditya (the sun), and thus lays vigour into the horse.

3. Then the ass, with (Vâg. S. XI, 13), 'Yoke ye two the ass,' he says this to the Adhvaryu and the Sacrificer;—'upon this course, ye showerers of wealth!'—that is, 'upon this performance, ye showerers of wealth;'—'him, bearing Agni, and helpful<sup>2</sup> unto us;'—that is, 'him, bearing Agni, and urged forward by us:' he thereby lays vigour into the ass.

4. Then the he-goat, with (Vâg. S. XI, 14), 'At every yoking, at every race, we call him, the most powerful,'—race<sup>3</sup> means food: thus, 'in every performance, in respect of every food we call him, the most powerful;'—'Indra to our help, we his friends!'—that is, 'him, the strong (indriyavat), to our help:' he thereby lays vigour into the he-goat.

5. With three (formulas) he addresses (the victims),—threefold is Agni: as great as Agni is, as

<sup>1</sup> Pratûrtam, 'sped forward, speeding forward.'

<sup>2</sup> Asmayu, 'tending towards us, favourable to us,' is explained differently by the author of the Brâhmana.

<sup>3</sup> The author here, as elsewhere, rather takes 'vâga' in the sense of 'strength, sustenance.'

great as is his measure, by so much he thus lays vigour into them.

6. He then makes them walk forward to the east : he thus searches for him (Agni) by means of these animals. He does not touch (them) lest he, Agni, should injure him ; for Agni is the same as the animals <sup>1</sup>.

7. He makes the horse walk on, with (Vâg. S. XI, 15), 'Forth-speeding, come treading down the curses!'—curse means evil : thus, 'running come, treading down the evil!'—'come, delighting, into Rudra's chieftainship!'—beasts belong to Rudra : thus, 'come thou, delighting, into the chieftainship of him who is thy deity!' he thus searches for him by means of the horse.

8. Then the ass with, 'Traverse the wide air, thou possessed of prosperous pastures and affording safety!'—as the text, so its meaning;—'with Pûshan as thy mate;'—Pûshan, doubtless, is this earth; thus, 'together with her as thy mate :' he thus searches for him by means of the ass.

9. Then the he-goat, with (Vâg. S. XI, 16), 'From the Earth's seat, Âṅgiras-like, bring thou Agni Purîshya!'—that is, 'from the Earth's lap bring thou Agni, favourable to cattle, as Agni (did)!' he thus searches for him (Agni) by means of the he-goat.

10. With three (animals) he searches,—threefold is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus searches for him.

---

<sup>1</sup> The text here has the ordinary Sanskrit construction, running literally thus :—he does not touch—Agni (being) the same as the animals—'lest he, Agni, should injure me!'



By three (formulas) he first addresses (the beasts); that makes six,—six seasons are a year, and the year is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become.

### THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. Those fires have been kindled (afresh); and they (the priests and sacrificer) betake themselves to the lump of clay<sup>1</sup>;—those fires doubtless are these worlds : when they are kindled, then they are these worlds. For formerly the gods were seeking this sacred rite outside of these worlds; and when he fetches the lump of clay after passing by those fires, he is seeking him (Agni) outside of these worlds.

2. They go eastwards; for the east is Agni's region : he thus seeks him in his own region, finds him in his own region.

3. They go forward, with, 'Aṅgiras-like, we go to Agni Purīshya;'—that is, 'like Agni, we are going to Agni, favourable to cattle.'

4. He then looks at the sham-man, with, 'Aṅgiras-like, we shall carry Agni Purīshya;'—that is, 'Like Agni, we shall carry Agni, favourable to cattle :' he thus searches for him by means of the sham-man.

5. Thereupon a hollow ant-hill is laid down mid-ways (between the lump of clay and the Âhavanīya fire). He looks along it<sup>2</sup>; for the ant-hill is this

<sup>1</sup> The lump of clay which is to be used for the making of the fire-pan has been placed in a square hole east of the Âhavanīya fire.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, he looks at the lump of clay through the hollow part of the ant-hill, whilst muttering the formula given in the next paragraph.

earth, and this earth is these worlds. For the gods searched for him (Agni) in these worlds part by part; and in like manner does this one now search for him in these worlds part by part.

6. [Vâg. S. XI, 17] 'Agni hath looked along the crest of the Dawns,'—thereby they sought him in the dawns;—'along the days, he, the first knower of beings,'—thereby they sought him in the days;—'and oftentimes along the rays of the sun,'—thereby they sought him in the rays of the sun;—'along the sky and the earth hast thou spread;'—therewith they sought him in the sky and the earth, and found him; and in like manner does this one thereby find him (Agni). When he sees him from afar, he throws down that (ant-hill); and they go up to the lump of clay.

7. He then addresses the horse; for the gods then said, 'Let us drive away his evil!' Now evil is weariness: thus, 'Let us drive away his weariness, the evil!' They drove away his weariness, the evil; and in like manner does this one now drive away his weariness, the evil.

8. [Vâg. S. XI, 18] 'The courser, having started on his way,'—for his way has indeed been started upon;—'shaketh off all assaults,'—assaults mean evils: thus, 'shakes off all evils;' and hence, indeed, the horse, whilst running, shakes itself;—'Agni he seeks to descry with his eye on the great seat;'—the great seat doubtless is this sacrificial (place): thus, 'Agni he wishes to see with his eye on this great seat.'

9. He then makes it (the horse) step on (the lump of clay with the left fore-foot); for having discovered him (Agni), it (the horse) then indicated

him to the gods, as if (it meant to say) <sup>1</sup>, 'Just here he is!'

10. And, again, why he makes it step thereon;—the gods then were afraid, thinking, 'We hope the Rakshas, the fiends, will not slay here this our (Agni)!' They placed that thunderbolt upon him as a protector, to wit, yonder sun; for that horse is indeed yonder sun; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer, or priest) now place upon him that thunderbolt as a protector.

11. [Vâg. S. XI, 19] 'Having come upon the earth, O courser, seek thou Agni by thy light!'—the light is the eye: thus, 'Having come to the earth, thou, O courser, seek Agni with thy eye!'—'by pawing <sup>2</sup> the ground tell us where we may dig him out!'—that is, 'by pointing out that (spot) of the ground tell us where we may dig him out.'

12. He then pulls it up <sup>3</sup>; for the gods now endowed it with vigour (for) having indicated (Agni) to them; and in like manner does this one now endow it with vigour (for) having indicated (Agni) to him. He does so, with [Vâg. S. XI, 20], 'The sky is thy back, the earth thy resting-place, the air thy body, the sea thy womb;'—whereby he says, 'Such

<sup>1</sup> Or, as if one were to say,—yathâyam iha-sthâna âstha(?) iti *kaśid brūyād evam proktavân, Sây.*

<sup>2</sup> Or, by covering;—it is not easy to see what the author makes of 'vr̥itvâya,' for which the St. Petersburg dictionary suggests 'vr̥itvâya.' Mahîdhara derives it from 'vart,' in the sense of 'to touch.' Perhaps, however, 'bhûmer' depends on 'yatas;' hence 'moving about, tell us from what spot of the ground we may dig him out.'

<sup>3</sup> That is, he pulls up its head (?); 'he rouses it, shakes it up,' St. Petersburg Dict.—Sâyana, on the other hand, in accordance with Kâty. XVI, 2, 18, interprets 'unmr̥isati' by 'he holds his hand over its back,'—*pr̥ish/hasyopari pânim dhârayati.*

thou art, such thou art;’—‘Looking about with thine eye, tread down the assailers!’—that is, ‘Looking about with thy eye, tread down all evil-doers!’ He does not touch it, lest this thunderbolt should injure him, for the horse is a thunderbolt<sup>1</sup>.

13. He then makes it step off (the lump of clay);—for the gods now said, ‘What shall we cause it to obtain<sup>2</sup>?’—‘Great beauty<sup>3</sup>!’—They caused it to obtain great beauty; and in like manner does this one now cause it to obtain great beauty,—with (Vâg. S. XI, 21), ‘Go thou unto great beauty!’—that is, ‘Go to thy great beauty!’ and therefore, indeed, the horse is the most highly-favoured of animals;—‘from this standing-place,’—that is, ‘where thou now standest;’—‘wealth-giver!’—for wealth it does give them;—‘Courser!’—for this is a courser;—‘May we be in the Earth’s favour, whilst Agni we dig in her lap!’—that is, ‘May we be in the favour of this earth, whilst digging (for) Agni in her lap!’

14. When it has stepped off he addresses it;—for as one would extol him who has given a gift, so the gods now praised and magnified it (for) having indicated (Agni); and in like manner does this one now praise and magnify it, with (Vâg. S. XI, 22), ‘He hath come down,’—for it has indeed come down,—‘the wealth-giver,’—for wealth, indeed, is given them;—‘the racing courser,’—for it is indeed a racer and a courser;—‘hath made good, well-made room on earth,’—that is, ‘thou madest good, well-made room on earth;’—‘thence let us

<sup>1</sup> For the construction, see on paragraph 6, p. 205, note.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, to step off to.

<sup>3</sup> Saubhaga, ‘the state of being well-endowed, well-favoured.’

dig out the fair-looking Agni,'—'fair-looking,' he says, for Agni is indeed fair-looking on every side;—'ascending the heaven, unto the highest sky,'—the sky is the heavenly world: thus, 'mounting the heavenly world, unto the highest sky.' He makes it come up on the right side (of the lump) to where the two other beasts are: they stand on the right side, facing the east. The significance of the right-hand (southern) position here is the same as it was on that former occasion.

15. Sitting down he now offers upon the lump of clay;—for the gods then said, 'Meditate ye (*ketay*),' whereby, doubtless, they meant to say, 'Seek ye a layer (*keti*)!' Whilst meditating they saw this libation, and offered it: after offering it, they saw the fire-pan (representing) these worlds.

16. They said, 'Meditate ye!' whereby, doubtless, they meant to say, 'Seek ye a layer!' Whilst meditating they saw this second libation, and offered it: after offering it, they saw the Visvagyotis (all-light bricks), that is, those deities Agni, Vâyu, and Âditya; for these deities are indeed all the light. And in like manner does the Sacrificer now, after offering those two libations, see the fire-pan, these worlds; and those all-light deities. He offers with two interlinked (verses)<sup>1</sup>: he thereby interlinks these worlds, and those deities.

17. And, again, why he offers these two libations;—he thereby gratifies both the clay and the water; and having offered to, and gratified, these two, he then brings them together. With two interlinked

---

<sup>1</sup> The two halves of the two verses (Vâg. S. XI, 23, 24) are uttered in the order 1 a, 2 b, 2 a, 1 b.

(verses) he offers : he thereby interlinks (combines thoroughly) the clay and the water.

18. He offers with ghee ; for the ghee is a thunderbolt : he thus makes the thunderbolt its (or his, Agni's) protector. The ghee, moreover, is seed : he thus pours forth seed,—with the sruva-spoon ; for the sruva (m.) is a male, and the male pours forth seed,—with ' Svâhâ (hail !),' for the Svâhâkâra (m.) is a male, and the male pours forth seed.

19. [Vâg. S. XI, 23<sup>1</sup>] ' Upon thee I sprinkle with thought, with ghee,—that is, ' upon thee I offer with thought and ghee ;'—' that dwellest near all beings,'—for he (Agni) indeed comes to dwell near every being ;—' thee, large and great with side-spent force,'—for large he is, and directed sideways, and great with force, with smoke ;—' most ample through food, and fierce to look at,'—that is, ' capacious with food, a consumer of food, and flaming.'

20. [Vâg. S. XI, 24] ' From all sides I sprinkle the hitherward looking,'—that is, ' from every side I offer upon the hitherward looking ;'—' with spiteless mind let him relish this,'—that is, ' with unchafing mind may he relish this ;'—' Agni, glorious as a wooer, and of pleasing colour,'—for Agni is indeed glorious as a wooer<sup>2</sup>, and of pleasing colour ;—' not to be touched, while raging with his body,'—for not to be touched is he, whilst flaming with his body.

21. With two (verses) he offers ; for the Sacrificer

<sup>1</sup> *Rîk* S. II, 10, 4, beginning, however, ' I sprinkle Agni with a ghee-oblation.'

<sup>2</sup> Mahîdhara and Sâyana (*Rîk* S. II, 10, 5) take 'maryasri' in the sense of 'resorted to, or worshipped, by men.'

is two-footed, and the Sacrificer is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus pours him forth as seed ;—with two (verses) relating to Agni : it is Agni he thereby pours forth as seed. Inasmuch as they relate to Agni, they are Agni ; and inasmuch as they are Trishúbhs, they are Indra ; and Agni (the fire) belongs to Indra and Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus pours him forth as seed. Moreover, Indra and Agni are all the gods, and Agni (thus) contains all deities : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus pours him forth as seed.

22. He offers on the horse's footprint ;—the horse is the same as that Agni, and so, indeed, these two libations come to be offered over Agni.

23. He draws lines around it (the lump, with the spade) : he thereby puts a measure to it (or, to him, Agni), as if saying, ' So great thou art ! '

24. And, again, why he draws a line around it ;—the gods now were afraid, thinking, ' We hope the Rakshas, the fiends, will not smite here this (Agni) of ours ! ' They drew that rampart round it ; and in like manner does this one now draw that rampart round it,—with the spade, for the spade is the thunderbolt, and he thus makes the thunderbolt its (or his, Agni's) protector. He draws it all round : on every side he thus makes that thunderbolt to be its (or his) protector<sup>1</sup>. Three times he draws a line : that threefold thunderbolt he thus makes to be a protector for him.

25. [Vâg. S. XI, 25–27] ' Around the wise lord

<sup>1</sup> Or, he makes that protecting thunderbolt for it (or him).

of strength—<sup>1</sup>, 'Around (us) we (place) thee, O Agni, as a rampart—<sup>2</sup>, 'With the days, thou Agni—<sup>3</sup>, in thus praising Agni he makes a fence for him by means of (verses) containing the word 'pari' (around), for all round, as it were, (run) the ramparts;—(he does so by verses) relating to Agni: a stronghold of fire he thus makes for him, and this stronghold of fire keeps blazing;—(he does so) by three (verses): a threefold stronghold he thus makes for him; and hence that threefold stronghold is the highest form of strongholds. Each following (circular) line he makes wider, and with a larger metre: hence each following line of strongholds is wider, for strongholds (ramparts) are lines.

26. He then digs for him (Agni)<sup>4</sup> in this earth. For the gods then were afraid, thinking, 'We hope the Rakshas, the fiends, will not smite him here!<sup>1</sup> For the sake of protection they made this earth to be a self (body, âtman) for him, thinking, 'His own self will protect his own self.' It (the lump of clay) should be as large as the hole: thus this earth (or clay) becomes his (Agni's) self. And as to its (being) as large as the hole,—this earth is the womb, and this (clay) is seed; and whatever part of the seed

<sup>1</sup> Vâg. S. XI, 25; *Rîk* S. IV, 15, 3, 'Around the offering, Agni, the wise lord of strength, hath come, bestowing precious gifts upon the worshipper.'

<sup>2</sup> Vâg. S. XI, 26; *Rîk* S. X, 87, 22, 'Around we place thee, the priest, as a rampart, O mighty Agni, the bold-raced slayer of the wily day by day.'

<sup>3</sup> Vâg. S. XI, 27; *Rîk* S. II, 1, 1, 'With the days, O Agni, thou, longing to shine hither, art born forth from the waters, out of the shore, from the woods, from the herbs, thou the bright, O man-lord of men.'

<sup>4</sup> Or he digs out that (lump of clay).



exceeds the womb, becomes useless ; and what is deficient, is unsuccessful ; but that part of the seed which is within the hole is successful. Four-cornered is this hole, for there are four quarters : from all the (four) quarters he thus digs him.

#### FOURTH ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMAṆA.

1. He now digs it (the lump of clay)<sup>1</sup> up from that (hole) ;—for the gods, having found him (Agni), then dug him up ; and in like manner this one, after finding him, now digs him up,—with (Vāg. S. XI, 28), ‘At the impulse of the god Savitrī, by the arms of the Asvins, by the hands of Pūshan, I dig thee, the Agni Purīshya, from the lap of the earth, Aṅgiras-like ;’—impelled by Savitrī, he thus, by means of those deities, digs him up, the Agni favourable to cattle, as Agni (did).

2. ‘Thee, O Agni, the bright, the fair-faced,’—for this Agni is indeed bright and fair-faced ;—‘glowing with perpetual sheen,’—that is, ‘shining with perpetual light ;’—‘thee, kind to creatures, and never harming, the Agni Purīshya we dig up from the lap of the earth, Aṅgiras-like ;’—that is, ‘thee, kind to creatures, and never harming, the cattle-loving Agni we dig up from the lap of the earth, as Agni (did).’

3. With two (formulas) he digs,—two-footed is the Sacrificer, and the Sacrificer is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus digs him up. And twofold also is that form of his, (consisting as it does of) clay and water.

4. He digs, with, ‘I dig,’—‘we dig ;’ for with, ‘I

<sup>1</sup> Or him, Agni ; the identity of the two being kept up throughout.

dig,' Pragâpati dug for him (Agni); and with, 'we dig,' the gods dug for him, therefore (he digs), with, 'I dig,'—'we dig.'

5. Now while digging with the spade, he says with speech 'I dig,' 'we dig,' for the spade is speech. It is for his undertaking that this bamboo (spade) is made; and with speech for a spade, the gods dug him up; and in like manner does this one now dig him up with speech for a spade (or, with the speech-spade).

6. He then deposits it upon the black antelope skin, for the black antelope skin is the sacrifice<sup>1</sup>: in the sacrifice he thus deposits it (or him, Agni);—on the hair (side); for the hair is the metres: he thus deposits him on the metres. That (skin) he spreads silently; for the black antelope skin is the sacrifice; and the sacrifice is Pragâpati, and undefined is Pragâpati. North (of the hole he spreads it),—the meaning of this (will be explained) hereafter;—on (the skin spread) with the neck-part in front, for thus (it is turned) towards the gods.

7. And he deposits it on a lotus-leaf (placed on the skin); for the lotus-leaf is the womb, and into the womb he pours that seed; and the seed which is poured into the womb, becomes generative. He spreads that (leaf) with a formula; for the formula is speech, and the lotus-leaf is speech<sup>2</sup>.

8. [Vâg. S. XI, 29] 'Thou art the waters'

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the skin of the black antelope, considered as a symbol of Brâhmanical worship and civilisation, see part i, p. 23, note 2. As to the white and black hair of it representing the hymn-verses (*ṛik*) and tunes (*sâman*), and those of undecided colour the Yagus-formulas, see I, 1, 4, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. because from speech the waters were produced (VI, 1, 1, 9). and from them the lotus-leaf has sprung. Sây.

back, Agni's womb,' for this is indeed the back of the waters, and the womb of Agni;—'around the swelling sea,'—for the sea indeed swells around it;—'thou, growing mighty upon the lotus,'—that is, 'growing, prosper thou on the lotus.'—'With the measure of the sky, extend thou in width!'—with this he strokes along it (so as to lie even on the skin); for that Agni is yonder sun; and him assuredly none other than the width of the sky can contain: 'having become the sky, contain him!' this is what he thereby says.

9. He spreads it over the black antelope skin; for the black antelope skin is the sacrifice; and the black antelope skin is this earth, and the sacrifice is this earth, for on this earth the sacrifice is spread. And the lotus-leaf is the sky; for the sky is the waters, and the lotus-leaf is the waters; and yonder sky is above this earth.

10. He touches both of them—he thereby brings about concord between them—with (Vāg. S. XI, 30), 'A shelter ye are, a shield ye are!'—for both a shelter and a shield these two indeed are;—'uninjured both, and ample,'—for uninjured and ample both these indeed are;—'capacious, guard ye,'—that is, 'spacious, guard ye!'—'bear ye Agni Purīshya!'—that is, 'bear ye Agni, favourable to cattle<sup>1</sup>!'

11. [Vāg. S. XI, 31] 'Guard ye, light-finders, uniting with each other, with the breast, with the self,'—that is, 'guard him, ye light-finders, uniting with each other, both with your breast and your self;—'bearing within the brilliant, the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 201, note 1.

everlasting;—this Agni indeed is yonder sun, and he is the brilliant, the everlasting one; and him these two bear between (them): hence he says, ‘the brilliant, the everlasting.’

12. He touches them with two (verses);—two-footed is the Sacrificer, and the Sacrificer is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus brings about concord between these two. And, again, (he does so) because that form of theirs is twofold, (there being) a black antelope skin and a lotus-leaf.

## SECOND BRĀHMANA.

1. He then touches the lump of clay, with (Vâg. S. XI, 32), ‘Thou art the Purushya<sup>1</sup>,’—that is, ‘Thou art favourable to cattle;’—‘all-supporting,’—for he (Agni) indeed supports everything here;—‘Atharvan was the first that kindled thee, O Agni!’—Atharvan doubtless is the breath, and the breath indeed churned him out (produced him) at first: ‘Thou art that Agni who was produced at first,’ this he means to say; and that same (Agni) he thus makes it (the lump) to be.

2. He then takes hold of it with the (right) hand and spade on the right side; and with the (left) hand on the left side, with, ‘From the lotus Atharvan churned thee forth,’—the lotus doubtless means the waters, and Atharvan is the breath; and the breath indeed churned him (Agni, the fire) out of the waters at first;—‘from the head of every offerer<sup>2</sup>,’—that is, ‘from the head of this All (universe).’

<sup>1</sup> See p. 201, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> ? Or, of every priest (*visvasya vâghatah*). There is nothing to

3. [Vâg. S. XI, 33; *Rîk* S. VI, 16, 14] 'Also the sage Dadhyañk, the son of Atharvan, kindled thee;—Dadhyañk, the Âtharvana, doubtless is speech; and he did kindle him therefrom;—'as the *Vritra*-slayer, the breaker of strongholds,'—*Vritra* is evil, thus: 'as the slayer of evil, the breaker of strongholds.'

4. [Vâg. S. XI, 34; *Rîk* S. VI, 16, 15] 'Also Pâthya, the bull, kindled thee, as the greatest slayer of enemies,'—Pâthya, the bull, doubtless is the Mind, and he did kindle him therefrom;—'as a winner of wealth in every battle,'—as the text, so its meaning.

5. With *Gâyatrî* verses (he performs),—the *Gâyatrî* is the vital air: he thus lays vital air into him. With three (verses);—there are three vital airs, the out-breathing, the in-breathing, and the through-breathing: these he thus lays into him. These (verses) consist of nine feet, for there are nine vital airs, seven in the head, and two downward ones: these he thus lays into him.

6. And these two following ones are *Trishṭubhs*,—(Vâg. S. XI, 35, 36; *Rîk* S. III, 29, 8; II, 9, 1). Now, the *Trishṭubh* is the body (self): it is his (*Agni*'s) body he makes up by means of these two

---

show how the author of this part of the *Brāhmaṇa* interprets 'vâghat.' Cf. VI, 4, 3, 10.—Professor Ludwig (*Rîk* S. VI, 16, 13) translates, 'from the head of the priest *Visva*.' *Mahîdhara* offers several interpretations, according to which 'vâghataḥ' may either be taken as nom. plur., the verb being again supplied in the plural,—'the priests churned thee out from the head of the universe,' or 'the priests of the universe (or all priests) churned thee out,'—or 'vâghataḥ' may be ablative sing., like 'mûrdhnaḥ,' qualifying 'pushkarât,'—from the lotus, the head, the leader (or, starter, *vâhakât*) of the universe.

(verses). 'Seat thee, O Hotri, in thine own place, thou, the mindful,'—the Hotri, doubtless, is Agni; and this, the black antelope skin, is indeed his own place; 'the mindful,' that is, 'the wise one;'—'establish the sacrifice in the seat of the good work!'—the seat of the good work doubtless is the black antelope skin;—'god-gladdening, thou shalt worship the gods with offering!'—that is, 'being a god, gratifying the gods, thou shalt worship (them) with offering;'—'Bestow, O Agni, great vigour upon the Sacrificer!'—thereby he implores a blessing upon the Sacrificer.

7. 'The Hotri, in the Hotri's seat, the knowing,'—the Hotri, doubtless, is Agni; the Hotri's seat is the black antelope skin; and the knowing<sup>1</sup> means the wise one;—'the impetuous and glowing one, of great power, hath sat down,'—that is, the impetuous and shining one, of great power, has sat down;—'the guardian of undisturbed rites, the most wealthy,'—for he indeed is the guardian of undisturbed rites, and the most wealthy;—'the bearer of thousands, the brilliant-tongued Agni,'—a thousand means all, thus, 'the all-bearer, the brilliant-tongued Agni.' With two Trishṭubh (verses) relating to Agni (he performs): the meaning of this has been told.

8. Then there is this last Brīhatti verse, for this (fire-altar) when completely built up becomes like the Brīhatti (the great) metre: whatlike seed is infused into the womb, suchlike is (the child) born; and because he now makes this verse a Brīhatti,

---

<sup>1</sup> Thus the author evidently interprets 'vidānaḥ,' instead of 'being found,' 'se trouvant,' as is its real meaning.

therefore this (altar) when completely built up becomes like the *Bṛīhatt*.

9. [Vāg. S. XI, 37; *R̥ik* S. I, 36, 9] 'Seat thee, thou art great,'—he now causes the infused seed to establish itself, whence the seed infused into the womb establishes itself;—'burn thou, best gladdener of the gods!'—that is, 'shine thou, best gladdener of the gods;'—'send forth, O Agni, worthy partaker of the offering, thy showy, ruddy smoke!' for when he (Agni) is kindled, he sends forth his ruddy smoke,—the showy, for it, as it were, shows itself.

10. These (verses) amount to six,—six seasons are a year, and Agni is the year : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become. And what comes to be like the year, comes to be like the *Bṛīhatt*; for the year is the *Bṛīhatt*,—twelve full moons, twelve eighth days<sup>1</sup> (of the fortnight of waning moon), twelve new moons, that makes thirty-six, and the *Bṛīhatt* consists of thirty-six syllables. He takes it (the lump of clay) from the right (south) to the left (north) side (of the hole), for from the right side seed is infused into the womb; and this (hole) now is his (Agni's) womb. He takes it thither without stopping, so as not to stop the seed.

### THIRD BRĀHMAṆA.

1. He then pours water into it (the hole), for whatever is injured or torn in this earth that is healed by water : by means of the water he thus joins together and heals what is injured and torn in her.

<sup>1</sup> See VI, 2, 2, 23.

2. [Vâg. S. XI, 38] 'Let flow the divine waters, the honey-sweet, for health, for progeny!'—honey means sap (essence): thus, 'the sapful, for health, for progeny;'—'from their seed let plants spring forth, full-berried!' for full-berried plants indeed spring forth from the seat of the waters.

3. He then heals her with air<sup>1</sup>; for whatever is injured and torn in this earth that is healed by the air: by means of air he thus joins together and heals what is injured and torn in her.

4. [Vâg. S. XI, 39] 'May Vâyu Mâtariśvan heal,'—Vâyu Mâtariśvan, doubtless, is he (the wind) that blows yonder;—'the broken heart of thee stretched out with upward look!' for this (hole) is the broken heart of this earth stretched out with upward look;—'thou who goest along by the breath of the gods,'—for he (the wind) indeed goes along by means of the breath of all the gods;—'to thee, Ka, be vashaṭ (success), O god!'—Ka ('Who?') doubtless is Praçâpati, for him he makes this earth to be the Vashaṭ, for there is so far no other oblation than that.

5. He then heals her by means of the quarters, for whatever is injured and torn in this earth, that is healed by the quarters: by means of the quarters he thus draws and joins together what is injured and torn in her. He joins together this and this quarter<sup>2</sup>, whence these two quarters are joined

<sup>1</sup> Viz. by fanning air into the hole with the hand.

<sup>2</sup> With his 'nameless' (or little) finger, he pushes some of the loose soil into the hole, first from the front (east) and back (west) sides, and then from the right (south) and left (north) sides. Thus, according to Kâty. XVI, 3, 4, the sunwise movement is



together; then this one and this one, whence these two also are joined together: first thus, then thus; then thus, then thus. This is moving (from left) to right, for so (it goes) to the gods: with this and this one a means of healing is prepared; with this and this one he heals.

6. He then takes up together the black antelope skin and the lotus-leaf; for the lotus-leaf is the womb, and with the womb he takes up that infused seed: whence the infused seed is taken up by the womb. [He does so, with, *Vâg. S. XI, 40*] 'Well-born with splendour, the refuge and shelter, hath he settled down in the light;' for well-born he is, and he settles down in the refuge, and shelter, and light.

7. He then ties it (the lump) up: he thereby keeps the seed within the womb; whence the seed kept within the womb does not escape. With a string (he ties it), for with the string they yoke the draught beast;—with a triple one of reed grass: the significance of this has been told<sup>1</sup>.

8. He lays it round (the skin), with, 'Invest thyself, O lustrous Agni, in the many-coloured garment!' In the sacrifice the cord is Varuṇic; having thereby made it non-Varuṇic, he makes him put on (the skin) as one would make a garment be put on.

9. He then takes it and rises;—that Agni being yonder sun, he thus causes yonder sun to rise;—with (*Vâg. S. XI, 41*)<sup>2</sup>, 'Rise, thou of good rites,'—the sacrifice doubtless is a rite: thus, 'rise thou, well

---

obtained by the hand moving from east (along the south) to west, and then from south (along the west) to north.

<sup>1</sup> See VI, 3, 1, 27.

<sup>2</sup> See *Rîk S. VIII, 23, 5*, differing considerably.

worthy of sacrifice ;'—'Guard us with godly wisdom !'—that is, 'whatever divine wisdom is thine, therewith guard us!'—'Most brilliant to see with great light,'—that is, 'in order to be seen most brilliant with great light ;'—'hither, O Agni, come thou with praises!'—the praises<sup>1</sup> are the steeds : thus, 'hither, O Agni, come with the steeds.'

10. He then lifts it upwards from there towards the east ; for this Agni is yonder sun : he thus places yonder sun upwards from here in the east, and hence yonder sun is placed upwards from here in the east. [He does so, with, *Vâg. S. XI, 42 ; R̥k S. I, 36, 13*] 'Upright for our protection, stand thou like the god Savitrī!'—as the text, so its meaning;—'upright, as a bestower<sup>2</sup> of strength,'—for standing upright he (the sun) indeed bestows<sup>2</sup> strength, food;—'when we utter our call with the shining offerers'—the shining offerers<sup>3</sup>, doubtless, are his (the sun's) rays : it is these he means. He lifts it up beyond the reach of his arms, for beyond the reach of his arms is that (sun) from here. He then lowers it ; and having lowered it, he holds it above the navel : the meaning of this (will be explained) hereafter<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The author might seem to connect 'sasti' (in *surasti*) with 'sâs,' to rule, control, instead of with 'sams,' to praise ; Sâyaṇa, however, takes 'surasti' as a *bahuvrīhi*, 'with the praiseworthy,' i. e. with the steeds deserving praise, because they draw well (*śobhanâ sastir eshâm . . . sādhu vahanty arvâḥ*). It is indeed not improbable that this was the author's intention.

<sup>2</sup> Or, a winner—wins.

<sup>3</sup> *Aṅgāyo vāghataḥ*. See p. 217, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> See VI, 7, 1, 8 seq.

## FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. That (lump of clay representing Agni) is still in his hand when he addresses the animals; for the gods, being about to equip<sup>1</sup> (Agni), now first laid vigour into them; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer, or priest) now, being about to equip (Agni), first lay vigour into these (cattle).

2. He addresses the horse, with (Vâg. S. XI, 43; *Rîk* S. X, 1, 2), 'Thus born, art thou the child of the two worlds;'—the two worlds, doubtless, are these two, heaven and earth; and he (Agni) thus born, is the child of these two;—'O Agni, the lovely (child), distributed among the plants,'—for he, the lovely one, is indeed distributed among all the plants<sup>2</sup>;—'a brilliant child, through gloom and night,'—for as a brilliant child, he (Agni) indeed shines beyond gloom and night;—'crying aloud thou didst go forth from the mothers;'—his mothers, doubtless, are the plants, and from them he comes forth crying aloud. He thereby lays vigour into the horse.

3. Then (he addresses) the ass, with (Vâg. S. XI, 44), 'Steadfast be thou, firm-limbed, and a swift racer be thou, O steed!'—that is, 'be thou steadfast, and firm-limbed, and swift, and a racer, O steed!'—'Ample be thou, and well to sit upon, thou, the bearer of Agni's supply!'—that is, 'be

<sup>1</sup> For the ceremony of 'equipping' Agni, see part i, p. 276, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. inasmuch as fire may be elicited from dry wood. See also I, 6, 4, 5, where Soma, frequently identified with Agni (see VI, 5, 1, 1), is said at new moon to come down to the earth, and enter the waters and plants in order to be born anew from them.

thou ample (broad), well to rest upon, thou, Agni's provender-bearer<sup>1</sup>! He thereby lays vigour into the ass.

4. Then the he-goat, with (Vâg. S. XI, 45), 'Be thou propitious unto human creatures, O Āṅgiras!'—for Agni is Āṅgiras, and the he-goat is sacred to Agni: he thus appeases him with a view to his doing no injury;—'Scorch not heaven and earth, nor the air, nor the trees!'—that is, 'do not injure anything!' He thereby lays vigour into the he-goat.

5. With three (verses) he addresses (the animals), for threefold is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus lays vigour into them.

6. He then holds it (Agni, the lump of clay) over these animals, whereby he equips him (Agni) with these cattle. He does not touch them, lest he should injure that seed by the thunderbolt, for cattle are a thunderbolt, and this (clay) is seed; or lest that Agni should injure those cattle, for that (lump of clay) is Agni, and these (animals) are cattle.

7. In the first place he holds it over the horse, with (Vâg. S. XI, 46), 'Let the racer start forth neighing lustily,'—that is, 'Let the racer start forth neighing repeatedly;'—'the running ass, crying aloud!' He thus mentions the ass in the formula of the horse, and thereby imbues the ass with sorrow<sup>2</sup>;—'bearing Agni Purīshya, may he

<sup>1</sup> Literally, Agni's bearer of what is suitable for the cattle, or perhaps, be thou, for Agni, the bearer of (himself) favourable to cattle;—'paravya' being here as elsewhere used (see p. 201, note) to explain 'purīsha,' that which fills, the mould or soil used as mortar for the layers of bricks, in building up the fire-altar.

<sup>2</sup> On account of his being compared with the horse, Sâv. The author probably alludes to the dejected, spiritless look of the ass, as

not perish before his full measure of time!—that is, ‘bearing Agni favourable to cattle, may he (the horse) not perish before (the completion of) this sacred work.’ He thereby equips him (Agni) with the horse.

8. Then (over) the ass, with, ‘The male carrying Agni, the male,’—for Agni is a male, and the he-ass is a male: that male carries the male;—‘the sea-born child of the waters,’—for he (Agni) is the sea-born child of the waters. He thereby equips him with the ass.

9. He then takes it off, with, ‘O Agni, come hither to the feast!’—that is, ‘in order to rejoice.’ By means of the brahman, the yagus (formula), he thus removes him (Agni) from the *Sûdra* caste.

10. Then (he holds it over) the he-goat, with (*Vâg. S. XI, 47*), ‘The law—the truth, the law—the truth!’—the (divine) law doubtless is this Agni; and the truth is yonder sun; or, rather, the law is yonder (sun), and the truth is this (Agni); but, indeed, this Agni is both the one and the other: hence he says, ‘the law—the truth, the law—the truth.’ He thereby equips him with the he-goat.

11. With three (beasts) he equips (Agni),—three-fold is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus equips him. With three (verses) he previously addresses (the beasts),—that makes six: the significance of this (number) has been explained.

12. They then make the beasts return (to the *Âhavanīya*): the he-goat goes first of them, then the ass, then the horse. Now, in going away from this

---

compared with that of the horse. The word ‘*suḥ*’ might, however, perhaps also be taken in the sense of ‘fervour, fire.’

(Âhavanīya<sup>1</sup>), the horse goes first, then the ass, then the he-goat,—for the horse corresponds to the Kshatra (nobility), the ass to the Vaisya and Sûdra, the he-goat to the Brâhmaṇa.

13. And inasmuch as, in going from here, the horse goes first, therefore the Kshatriya, going first, is followed by the three other castes; and inasmuch as, in returning from there, the he-goat goes first, therefore the Brâhmaṇa, going first, is followed by the three other castes. And inasmuch as the ass does not go first, either in going from here, or in coming back from there, therefore the Brâhmaṇa and Kshatriya never go behind the Vaisya and Sûdra: hence they walk thus in order to avoid a confusion between good and bad. And, moreover, he thus encloses those two castes (the Vaisya and Sûdra) on both sides by the priesthood and the nobility, and makes them submissive.

14. He then looks at the sham-man, with, 'Agni Purīshya we bear, Aṅgiras-like;'—that is, 'Agni, favourable to cattle, we bear, like Agni.' He thereby equips him with the sham-man.

15. He (the Adhvaryu) arrives (near the fire) while holding (the lump of clay) over the he-goat; for the he-goat is sacred to Agni: he thus equips him (Agni) with his own self, with his own godhead. And, moreover, the he-goat is the Brahman (priesthood): with the Brahman he thus equips him.

16. He then takes it down, with, 'O plants, welcome ye with joy this propitious Agni coming hitherwards!' for the plants are afraid lest he (Agni) should injure them: it is for them that he

<sup>1</sup> See VI, 3, 2, 6 seq.

now appeases him, saying, 'Welcome ye him with joy, propitious he comes to you; he will not injure you!'—'Removing all infirmities, afflictions; settling down, drive off from us evil intention!' that is, 'removing all infirmities and afflictions, settling down, drive off from us all evil!'

17. [Vâg. S. XI, 48] 'O plants, receive him joyfully, ye blossoming, full-berried ones!' for that is their perfect form when they are blossoming and full-berried: thus, 'Being perfect, receive ye him joyfully!'—'this timely child of yours hath settled down in his old seat;' that is, 'this seasonable child of yours has settled down in his eternal seat.'

18. With two (verses) he takes it down,—two-footed is the Sacrificer, and the Sacrificer is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus takes it down. He takes it down from the right (south) to the left (north) side: the significance of this has been explained. Raised and sprinkled is (the place) where he takes it down, for on a (mound), raised and sprinkled, the (sacrificial) fire is laid down. Gravel is strewed thereon: the significance of this (will be explained) hereafter<sup>1</sup>.

19. It is enclosed on all sides<sup>2</sup>; for at that time the gods were afraid, thinking, 'We hope the Rakshas, the fiends, will not smite here this (Agni) of ours!' They enclosed him with this stronghold; and in like manner does this one now enclose him with this stronghold. And, again, this is a womb;

<sup>1</sup> See VII, 1, 1, 9.

<sup>2</sup> The lump of clay is deposited on a raised mound (or perhaps rather on a cut-out piece of ground, *uddhata*), in an enclosed shed, (with a door on the east side) north of the *Āhavanîya*.

and this (clay) is seed; and in secret, as it were, the seed is infused into the womb: it is thus made of the form of the womb; and hence it is only in secret that one would have intercourse even with his own wife.

20. He then unties it (the lump of clay): whatever part of his (body) pains him (Agni) when tied up, that pain he now puts outside of him; and, moreover, he causes him to be born from that womb (the antelope skin).

21. [He unties it, with Vâg. S. XI, 49; *Rîk* S. III, 15, 1] 'Blazing forth with wide glare,'—that is, 'Shining brightly with wide glare;'—'chase away the terrors of the hating demons!'—that is, 'chase away all evils!'—'May I be in the protection of the great, the good protector, in the guidance of Agni, ready to our call!' thereby he invokes a blessing.

22. He then cuts off some goat's hair, and lets loose the animals towards the north-east; for this, the north-east, is the region of both gods and men: he thus bestows cattle on that region, and hence both gods and men subsist on cattle.

### THE MAKING OF THE FIRE-PAN (UKHÂ).

#### FIFTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. That water (used for working the clay) has been boiled by means of resin of the palâsa tree (*butea frondosa*), just for the sake of firmness. And as to why (it is done) by palâsa resin;—the palâsa tree doubtless is Soma<sup>1</sup>, and Soma is the moon, and that (moon) indeed is one of Agni's

<sup>1</sup> See part i, p. 183.



forms : it is for the obtainment of that form of Agni (that palāsa resin is used).

2. He pours it on (the clay), with (Vâg. S. XI, 50-52 ; *Rik* S. X, 9, 1-3), 'Refreshing ye are, O waters<sup>1</sup>!' To whatever deity a *Rik*-verse, and to whatever deity a Yagus formula applies, that *Rik*-verse is that very deity, and that Yagus formula is that very deity : hence this triplet (XI, 50-52) is these waters, and they are those very waters which appeared as one form<sup>2</sup> : that form he now makes it.

3. He then produces foam and puts it thereto : the second form which was created (in the shape of) foam<sup>3</sup>, that form he thus makes it. And the clay he now mixes is that very clay which was created as the third form. It was from these forms that he (Agni) was created at the beginning, and from them he now produces him.

4. He then mixes it with the goat's hair, just for the sake of firmness. And as to why with goat's hair,—the gods then collected him (Agni) from out of the cattle, and in like manner does this one now collect him from out of the cattle. And as to why with goat's hair, it is because in the he-goat (is contained) the form of all cattle ; and as to its being hair, form is hair<sup>4</sup>.

5. [Vâg. S. XI, 53] 'Mitra having mixed the earth and ground with light,'—Mitra doubtless

<sup>1</sup> The whole triplet runs thus : 'Refreshing ye are, O waters ; lead us to strength, to see great joy !—whatever is your most benign sap, therein let us share, like loving mothers !—For you we will readily go to him, to whose abode ye urge us, O waters, and quicken us.'

<sup>2</sup> See VI, 1, 1, 12.

<sup>3</sup> VI, 1, 1, 13.

<sup>4</sup> That is, the hair of cattle is the most obvious characteristic of their outward appearance.

is the breath, and the breath first did this sacred work;—‘I mix (fashion) thee, the well-born knower of beings, for health to creatures,’—as the text, so its meaning.

6. Then there are these three kinds of powder (dust)—(sand of) gravel, stone, and iron-rust—therewith he mixes (the clay), just for firmness. And as to why (it is mixed) therewith, it is because thereof this (earth) consisted when it was created in the beginning: thus whatlike this (earth) was created in the beginning, such he now makes it (the earth, or fire-pan).

7. [Vâg. S. XI, 54] ‘The Rudras, having mixed the earth, kindled the great light;’—for this Agni is yonder sun: thus it is that great light which the Rudras, having mixed the earth, did kindle;—‘yea, never-failing and brilliant, their light shineth among the gods;’—for that never-failing and brilliant light of theirs does indeed shine among the gods.

8. With two (verses) he mixes (the clay),—two-footed is the Sacrificer, and the Sacrificer is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great he thus mixes (fashions) him.

9. He then kneads it, with (Vâg. S. XI, 55), ‘Mixed by the Vasus, the Rudras,’—for this (clay) has indeed been mixed both by the Vasus and the Rudras: by the Vasus, because by Mitra; and by the Rudras, because by the Rudras;—‘by the wise, the clay suitable for the work;’—for wise those (gods) are, and suitable for the (sacred) work is this clay;—‘making it soft with her hands, may Sintvalt fashion it!’—Sintvalt doubtless is speech: thus, ‘May she, having made it soft with her hands, fashion it!’

10. [Vâg. S. XI, 56] 'Sintvali, the fair-knotted, fair-braided, fair-locked,'—for Sintvali is a woman, and that is indeed the perfect form of woman, to wit, the fair-knotted, fair-braided, fair-locked: he thus makes her perfect;—'may she place the fire-pan into thy hands, O great Aditi!'—the great Aditi doubtless is this earth: it is to this earth that he says this.

11. [Vâg. S. XI, 57] 'Let Aditi fashion the fire-pan, by her skill, her arms, her wisdom!'—for by her skill, by her arms, and by her wisdom she does indeed fashion it;—'may she bear Agni in her womb, even as a mother (bears) her son in her lap!'—that is, 'as a mother would bear her son in her lap, so may she (Aditi) bear Agni in her womb!'

12. With three (formulas) he kneads (the clay),—threefold is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus kneads him. With two (verses) he mixes,—that makes five;—of five layers consists the fire-altar (Agni); five seasons are a year, and the year is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become. With three (formulas) he pours water thereto,—that makes eight;—of eight syllables the Gâyatri metre consists, and Agni is Gâyatra: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become. And, moreover, as one of eight syllables<sup>1</sup> this (earth) was created in the beginning: thus as great as this (earth) was created in the beginning, so great he thus makes this (fire-pan representing the earth).

<sup>1</sup> See VI, 1, 2, 6-7.

## SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. He then takes a lump of clay, as much as he thinks sufficient for the bottom part, with, 'Makha's head thou art!'—Makha, doubtless, is the sacrifice, and this is its head; for the Âhavantya fire is the head of the sacrifice, and that Âhavantya (fire-altar) he is now about to build: hence he says, 'Makha's head thou art!'

2. And, again, as to why he says, 'Makha's head thou art!'—when he (Agni) is built up, then he is born, and it is by the head (issuing first), by the top, that he who is born is born: 'when he is born, may he be born by the head, by the top!' so he thinks.

3. He spreads it out, with (Vâg. S. XI, 58), 'May the Vasus, Ângiras-like, fashion thee by the Gâyatrî metre!'—for the bottom part is this (terrestrial) world, and this the Vasus fashioned by means of the Gâyatrî metre; and in like manner does this one now fashion it by means of the Gâyatrî metre;—'Ângiras-like,' he says, for Ângiras is the breath. 'Thou art steadfast!'—that is, 'thou art firm,' or, 'thou art fixed;'—'Thou art the earth!'—for this bottom part is indeed the earth;—'Establish in me offspring, increase of wealth, lordship of cattle, manhood, clansmen for the Sacrificer!' For the Vasus, having fashioned this (terrestrial) world, invoked this blessing thereon; and in like manner does the Sacrificer, having fashioned this world, now invoke this blessing thereon. Having made it of the measure of a span (in each direction), he then turns up its edge on each side.

4. He then lays thereon the first (lower) side-part,

with, 'May the Rudras, Aṅgiras-like, fashion thee by the Trishṭubh metre!'—for this side-part is the air, and this the Rudras fashioned by means of the Trishṭubh metre; and in like manner does this one now fashion it by means of the Trishṭubh metre;—'Aṅgiras-like,' he says, for Aṅgiras is the breath;—'Thou art steadfast!'—that is, 'thou art firm,' or 'thou art fixed';—'Thou art the air!' for this side-part is indeed the air;—'Establish in me offspring, increase of wealth, lordship of cattle, manhood, clansmen for the Sacrificer!' For the Rudras, having fashioned the air, invoked this blessing thereon; and in like manner does this Sacrificer, having fashioned the air, now invoke this blessing thereon. Having stroked and smoothed it all over—

5. He lays on the upper side-part, with, 'May the Âdityas, Aṅgiras-like, fashion thee by the Gagatī metre!' for this side-part is yonder sky, and this the Âdityas fashioned by means of the Gagatī metre; and in like manner does this one now fashion it by means of the Gagatī metre;—'Aṅgiras-like,' he says, for Aṅgiras is the breath;—'Thou art steadfast!'—that is, 'thou art firm,' or 'thou art fixed';—'Thou art the sky!' for that side-part is indeed the sky;—'Establish in me offspring, increase of wealth, lordship of cattle, manhood, clansmen for the Sacrificer!' For the Âdityas, having fashioned the sky, invoked this blessing thereon; and in like manner the Sacrificer, having fashioned the sky, now invokes this blessing thereon.

6. He then makes it (complete), with this fourth prayer, 'May the All-gods, the friends of all

men, fashion thee, Aṅgiras-like, by the Anu-shṭubh metre!—this prayer, doubtless, is the (four) quarters, and the All-gods, the friends of all men, did then, by means of this prayer, put the quarters into these worlds, (that is) into the fire-pan; and in like manner does the Sacrificer, by means of this prayer, now put the quarters into these worlds, into the fire-pan;—‘Aṅgiras-like,’ he says, because Aṅgiras is the breath;—‘Thou art steadfast!’—that is, ‘thou art firm,’ or ‘thou art fixed;’—‘Thou art the quarters!’ for this prayer indeed is the quarters;—‘Establish in me offspring, increase of wealth, lordship of cattle, manhood, clansmen for the Sacrificer!’ For the All-gods, the friends of all men, having fashioned the quarters, invoked this blessing on them; and in like manner the Sacrificer, having fashioned the quarters, now invokes this blessing on them.

7. With that same formula he fashions it both inside and outside, whence the quarters are both inside and outside these worlds. He therewith fashions it without restriction (to any part of the pan), for unrestricted are the quarters.

8. He makes it just a span high, and a span sideways; for Vishṇu, when an embryo, was a span long, and this (fire-pan) is the womb: he thus makes the womb of equal size with the embryo<sup>1</sup>.

9. Were it larger than a span, he would make it smaller by that prayer; and were it smaller, (he would make it) larger thereby<sup>2</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> Vishṇu is identical with Agni, inasmuch as both are the sacrifice.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, if the pan, thus fashioned, is not quite of the exact measure, the formula is supposed to set this right. .

10. If there be one victim, let him make it (the pan) one span wide; and if there be five victims, let him make it five spans wide, or an arrow's width; for the arrow means strength: he thus makes it to be composed of strength. But, indeed, an arrow formerly used to be five spans long<sup>1</sup>.

11. He then lays round the horizontal belt (or rim);—that is the quarters; for the gods, having made these worlds, the fire-pan, strengthened and encircled them by the quarters; and in like manner the Sacrificer, having made these worlds, the fire-pan, thus strengthens and encircles them by the quarters.

12. He lays this (rim) on the upper third (of the side), for it is there the ends of these worlds meet, and he thus makes them firm thereby.

13. [He does so, with Vâg. S. XI, 59] 'Thou art Aditi's girdle!'—in the sacrifice the string relates to Varuṇa: he thus lays this belt round after (expressly) making it one not relating to Varuṇa.

14. He then silently makes four upright (bands), for these are the quarters;—for the gods, having made these worlds, the fire-pan, made them firm on all sides by means of the quarters<sup>2</sup>; and in like manner the Sacrificer, having made these worlds, the fire-pan, now makes them firm on all sides by means of the quarters.

15. These (vertical bands) run up to (the rim of) it, for they did then support it, and so do they now support it: thus that upper part of it becomes firm

<sup>1</sup> Yasmin kâlê dhanurvedânusâreṇa dharmataḥ kshatriyâ yudh-yante tasmin kâlê pañkaprâdeseshur âsît, adhunâ tv iyam aniyata-parimânâ vartante, Sây.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. by means of the mountains, according to Sâyana.

by means of the horizontal belt, and that lower part of it by means of these (vertical bands).

16. At their tops they form nipples; for the gods, having made these worlds, the fire-pan, drew forth for themselves from these nipples all (objects of) their desires; and in like manner the Sacrificer, having made these worlds, the fire-pan, draws forth from these nipples all his desires.

17. This (fire-pan) indeed is a cow, for the fire-pan is these worlds, and these worlds are a cow: that horizontal belt is its udder; it is in the (upper) third of it, for the udder is in one-third of the cow.

18. He forms nipples to it, whereby he forms the nipples of the udder: it has four nipples, for the cow has four nipples.

19. Some, indeed, make it with two nipples, or also with eight nipples; but let him not do so, for those cattle which have fewer nipples than a cow, and those which have more nipples, are less fit to yield him a livelihood: hence they make this (fire-pan) less fit to yield a livelihood; and, indeed, they do not make it (like) a cow, but (like) a bitch, or a ewe, or a mare; hence let him not do so.

20. He then takes hold of its bowl, with, 'May Aditi seize thy bowl!' Aditi, doubtless, is Speech; and the gods, having then fashioned it, perfected it by means of Aditi, speech; and in like manner this one, having fashioned it, now perfects it by means of Aditi, speech.

21. Having grasped it with both hands, he sets it down, with, 'She, having fashioned the great (mahîm) fire-pan,'—that is, 'she, having fashioned the great (mahatîm) fire-pan;'—'the earthen womb for Agni;'—for this is indeed Agni's



earthen womb;—‘Aditi offered it unto her sons, thinking, They shall bake it!’—for Aditi, indeed, having fashioned it, offered it to the gods, her sons, to bake it; and in like manner does this one now, after fashioning it, offer it to the gods to bake it.

22. Now some make three (fire-pans), saying, ‘Three (in number) are these worlds, and the fire-pans are these worlds;’ and also for mutual expiation, thinking, ‘If the one will break, we shall carry (Agni) in the other, and if the other (breaks), then in the other (or third).’ Let him not do so; for that first bottom part is this world; and that first (lower) side-part is the air; and the upper one is the sky; and that fourth, the prayer, doubtless is the quarters; and just as much as these worlds and the quarters are, so much is this whole (universe). But were he to add anything thereto, he would make it to be redundant, and whatever redundant (act) is done in the sacrifice is left over for the Sacrificer’s spiteful rival. And as to the expiation in case of the (fire-pan being) broken, that (will be told) in a subsequent chapter<sup>1</sup>.

### THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. Of that same (clay) she (the queen) forms the first, the ‘invincible’ (brick); for the invincible one (Ashâdhâ) is this earth, and this earth was created first of these worlds. She forms it of that same clay, for this earth is (one) of these worlds. The (Sacrificer’s) consecrated consort (mahisht) forms it; for this earth is a ‘mahisht’ (female buffalo, a cow). She who is first taken to wife is the consecrated consort.

<sup>1</sup> VI, 6, 4, 8.

2. It measures a foot (in length and breadth), for the foot is a foundation, and this earth also is a foundation. It is marked with three lines, for this earth is threefold<sup>1</sup>.

3. Now he (the Sacrificer) makes the fire-pan : he thereby makes these worlds. He then makes the (three) 'all-light' (bricks), that is these deities, Agni, Vâyu, Âditya, for those deities indeed are all the light. He makes them from that same clay (as the fire-pan) : he thus produces these gods from these worlds. The Sacrificer makes them. They are marked with three lines, for threefold are these gods<sup>2</sup>. Thus as regards the deities.

4. Now as regards the self (or body) : the fire-pan, indeed, is the self (of Agni). The 'invincible' (brick) is speech : that she (the wife) makes first, for this speech is foremost in the body. She makes it from that same clay, for this speech is of the body. The (Sacrificer's) consecrated consort makes it, for speech is a 'mahishi.' It is marked with three lines, for speech is divided into three kinds, *Rik*-verses, *Yagus*-formulas, and *Sâman*-tunes ; and because of this threefold form of speech, low-voiced, half-loud, and loud.

5. He makes the fire-pan : thereby he makes (Agni's) self. He then makes the 'all-light' (bricks), —the 'all-light' (brick) is offspring, for offspring indeed is all the light : he thus causes generation to take place. He makes them of the same clay (as the fire-pan) : he thus produces offspring from the self. The Sacrificer makes them : the Sacrificer thus

<sup>1</sup> See VI, I, 1, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. those of the sky, the air, and the earth. See VI, I, 2, 10.

produces offspring from his own self. He makes them without interruption : he thus produces uninterrupted offspring from his own self. He makes them subsequently (to the fire-pan) : he thus produces the offspring subsequently to his own self. They are marked with three lines, for generation is threefold, father, mother, and son ; or, the embryo, and the inner and outer membrane.

6. He makes these from (clay) prepared with prayer, the others from (clay) prepared without prayer ; for these are defined, the others undefined ; these are limited (in number), the others unlimited.

7. That Agni is Pragâpati ; but Pragâpati is both of this, defined and undefined, limited and unlimited : thus when he makes (bricks) from (clay) prepared with prayer, he thereby makes up that form of his (Pragâpati's) which is defined and limited ; and when he makes them from (clay) prepared without prayer, he thereby makes up that form of his which is undefined and unlimited. Verily, then, whosoever knowing this does it on this wise, makes up the whole and complete Agni. From the (clay) lying ready prepared, he leaves over a lump for expiations<sup>1</sup>.

8. He (the Adhvaryu) now fumigates it (the fire-pan)—just for the sake of strength, or to (mark) the progress of the work. And, again, as to why he fumigates,—that fire-pan is the head of the sacrifice, and the smoke its breath : he thus puts breath into the head.

9. He fumigates it with horse-dung, to insure it against injury ; for the horse is sacred to Pragâpati,

<sup>1</sup> That is, in case the fire-pan were to break. See VI, 6, 4, 8 seq.

and Pragâpati is Agni, and one does not injure one's own self. And with dung (he does it) because that is what was eaten (by the horse) and is useless; and thus he does not injure the horse itself, nor the other cattle.

10. [Vâg. S. XI, 60] 'May the Vasus make thee fragrant by the Gâyatrî measure, Ângiras-like!—May the Rudras make thee fragrant by the Trishṭubh metre, Ângiras-like!—May the Âdityas make thee fragrant by the Gagatî metre, Ângiras-like!—May the All-gods, the friends of all men, make thee fragrant by the Anushṭubh metre, Ângiras-like!—May Indra make thee fragrant!—May Varuṇa make thee fragrant!—May Vishṇu make thee fragrant!'—he thus fumigates it by means of the deities.

11. Seven balls of horse-dung are (used), and seven formulas: those deities are sevenfold<sup>1</sup>, and seven vital airs there are in the head. But also what is many times, seven times seven, is (expressed by) seven<sup>2</sup>: he thus puts the seven vital airs into the head.

#### FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. He now digs that (hole)<sup>3</sup> in the earth; for the gods now were afraid, thinking, 'We hope the Rakshas, the fiends, will not smite here this (Agni) of

<sup>1</sup> ? Or, divided into groups of seven each, as, for instance, the Maruts, see II, 5, 1, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. the Germ. 'seine sieben Sachen (or, Siebensachen) packen,' to pack one's traps.

<sup>3</sup> One might take 'athainam asyâṁ khanati' to mean, 'he now digs for him (Agni) in the earth,' or 'digs him into the earth.' Cf. VI, 4, 1, 1, 'athainam ataḥ khanati.' Sâyana, however (in accordance with the formula in paragraph 3), supplies 'avaṭam,' 'a hole.'

ours!' They made this (earth) to be his self (body), for protection, thinking, 'The self will protect itself.'

2. He digs him out with (the help of) Aditi, in order to guard him from injury; for Aditi is this earth, and one does not injure one's own self; but were he to dig with (the help of) another deity, he surely would injure him (Agni).

3. [Vâg. S. XI, 61] 'May the divine Aditi, dear to all the gods, dig thee, Aṅgiras-like, O hole, in the lap of the earth!'—for this hole (is dug) among the gods. That bamboo spade now disappears. This hole is four-cornered, for there are four quarters: he thus digs it from all the quarters<sup>1</sup>. Having then laid down fuel in it, he silently puts the 'invincible' (brick) thereon, for that is made first.

4. He then sets down the fire-pan (with the bottom part upwards), with, 'May the divine wives of the gods, dear to all the gods, place thee, Aṅgiras-like, O fire-pan, in the lap of the earth!' for of old the divine wives of the gods, dear to all the gods, indeed, like Aṅgiras, placed that (fire-pan) into the lap of the earth, and by (the help of) them he now places it. But, surely, these are the plants,—the wives of the gods are indeed the plants; for by the plants everything here is supported: by means of the plants he thus supports this (fire-pan). He then lays down silently the 'all-light' (bricks). Having then placed fuel thereon he kindles it.

5. 'May the divine Dhishanâs, dear to all the gods, kindle thee, Aṅgiras-like, O fire-pan, in the lap of the earth!' for of old the divine

---

<sup>1</sup> Sarvâbhyo digbhya enam ava/am khanati tam ka sarvâsu dikshu nâsh/râ na himsanti, Sây.

Dhishanâs, dear to all the gods, indeed kindled it, like Aṅgiras, in the lap of the earth, and with their help he now kindles it. But, surely, this is Vâk (speech),—the Dhishanâs are indeed speech<sup>1</sup>, for by speech everything is kindled here : by means of speech he thus kindles this (fire-pan). Whilst looking at it, he then mutters these three formulas :

6. 'May the divine protectresses, dear to all the gods, heat thee, O fire-pan, Aṅgiras-like, in the lap of the earth !' for of old the divine protectresses, dear to all the gods, indeed, like Aṅgiras, heated it in the lap of the earth ; and by them he now heats it. But, surely, these are the days and nights,—the protectresses are indeed the days and nights ; for by days and nights everything is covered here : by means of the days and nights he thus heats it.

7. 'May the divine ladies, dear to all the gods, bake thee, Aṅgiras-like, O fire-pan, in the lap of the earth !' for of old the divine ladies, dear to all the gods, did, like Aṅgiras, bake it in the lap of the earth, and with their help he now bakes it. But, surely, these are the metres,—the ladies (gnâ) are indeed the metres (scripture texts), for by means of these men go (gam) to the celestial world : by means of the metres he thus bakes it.

8. 'May the divine women, with unclipped wings, dear to all the gods, bake thee, Aṅgiras-like, O fire-pan, in the lap of the earth !' for

<sup>1</sup> Whether 'Dhishanâ' (the name of certain female divinities who have the power of bestowing prosperity and granting wishes) is here connected with 'dhishnya,' fire-hearth ; or whether it is taken by the author in some such primary sense as 'intelligence' or 'inspiration,' it were difficult to decide. Sâyana connects it with 'dhî,'—vâg vai dhishanâ, sâ hi dhiyam karma gñāvāsani (?) sambhagatē.

of old the divine women, with unclipped wings, dear to all the gods, did bake it, like Aṅgiras, in the lap of the earth ; and with their help he now bakes it. But, surely, these are the stars,—the women (*gani*) are indeed the stars, for these are the lights of those righteous men (*gana*) who go to the celestial world : it is by means of the stars that he thus bakes it.

9. Now he digs with one (formula), he sets down (the fire-pan) with one, he kindles with one, he heats with one, he bakes (*paḥ*) with two, whence twice in the year food is ripened (*paḥ*) ; these amount to six, —six seasons are a year, and Agni is the year : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become.

10. And as often as he attends to (the fire by adding fresh fuel)<sup>1</sup> he attends to it with the prayer relating to Mitra, '[The protection] of Mitra, the preserver of men<sup>2</sup> . . . ;' for a friend (*mitra*) does not injure any one, nor does any one injure his friend ; and in like manner does this one not injure that (fire-pan), nor does it (injure) him. By day he should put (fuel) on it, by day he should clear it (of the ashes).

11. He clears it (of the ashes) with a prayer relating to Savitṛi,—for Savitṛi is the impeller : impelled

<sup>1</sup> The St. Petersburg dictionary seems to take 'yāvat kiyat ḥopanyākarati' in the sense of 'as much (or, as deep) as he enters (into the pan).' But see III, 2, 2, 19, where 'yāvat kiyakṛta . . . upaspriset' has likewise the meaning 'as often as he touches.' Cf. also Kāty. Sr. XVI, 4, 15, He keeps up (the fire by adding fuel), with 'Mitrasya . . . ;' 16, [He repeats the formula] as often (or long) as he keeps it up (or, adds fuel).

<sup>2</sup> Vâg. S. XI, 62 ; Rîk S. III, 59, 6, 'The gainful protection of the God Mitra, the preserver of men, is glorious and of most wonderful renown.'

by Savitrî, he thus clears it—[Vâg. S. XI, 63] ‘May the divine Savitrî, the well-handed, well-fingered, and well-armed, clear thee by his might!’—for Savitrî is all that.

12. He then turns it (the fire-pan) round, with, ‘Not tottering upon the earth, fill the regions, the quarters!’—that is, ‘not tottering, fill thou with sap the regions and quarters on earth!’

13. He then takes it up, with [Vâg. S. XI, 64], ‘Having risen, do thou become great,’—for these worlds, having risen, are great;—‘and stand up steadfast!’ that is, ‘stand thou up firm and fixed!’

14. Having taken it in both hands, he sets it down, with, ‘O Mitra, unto thee I consign this fire-pan for safety: may it not break!’ for Mitra is that wind which blows yonder: it is to him he thus consigns it for protection; for these worlds are protected by Mitra (or by a friend), whence nothing whatever is harmed in these worlds.

15. He then pours (milk) into it,—just for strength, or to (mark) the progress of the work. And, again, why he pours (milk) into it,—that fire-pan is the head of the sacrifice, and milk is breath: he thus lays breath into the head. Moreover, the fire-pan (ukhâ, f.) is a female: he thus lays milk into the female, whence there is milk in the female.

16. He pours goat’s milk into it to avoid injury<sup>1</sup>; for the goat sprang from Pragâpati’s head, and Pragâpati is Agni; and one does not injure one’s own self. And as to why it is goat’s (milk),—the goat eats all (kinds of) herbs: he thus pours into it (the pan) the sap of all (kinds of) herbs.

<sup>1</sup> The construction of this, and similar previous passages, is the same as that referred to in part ii, p. 15, note 3.



17. [Vâg. S. XI, 65] 'May the Vasus fill thee with the Gâyatri metre, Aṅgiras-like!—May the Rudras fill thee with the Trishṭubh metre, Aṅgiras-like!—May the Âdityas fill thee with the Gagati metre, Aṅgiras-like!—May the All-gods, dear to all men, fill thee with the Anushṭubh metre, Aṅgiras-like!'—by these deities he thus moistens it: by whatever deities he fashions it, by them he fumigates it, and by them he moistens it. For he who performs a work, knows the practice of it: hence by whatever deities he fashions it, by them he fumigates and moistens it.

### THE DĪKSHĀ, OR INITIATION.

#### SIXTH ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMAṆA.

1. Many<sup>1</sup> are the oblations, in the building of the fire-altar, as well as at any other (special ceremony) than the building of the fire-altar. For there are supernumerary rites,—supernumerary are those which are (performed) over and above another rite: of these<sup>2</sup> are the building of the altar (Agniṣṭyā), the Râgasūya, the Vâgapeya, and the Asvamedha; and because they are over and above the other (normal) rites, therefore they are supernumerary.

<sup>1</sup> Or rather, too many, more (than are required at one of the normal Soma-sacrifices),—âdhvarikebhyo bahutarâni, Sâya.

<sup>2</sup> That is, as would seem from Sâyaṇa, of such ceremonies as have supernumerary, or additional, oblations to the normal ones connected with them. This discussion seems to be introduced here on account of the additional oblation (that to Vaisvânara) offered at the initiation ceremony. As an 'additional' or special, oblation at the Vâgapeya, Sâyaṇa refers to the pap of wild rice (V, 1, 4, 12); whilst at the Râgasūya the one to Anumati (V, 2, 3, 4) is said to belong to the same category.

2. A cake<sup>1</sup> on eleven potsherds to Agni and Vishṇu,—that is the initiation (offering) of the (Soma) sacrifice;—one on twelve potsherds to Vaisvânara, and a pap to the Âdityas,—these two belong to Agni.

3. Now were he to prepare only the one for Agni and Vishṇu, and not the other two oblations, then only the initiation (offering) of the (Soma) sacrifice would be performed, and not those of Agni (the fire-altar); and were he to prepare only the other two oblations, and not the one to Agni and Vishṇu, only the initiation (offering) of Agni would be performed, and not that of the sacrifice.

4. He prepares both that of the sacrifice, and those of Agni, for this rite is both a rite of sacrifice, and a rite of fire: first (comes) that of the sacrifice, and then that of the fire, for the rite of the fire is an accessory rite.

5. Now as regards that (cake) for Agni and Vishṇu, its mystic import is the same as what is (implied) in a preparatory ceremony. And the (cake) on twelve potsherds for Vaisvânara is for

<sup>1</sup> These and the subsequent offerings form part of the Dīkshâ, or initiation ceremony, for the Soma-sacrifice to be performed after the completion of the fire-altar. This initiation ceremony commences on the day of new moon, a week after the preparation of the ukhâ, or fire-pan. An integral part of (the first day of) this ceremony is the kindling of a fire in the ukhâ—the 'Ukhyâ Agni'—which ultimately serves to supply the fires for the brick altars built on the completion of the period of initiation. The Dīkshâ is, as a rule, to be performed daily for a year, during which time the fire has to be kept up in the ukhâ, and carried about by the Sacrificer for a time each day. While the cake to Agni-Vishṇu here mentioned is the ordinary cake-offering prescribed for the Dīkshâ of the normal Soma-sacrifice (see III, 1, 3, 1), the Vaisvânara cake is peculiar to the Agniçayana.

the obtainment of all the fires, Vaisvânara being all the fires ;—it is one of twelve potsherds, for twelve months are a year, and Vaisvânara is the year.

6. And, again, as to why he prepares one for Vaisvânara,—it is because he is about to produce Agni as Vaisvânara (belonging, or dear to, all men): in the initiation offering he first pours him forth as seed, and whatlike the seed is that is poured into the womb, suchlike is (the child) born therefrom; and inasmuch as he now pours forth that (Agni) Vaisvânara as seed, therefore he is born hereafter as Vaisvânara.

7. And why he prepares those two (other) oblations,—Vaisvânara is the ruling power, and that Âditya pap is the people: he thus makes both the ruling power and the people. The Vaisvânara (cake) he prepares first, and having thereby made the ruling power, he makes the people.

8. That (Vaisvânara cake) is one single (oblation), having one single deity: he thus makes the ruling power to be concentrated in one (person), and excellence to be concentrated in one. The other, the pap, has many deities, for the pap is a multiplicity of rice-grains, and those Âdityas are a multiplicity of gods: he thus bestows multiplicity on the people. Thus much as to the deities.

9. Now as regards the self (or body of Agni). The Vaisvânara (cake) is the head, and that Âditya pap is the body: he thus makes both the head and the body. The Vaisvânara (cake) he prepares first; and having thereby made the head, he then makes the body.

10. That (Vaisvânara cake) is one single (oblation), for the head is, as it were, one only; and the

other, the pap, has many deities, for that pap is a multiplicity of rice-grains, and this body is a multiplicity of limbs: he thus bestows on the body a multiplicity of limbs.

11. That (pap) is (prepared) on ghee, for the Âdityas are consumers of ghee: he thus gratifies them, each by his own share, by his own liquor. These offerings are (made) silently, for here in the sacrifice there is seed, and silently seed is infused.

12. He then offers the Audgrabhāṇa (libations)<sup>1</sup>, for by the Audgrabhāṇas (elevatory libations) the gods raised themselves from this world to the heavenly world: and inasmuch as (thereby) they raised themselves (ud-grabh), they are called 'aud-grabhāṇa';—and in like manner does the Sacrificer, by means of the Audgrabhāṇas, now raise himself from this world to the heavenly world.

13. There are many of these, in the building of the fire-altar as well as at any other (special ceremony): the significance of this has been told. They are of both kinds: (the significance) of this has been told;—first those of the sacrifice, and then those of the fire: (the significance) of this also has been told.

14. He offers five of the sacrifice<sup>2</sup>,—the sacrifice is fivefold: as great as the sacrifice is, as great as is its measure, by so much he thus pours it forth as seed. Seven (libations) of the fire,—the fire(-altar) consists of seven layers<sup>3</sup>; seven seasons are a year, and

<sup>1</sup> See III, 1, 4, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. the five Audgrabhāṇa libations of the ordinary Soma-sacrifice offered in the manner there described. See part ii, p. 20, note.

<sup>3</sup> Though Agni, or the fire-altar, is commonly called the five-layered one (*pañcakṛitika*), consisting as it does of five complete

Agni is the year : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus pours him forth as seed. Those two kinds (of libations) amount to twelve,—twelve months are a year, and Agni is the year : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become.

15. He offers<sup>1</sup>, with (Vâg. S. XI, 66-67), 'The Purpose, Agni, the Impulse, hail!'—from purpose, indeed, this sacred rite originated at first, and he now impels (yokes, uses) it for this rite.

16. 'Mind, Wisdom, Agni, the Impulse, hail!'—from the mind indeed this sacred rite originated at first, and he now impels it for this rite.

17. 'Thought, knowledge, Agni, the Impulse, hail!'—from thought, indeed, this sacred rite originated at first, and he now impels it for this rite.

18. 'The distinction of Speech, Agni, the Impulse, hail!'—from speech, indeed, this sacred rite originated at first, and he now impels it for this rite.

19. 'To Pragâpati, to Manu, hail!'—Manu, forsooth, is Pragâpati, for he thought out (man) all this (universe); and Pragâpati, indeed, of old performed this rite, and he now makes use of him for this rite.

20. 'To Agni Vaisvânara, hail!'—Agni Vaisvânara, doubtless, is the year; and the year, indeed,

---

layers of bricks, on the top of these there is a small additional pile of two layers, the lower one (*punaskiti*) in the form of the Gârhapatya hearth (VII, 1, 1, 1 seq.), and the upper one, consisting of two bricks, on which the fire is ultimately laid down. See p. 188, note 4. Hence Agni is also called '*saptakṛitika*.'

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the seven special Audgrabhama libations of the Agni-kayana.

of old performed this rite; and he now makes use thereof for this rite.

21. He then offers the one to Savitrî, for Savitrî, indeed, of old performed this rite, and he now makes use of him for this rite,—(Vâg. S. XI, 67; Rîk S. V, 50, 1), ‘Every mortal would choose the friendship of the divine Guide; every one craves riches, and would have glory for him to prosper, hail!’ He who chooses the friendship of the god Savitrî, chooses both glory and prosperity; and he who performs this rite, indeed chooses his friendship.

22. Now some offer these Audgrabhâṇa libations into the fire-pan itself, saying, ‘These, surely, are offered for (special) objects of desire, and that fire-pan is the Sacrificer’s self: we thus secure for the Sacrificer’s self all his objects of desire.’ Let him not do so; for the fire which is kindled (in the fire-pan) is the essence of the completed sacrifice and of those libations, and when he puts the fire-pan on the fire, after the sacrifice has been completed and the Audgrabhâṇas offered, then the sacrifice mounts it (the pan), and it bears the sacrifice: let him, therefore, put the fire-pan on the fire only after the sacrifice is complete, and the Audgrabhâṇas have been offered.

23. It is covered with a layer of Muñga grass, just for the purpose that it may blaze up. And as to why it is with a layer of Muñga grass, (it is done) to avoid injury, for that Muñga grass is a womb, and the womb does not injure the child; for he who is born, is born from a womb: ‘May he (Agni), when he is born, be born from the womb,’ thus he thinks.

24. Inside<sup>1</sup> there is a layer of hemp, just for the purpose that it may blaze up. And as to its being a layer of hemp,—the inner membrane (amnion) of the womb from which Pragâpati was born consists of flax, and the outer membrane (chorion) of hemp : hence the latter is foul-smelling, for it is the outer membrane of the embryo. [It is so used] to avoid injury, for the outer membrane does not injure the embryo ; and it is from the outer membrane of the embryo that he who is born is born : ‘ May he (Agni), when he is born, be born from the outer membrane of the embryo ! ’ thus he thinks.

#### SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. Standing he puts it (the pan) on the fire, for the fire-pan is these worlds, and these worlds stand, as it were. And, moreover, whilst standing one is strongest.

2. Standing (with his face) towards north-east, for standing towards north-east Pragâpati created creatures.

3. And, again, why (he does so) standing towards north-east ;—that (quarter), the north-east, is the quarter of both gods and men.

4. And, again, why standing towards north-east,—in that quarter is the gate of the world of heaven, hence it is standing with his face towards north-east that one offers libations, and standing towards north-east that one leads up the dakshinâs : it is by the gate that he thus makes him enter into the world of heaven.

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, underneath the layer of muṣṣga. Both the reed-grass and the hemp are to be crushed and reduced to the condition of powder previously to their being strewed into the fire-pan.

5. [Vâg. S. XI, 68] 'Break not! Suffer not injury!'—as the text, so its meaning;—'O mother, bear up bravely!'—for the fire-pan (ukhâ, f.) is a woman; and 'O mother' is a term for addressing a woman: 'bear up well, indeed!'—'(Thou) and Agni will do this (work)!—for (the fire-pan) and Agni will indeed be doing this (sacred work).

6. [Vâg. S. XI, 69] 'Stand firm, divine Earth, for our well-being!' as the text, so its meaning;—'A divine (âsura) contrivance thou art made in the wonted manner;'—the vital spirit (asu) is the breath, and this (fire-pan) has indeed been made its contrivance in the wonted manner;—'May this offering be agreeable to the gods!' he thereby means those libations which he intends to offer in that fire; and moreover, that (fire-pan) itself is an offering;—'unharméd rise thou in this sacrifice!' this he says with the view that it may rise unharméd, uninjured, in this sacrifice.

7. With two (verses) he heats it on the fire,—the Sacrificer is two-footed, and the Sacrificer is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus heats it (the pan). [He does so] with a gâyatrî and a trishţubh verse,—the Gâyatrî is the vital air, and the Trishţubh the body; and the animal is as much as the vital air and the body: thus by as much as the animal (consists of) he puts that (pan) on the fire. And, again, the Gâyatrî is Agni, and the Trishţubh is Indra; and the fire relates to Indra and Agni: as great as the fire is, as great as is its measure, by so much he thus heats it. These two (verses) have seven feet (viz. three and four respectively),—the fire-altar consists of seven



layers<sup>1</sup>; seven seasons are a year, and Agni is the year: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become.

8. When the fire heats it, then the flame mounts up to it; for the fire-pan is a female, and the fire is a male: hence when the male heats the female, he infuses seed into her.

9. Now, if the flame is too long in mounting up, some throw coals on (the pan), thinking, 'There is fire now on both sides.' But let him not do so; for the animal is indeed born with bones<sup>2</sup>; but it is not forced in with bones, as it were, at first; but it is introduced only as seed. Now that flame is boneless seed: hence the flame alone should mount up to it.

10. When the flame mounts up to it, he places a kindling-stick thereon: thereby the seed enters it (the fire-pan), and that fire imparts growth to that seed (in the shape of) this (kindling-stick).

11. It should be one of *kṛimuka* wood. Now, the gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Pragâpati, strove together. The gods, having placed Agni in front, went up to the Asuras. The Asuras cut off the point of that flame held forward. It settled down on this earth, and became that *kṛimuka* tree: hence it is sweet, for there is vital essence (in it). Hence also it is red, for it is a flame, that *kṛi-*

<sup>1</sup> See p. 249, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> The fire ultimately to be placed on the new Gârhapatya hearth (VII, 1, 1, 1 seq.)—whence the Âhavanîya on the great fire-altar has to be kindled—is to be produced in the *ukhâ*, or pan, as it were in its womb; but the material (grass and hemp) which has already been put in the pan, is only to be kindled by the blaze of the fire on which the pan has been placed, without any burning coals being applied to the fuel within the pan.

muka tree being the same as this Agni: it is (in the shape of) fire that he imparts growth to it.

12. It (the kindling-stick) is a span long, for Vishnu, as an embryo, was a span long: he thus imparts to it growth equal to his body.

13. It is soaked in ghee;—the inner membrane of the womb from which Agni was produced consisted of ghee: hence he now blazes up towards it, for it (the stick) is his self (body); and hence it (the *krimuka*) has no ashes: (Agni) himself now enters into his own self,—to avoid injury<sup>1</sup>, for the inner membrane does not injure the embryo; and it is from the inner membrane that he who is born is born: 'When he (Agni) is born, may he be born from the inner membrane!' thus he thinks.

14. He puts it (the kindling-stick) on, with (*Vâg*. S. XI, 60; *Rik* S. II, 7, 6), 'The wood-eating, ghee-drinking,'—that is, he who has wood for his food, and ghee for his drink,—'the primeval, desirable *Hotri*,'—that is, 'the old, desirable *Hotri*;'—'the wonderful son of power,'—power is strength: thus, 'the wonderful son of strength.' Standing he puts it on with the '*Svâhâ*:' the meaning of this (will be explained) hereafter<sup>2</sup>.

15. Now the fire-pan is the body, the reed-grass (fuel) the womb, the hemp the inner membrane<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> The dative '*ahimsâyai*' again doubtless belongs to the first sentence of the paragraph ('it is soaked in ghee'), the intervening clauses being inserted for explanation. For a similar construction, see above, p. 198, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> See VI, 7, 2, 1.

<sup>3</sup> The inverted order of the words '*sanâ garâyû*' is peculiar. It seems to have been resorted to with the view of keeping together the two pairs of subjects, '*muṅgâh-sanâh*' and '*garâyû-ulbam*.'

the ghee the outer membrane, and the kindling-stick the embryo.

16. The pan is outside, and the reed-grass (fuel) is inside ; for the body is outside, and the womb inside. The reed-grass is outside, and the hemp inside ; for the womb is outside, and the outer membrane is inside. The hemp is outside, and the ghee is inside ; for the outer membrane is outside, and the inner membrane is inside. The ghee is outside, and the kindling-stick is inside ; for the inner membrane is outside, and the embryo is inside. It is from these that he who is born is born, and from them he thus causes him (Agni) to be born.

### THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. He then puts on a vikaṅkata (*flacourtia sapida*) one. When Praṅgâpati performed the first offering, a vikaṅkata tree sprang forth from that place where, after offering, he cleansed (his hands). That vikaṅkata, then, is that first offering ; it is that he now offers on this (fire), and he therewith gratifies him (Agni). [Vâg. S. XI, 71; Rîk S. VIII, 75, 15] 'From the far region come thou over to the near one : do thou protect that wherein I am!' as the text, so its meaning.

2. He then puts on an udumbara (*ficus glomerata*) one. The gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Praṅgâpati, strove together. Now all the trees sided with the Asuras, but the udumbara tree alone did not forsake the gods. The gods, having conquered the Asuras, took possession of their trees.

3. They said, 'Come, let us lay into the udumbara tree whatever pith, whatever vital sap there is in these trees : were they then to desert us, they would

desert us worn out, like a milked-out cow, or like an ox that has been (tired out by) drawing (the cart).’ Accordingly they laid into the udumbara tree what pith and essence there was in those trees; and on account of that pith it matures (fruit) equal to all the (other) trees<sup>1</sup>; hence that (tree) is always moist, always full of milky sap,—that udumbara tree, indeed, (being) all the trees, is all food: he thus gratifies him (Agni) by every kind of food, and kindles him by all trees (kinds of wood).

4. [Vâg. S. XI, 72] ‘From the farthest distance,’—that is, ‘(from) what farthest distance there is;’—‘O red-steeded, come hither!’ for red, indeed, is Agni’s horse;—‘Purîshya, much-loved,’—that is, ‘favourable to cattle, dear to many;’—‘O Agni, overcome thou the scorers!’ that is, ‘O Agni, overcome all evil-doers!’

5. He then puts on one not cut by an axe,—that (Agni) is born when he is built up: it is for all (kinds of) food that he is born. Now that (wood) not cut by an axe is one kind of food (for the fire): it is thereby that he now gratifies him. [Vâg. S. XI, 73; *Rîk* S. VIII, 102, 20] ‘Whatsoever wood we lay upon thee, O Agni, let all that be ghee unto thee, do thou relish that, O youngest!’ as the text, so its meaning: whatever (wood there is) not cut by the axe, that he makes palatable to him; and having made it food for him, he sets it before him.

6. He then puts on one that has lain on the ground,—he (Agni) is born when he is built up: it is for all (kinds of) food that he is born. Now that

<sup>1</sup> According to Ait. Br. V, 24, its fruits ripen three times a year.

(wood) which has lain on the ground is one kind of food (for the fire): it is thereby he now gratifies him. [Vâg. S. XI, 74; Rîk S. VIII, 102, 21] 'What the red ant eats, what the white ant crawls over,'—for either the red ant eats it, or the white ant crawls over it;—'let all that be ghee for thee, do thou relish that, O youngest!' as the text, so its meaning: whatever (wood) has lain on the ground, that he makes palatable for him; and having made it food for him, he sets it before him.

7. The remaining (kindling-sticks) are of palâsa wood (*butea frondosa*);—the Palâsa tree is the Brahman, it is by the Brahman he thus kindles him (Agni). And, again, why they are palâsa ones;—the Palâsa tree is Soma, and he, Soma, doubtless is the supreme offering: it is that he now offers on this (fire), and by that he gratifies him (Agni).

8. [He puts them on, with Vâg. S. XI, 75-82] 'Day by day bearing unremittingly,'—that is, 'Day by day bringing not unmindful;'—'food to him like unto a standing horse,'—that is, 'food as to a standing (resting) horse;'—'we, rejoicing in wealth-thrift and sap,'—that is, 'rejoicing in wealth, and thrift, and sap;'—'O Agni, let not us, thy associates, suffer injury!' this he says with a view that his (Agni's) associate (the Sacrificer) may not suffer injury.

9. 'While Agni is kindling on the earth's navel,'—that (place) where he is now being kindled is indeed the navel of the earth;—'we call for great wealth-thrift,'—that is, 'we call for wealth and great thrift;'—'Unto him, the draught-delighted,'—for he is indeed delighted (or, in-

ebriated) by the draught,—‘of high praise,’—for he is indeed highly praised;—‘the adorable’—that is, ‘worthy of adoration;’—‘Agni, the conqueror, overpowering in battles;’—for Agni is indeed a conqueror, and overpowering in battles.

10. ‘Whatever aggressive armies there are, onrushing with drawn-up lines; whatever thieves and robbers, those I cast into thy mouth, O Agni.’—‘Devour thou in a lump the waylayers with thy two tusks, the thieves with thy teeth, and the robbers with thy jaws, O holy one!’—‘What waylayers there are among men, what thieves and robbers in the wood, what miscreants in the lurking-places, I throw them into thy jaws.’—‘Whatever man may plot against us, and whosoever may hate us, or abuse and seek to hurt us, every one of them burn thou to ashes!’

11. For the gods then made food of whosoever hated them, and of whomsoever they hated, and gave them up to him (Agni), and thereby gratified him; and this, then, became his food, and he burnt up the evil of the gods; and in like manner does the Sacrificer now make food of whosoever hates him, and of whomsoever he hates, and give them up to him (Agni), and thereby gratify him; and this, then, becomes his food, and he burns up the Sacrificer’s evil.

12. These eleven (kindling-sticks) he puts on for one who is not either a noble, or a domestic chaplain (purohita); for incomplete are those eleven, and incomplete is he who is not either a noble, or a domestic priest.

13. Twelve (he puts on) for a noble or a domestic

chaplain ; for those twelve are a complete whole (or everything), and he who is either a noble or a domestic chaplain is everything.

14. In the case of a Purohita, he puts it on, with (Vâg. S. XI, 81), 'Perfected is my sanctity (brahman), perfected the vigour, the strength, perfected the victorious power (kshatra) whose Purohita I am!'—he thus perfects both his sanctity and power<sup>1</sup>.

15. And in the case of a nobleman, with (Vâg. S. XI, 82), 'I have raised their arms, their lustre and strength : by the spiritual power I destroy the enemies, and elevate mine own (relatives)!' this he says with the view that he may destroy his enemies, and elevate his own relatives. Let him put on both these (kindling-sticks); for both the Brahman and the Kshatra are this Agni; and it is this Agni he thus kindles by those two, by the Brahman and the Kshatra.

16. These (kindling-sticks) amount to thirteen ;—thirteen months are a year, and Agni is the year : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much food he thus gratifies him.

17. They are a span long, for Vishṇu, as an embryo, was a span long; and this is (Agni's or Vishṇu's) food : he thus gratifies him with food proportionate to his own body. But the food which is proportionate to one's body satisfies, and does no injury; but what is too much that does injury, and what is too little that does not satisfy. Standing he puts them on—the significance of this (will be ex-

---

<sup>1</sup> Or, his spiritual and political power, his priesthood and nobility.

plained) further on;—and with the Svâhâ ('hail!'); for seed is infused here (in the sacrifice,—to wit,) this Agni; and were he to put on the logs unconsecrated by Svâhâ, he would injure him (Agni). Now inasmuch as they are kindling-sticks, they are not oblations; but inasmuch as (they are put on) with the Svâhâ, they are food, for the Svâhâ is food; and thus he does not injure him (Agni).

#### FOURTH BRĀHMAṆA.

1. Having then stridden the Vishṇu strides, and reverentially stood by (the fire) with the Vâtsapra<sup>1</sup> (hymn), after the sun has set, he in the first place throws out the ashes (from the fire-pan). For at that (former) time he regales him (Agni) with that food, those kindling-sticks; and the foul part of that eaten food sinks to the bottom as ashes. He now clears him thereof, and infuses speech into him<sup>2</sup>, thus freed from foulness. Having infused speech, he puts on a kindling-stick,—and thereby regales him with food for the night,—with, 'Night for night bearing unremittingly'<sup>3</sup>—the meaning of this has been told: he prays for that same security and well-being for the night; and whatsoever he puts on thereafter by night, that he puts on as a libation offered to him<sup>4</sup>.

2. And in the morning, when the sun has risen, he in the first place throws out the ashes. For at that (former) time he regales him with that food, that kindling-stick; and the foul part of that eaten food which he puts on during the night sinks to the

<sup>1</sup> See VI, 7, 4, 1 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Or, sets free the speech in him.

<sup>3</sup> See above, VI, 6, 3, 8.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. 'made into a libation for him.'



bottom as ashes. He now clears him thereof, and infuses speech into him thus freed from foulness. Having infused speech, he puts on a kindling-stick,—and thereby regales him with food for the day—with, ‘Day by day bearing unremittingly;’—the meaning of this has been told: he prays for that same security and well-being for the day; and whatsoever he puts on thereafter by day, that he puts on as a libation offered to him.

3. Verily, day and night passing on come up to a year, and the year is everything here: he prays for that security and well-being for a succession of days.

4. And when they give him (the Sacrificer) the fast-milk, he puts on a kindling-stick, after dipping it into the fast-milk. Some, however, say, ‘Let him not dip it into the fast-milk: he would be offering a libation, and it would be improper were one who is initiated to offer a libation.’

5. Let him nevertheless dip it in, for that (Âhavanīya fire) is his (the Sacrificer’s) divine body, and this (real body of his) is his human one. Now were he not to dip it in, he would not be satisfying that divine body of his; but when he dips it in, he does so satisfy that divine body. And in that it is a kindling-stick, it is not a libation; and in that it is dipped into the fast-milk, it is food, for the fast-milk is food.

6. And having put on the kindling-stick, he drinks the fast-milk; for that (fire) is his divine body, and this (body of his) is the human one; and the gods (come) first, and then men: hence he drinks the fast-milk after putting the kindling-stick on (the fire).

7. [He puts it on, with Vâg. S. XI, 83] ‘O

Lord of food, give us of thy food !'—that is, 'O Lord of viands, give us of thy viands!'—'of the pain-allaying, strengthening'—that is, 'of the hunger-allaying, strengthening (food),'—'Onward, onward lead thou the giver!'—the giver, doubtless, is the Sacrificer : thus, 'Onward lead thou the Sacrificer!'—'Give us sustenance for the two-footed and the four-footed!'—he thereby asks a blessing. Now as to the expiation in case of (the fire-pan being) broken which, he said, would be explained 'in a subsequent chapter<sup>1</sup>.'

8. If the fire-pan were to break, let him pour that (fire in the pan) into any such unbroken, new pot with a wide mouth as there may be ; for the pan which is broken indeed suffers injury, but uninjured is this deity (Agni) : 'Uninjured I will bear him in the uninjured !' so he thinks. Into that (pot) he first throws a potsherd of the (broken) pan, and thus he (Agni) is not deprived of that womb of his.

9. He then takes the (remaining<sup>2</sup>) clay, and having pounded both the (broken) pan and that remainder, and mixed it, he makes a (new) pan in the very same way, without using any formula, quite silently. Having baked it, he pours (the fire) over. The expiation in this case is one of performance only. Having again thrown that potsherd into the (new) pan, and pounded both the (temporary) pan and the remaining clay, and mixed it, he lays it aside for expiation.

10. And if the fire in the pan (Ukhyā Agni) were to go out, it is doubtless to the Gârhapatya that it goes, for from the Gârhapatya it has been taken. Having then taken it out of the Gârhapatya eastwards (to the place of the Âhavantya), and put fuel on it, let him

<sup>1</sup> See VI, 5, 2, 22.

<sup>2</sup> See VI, 5, 3, 7.

put the fire-pan on it in the same way (as before), without using any formula, quite silently. When the fire rises up to it,—

11. He performs two expiations. For it is for (the obtainment of) all his wishes that he makes up that (fire) ; and whatever part of his wishes is here cut off when the fire goes out, that he thereby joins together and heals. He performs both expiations, that of the (Soma) sacrifice and that of the fire-altar,—first that of the sacrifice, then that of the fire-altar : the significance of this has been explained<sup>1</sup>.

12. Having cut out with a kindling-stick some of the butter, he offers sitting a libation, with (Vâg. S. XII, 43), 'To Visvakarman, hail!' Then stepping near he puts the kindling-stick on the fire, with (Vâg. S. XII, 44), 'Again the Âdityas, the Rudras, the Vasus may kindle thee, again the Brâhmanas with sacrifices, O bringer of good things!'—that is, 'May those deities again kindle thee!'—'With ghee make thou grow thy body, let the wishes of the Sacrificer be true!'—that is, 'With ghee indeed make thou grow thy body, and for whatever wishes the Sacrificer makes up a fire, may they all come true!'

13. And if the Gârhapatya fire were to go out, it is doubtless to the churning-sticks that it goes, for from the churning-sticks it has been taken. Having churned it out with the churning-sticks, and put fuel on it, he performs two expiations.

14. And if the Âhavanîya fire were to go out whilst the pressing (of Soma) proceeds, it is doubtless to the Gârhapatya that it goes, for from the Gârhapatya it has been taken. Having taken it straight-

<sup>1</sup> See VI, 6, 1, 3 seq.

way eastward from the Gârhapatya, and put fuel on it, he performs two expiations: whatever (kind of Soma) sacrifice may be (performed) at the time, the expiation of that sacrifice he should perform; and of like kind is the expiation of the fire-altar.

15. And if the Âgnîdhrīya fire were to go out, it is doubtless to the Gârhapatya that it goes, for from the Gârhapatya it has been taken. Having taken it from the Gârhapatya eastward along the north of the Sadas, and put fuel on it, he performs two expiations. And if the Gârhapatya were to go out, the meaning (procedure) of that has been explained.

#### SEVENTH ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. He hangs a gold plate (round his neck), and wears it; for that gold plate is the truth, and the truth is able to sustain that (fire<sup>1</sup>): by means of the truth the gods carried it, and by means of the truth does he now carry it.

2. Now that truth is the same as yonder sun. It is a gold (plate), for gold is light, and he (the sun) is the light; gold is immortality, and he is immortality. It (the plate) is round, for he (the sun) is round. It has twenty-one knobs, for he is the twenty-first<sup>2</sup>. He wears it with the knobs outside, for the knobs are his (the sun's) rays, and his rays are outside.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the Ukhyā Agni, or fire in the pan, which the Sacrificer will have to carry about during his time of initiation; and which, moreover, is here taken to be the Sacrificer's divine body (VI, 6, 4, 5).

<sup>2</sup> See I, 3, 5, 12,—twelve months of the year, five seasons, and three worlds: this makes twenty; and he that burns yonder is the twenty-first. See also Ait. Br. IV, 18, where the sun is identified with the Ekavimsa or Vishuvat day, the central day of the year, by which the gods raised the sun up to the heavens.

3. And as to why he puts on and wears the gold plate ;—that plate is yonder sun, and man, in his human form, is unable to sustain that fire : it is only in this (solar or divine) form that he bears that (divine) form.

4. And, again, why he puts on and wears the gold plate ;—this fire is seed poured out here ; and the gold plate means vital energy (or brilliance) and vigour : he thus lays vital energy and vigour into that seed.

5. And, again, why he puts on and wears the gold plate ;—the gods now were afraid lest the Rakshas, the fiends, should destroy here that (Agni) of theirs. They made that (plate), yonder sun, to be his (Agni's) protector (standing) by his side, for the gold plate is yonder sun : and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) now make that (plate) to be his (Agni's) protector by his side.

6. It is sown up in a black antelope's skin ; for the black antelope skin is the sacrifice, and the sacrifice is able to sustain that (Agni) : by means of the sacrifice the gods carried him, and by means of the sacrifice he now carries him ;—with the hair (inside), for the hair are the metres, and the metres are indeed able to sustain him : by the metres the gods carried him, and by the metres he now carries him.

7. It is sown into the white and black hair, for these two are forms of the *rik* (hymn-verse) and the *sâman* (hymn-tune), and the *rik* and *sâman* are indeed able to sustain him (Agni) : by the *rik* and *sâman* the gods carried him, and by the *rik* and *sâman* he now carries him. The hempen sling of the gold plate is a triple (cord) : the significance of this has been explained.

8. He wears it over the navel; for that gold plate is yonder sun, and he (stands) over the navel (of the earth or sky).

9. And, again, why over the navel,—below the navel is the seed, the power of procreation, and the gold plate represents vital energy and vigour: (he does so, thinking,) ‘Lest the gold plate burn up my seed, my power of procreation, my vital energy and vigour.’

10. And, again, why over the navel;—sacrificially purer is that part of the animal (victim) which is above the navel, and more in contact with ordure is that which is below the navel: he thus carries it (the plate) by means of that part of the animal which is sacrificially purer.

11. And, again, why over the navel,—that part of the vital air which is immortal is above the navel, and streams out by upward breathings; but that which is mortal passes by and away from the navel: he thus makes him (the Sacrificer) obtain the part of the vital air which is immortal, and by that he then carries it (the fire).

12. Now, he carries that (fire in the pan) on a seat;—the seat (âsandī) doubtless is this earth, for on her everything here is settled (âsanna); and she indeed is able to sustain him (Agni): it was thereby that the gods carried him, and thereby he now carries him.

13. It is made of udumbara wood (ficus glomerata), for the Udumbara tree is sustenance (sustaining strength), life-sap: by means of sustenance, life-sap, he thus carries him. Moreover, that Udumbara represents all the trees here (on earth), and all the trees (together) are capable of sustaining that (fire):

by means of all the trees the gods bore (or, maintained) it, and by means of all the trees does he now bear it.

14. It (the seat) is a span high; for Vishnu, as an embryo, was a span high: he thus makes the womb equal in size to the embryo. It is a cubit across; for the cubit is (the length of) the (fore-) arm, and strength is exerted by the arm. It thus is made equal to strength, and strength is indeed capable of sustaining him (Agni): by means of strength the gods did bear him, and by means of strength does he now bear him.

15. The feet and boards<sup>1</sup> are four-cornered; for there are four regions, and the regions are able to sustain him: by means of the regions the gods bore him, and by the regions does he now bear him. It is interwoven with cords of reed-grass, triple ones,—the significance of this has been explained;—and smeared over with clay,—(the significance) of this also has been explained; but it also serves to keep them from taking fire<sup>2</sup>.

16. Now he carries him (Agni, the fire) by means of a netting<sup>3</sup>,—he, Agni, is these worlds, and the netting is the regions, for by means of the regions these worlds are able to stand; and inasmuch as they are so able (sak), it is called a netting (sikya): he thus carries him by means of the regions. It is furnished with six strings,—for there are six

<sup>1</sup> That is, the boards forming the seat itself, and being a cubit long.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. 'from (the fire in the pan) burning over (or through the clay);' or 'from (their) being burnt over.'

<sup>3</sup> Apparently a round netted mat, on which the fire-pan is to be placed, and which is fastened to a cord by means of six strings, thus somewhat resembling the scale of a balance.

regions;—made of reed-grass, triply wound—the significance of this has been explained;—and smeared with clay—(the significance) of this also has been explained; but it also serves to keep them from taking fire.

17. The waters are his (Agni's) foundation, for on the waters these worlds are founded. The sun is the connecting link<sup>1</sup>, for to the sun these worlds are linked by means of the quarters: whosoever thus knows this, carries suchlike a one by suchlike a one<sup>2</sup>.

18. And, again, why he carries him by means of a netting,—he, Agni, is the year, and the netting is the seasons; for by means of the seasons the year is able to exist, and inasmuch as it is so able (sak), therefore (the netting is called) 'sikya:' he thus carries him by the seasons. It is furnished with six strings, for there are six seasons.

19. Day and night are his foundation, for on day and night this year is founded. The moon is the connecting link, for to the moon this year is linked by means of the seasons: whosoever thus knows this, carries suchlike a one by suchlike a one. And verily by him who so knows this, he (Agni) is carried for a year; and by him who does not so know it, he is attended to for a year<sup>3</sup>. Thus as to the deities,—

<sup>1</sup> Or, the central point, the hinge or hook, to which the worlds are attached.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. carries that form by that form,—that is to say, he sustains, by means of the sun, the whole world in the form of Agni.

<sup>3</sup> That is to say, he who desires to derive the full benefit from the initiation ceremony, and the Agniṭayana generally, must not only keep up the Ukhyā Agni (or pan-fire) during the year of the initiation, but must also carry him at least for a time every day during that period.



20. Now as to the self (or body of Agni). Agni doubtless is the self, and the netting is the vital airs, for by means of the vital airs that self is able to exist; and inasmuch as it is so able (sak) therefore (the netting is called) 'sikya:' he thus carries (sustains) him by means of the vital airs; and it is furnished with six strings, because there are six vital airs.

21. The mind is his foundation, for on the mind this body is founded,—and food is the connecting link, for to food this body is linked by means of the vital airs: whosoever thus knows this, carries suchlike (Agni) by suchlike means.

22. Now he carries him by means of the fire-pan; for the pan is these worlds, and these worlds are indeed able to hold him: by means of these worlds the gods carried him, and by means of them he (the Sacrificer) now carries him.

23. And as to why it is called 'Ukhâ;'—by means of this sacred performance and this process the gods at that time dug out these worlds; and inasmuch as they so dug out (ut-khan), it (the pan representing the worlds) is called 'utkhâ,'—'utkhâ' being what they mysteriously (esoterically) call 'ukhâ,' for the gods love the mysterious.

24. Now 'ukhâ' (consists of) two syllables,—the Sacrificer is two-footed, and the Sacrificer is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus carries him. And that same (pan) is a pot (kumbhî), it is a cauldron (sthâlî)<sup>1</sup>; this

<sup>1</sup> These words, according to Sâyana, are merely intended as synonymous (paryâya) for 'ukhâ,' or fire-pan, not as different vessels (such as the pot used temporarily when the pan is broken) as one might suppose.

makes six (syllables),—six seasons are a year, and the year is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become.

25. He now takes hold of him (Agni<sup>1</sup>) by means of two (straw) pads<sup>2</sup>; for he, Agni, is yonder sun, and the two pads are day and night : he thus takes hold of yonder sun by means of the day and the night, and hence that (sun)<sup>3</sup> is encompassed by day and night.

26. And, again, why he takes hold of him by means of two pads,—he, Agni, is yonder sun, and the two pads are these two worlds : he thus encompasses yonder sun by these two worlds, and hence he is encompassed by these two worlds. They are round, for these two worlds are round ; of reed-grass, triply wound,—the significance of this has been told ;—and smeared with clay,—(the significance) of this also has been told, but it also serves to keep them from taking fire.

27. Now then the (mystic) correspondence (of the number of objects to the nature of Agni),—the seat, the fire-pan, the sling of the gold plate, the fire, and the gold plate,—these amount to six ;—six seasons are a year, and the year is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become. Two pads, that makes eight,—the Gâyatrî has eight syllables, and Agni is Gâyatra : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become.

<sup>1</sup> That is, of the pan containing the fire.

<sup>2</sup> Sâyana (on VII, 2, 1, 15) explains them as two balls of straw. The comparison in 26 rather points to their being round mats.

<sup>3</sup> Thus Sâyana. If, on the other hand, Agni be intended here, this might be taken as an illusion to the regular worship of the fire at the morning and evening twilights (cf. VI, 7, 2, 3).

28. Now the total correspondence,—four feet and four boards (of the seat), the netting, and the sling of the gold plate, or any other corded netting; after that the pan and fire, and the gold plate,—that makes thirteen;—thirteen months are a year, and the year is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become.

### SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. Standing he puts on that (gold plate)<sup>1</sup>,—for that gold plate is yonder sun, and yonder sun stands, as it were; and moreover, while standing one is stronger. [He does so] standing with his face towards north-east: the significance of this has been explained.

2. [Vâg. S. XII, 1; Rîk S. X, 45, 8] ‘Looking like<sup>2</sup> a golden disk he hath shone far and wide,’—for that gold plate, being seen, indeed shines far and wide;—‘flashing forth unquenchable<sup>3</sup> life for glory,’—for not easily dying is his (Agni’s) life (vital power); and for glory he does shine;—‘Agni became immortal by his powers, when Dyaus bore him—,’ for Dyaus (the sky) did bear him;—‘she that hath good seed—,’ for good seed indeed she has whose seed he (Agni) is.

3. He then takes hold of him by means of the two pads, with (Vâg. S. XII, 2<sup>4</sup>), ‘Night and Dawn,

<sup>1</sup> The author now proceeds to give further particulars regarding the ceremonial details treated of in the preceding chapter (VI, 7, 1, 1 seq.).

<sup>2</sup> Literally, ‘seen’ or ‘appearing (like).’

<sup>3</sup> Rather ‘irresistible, difficult to bear (against);’ but the author connects ‘durmarsha’ with ‘mar,’ to die.

<sup>4</sup> Rîk S. I, 96, 5, slightly different.

of one mind, unlike in form,'—night and dawn, doubtless, are day and night, (and they are) of one mind<sup>1</sup>, and unlike in form;—'nourish one child, combining together,'—whatever belongs to the day and the night, therewith they, combining together, indeed nourish him (Agni);—'a golden disk, he shineth between heaven and earth,'—whilst taking it (the fire), he mutters this prayer; for heaven and earth are those two, the sky and the earth; and moving between these two he shines: that is why, in taking it, he mutters this prayer;—'the wealth-giving gods kept Agni;'—there-with, having taken hold of it in both hands, he sets it down; for the wealth-giving gods are the vital airs, and they indeed kept up Agni at first: by means of them he now keeps him up.

4. He then puts round his (neck) the sling of the netting, with (Vâg. S. XII, 3; *Rîk* S. V, 81, 2), 'The wise putteth on all forms,'—the wise one, doubtless, is yonder sun, and the netting is all forms;—'he hath brought forth what is good for the two-footed and four-footed,'—for in rising he does bring forth what is good for the two-footed and four-footed;—'the adorable Savitri hath glanced over the firmament,'—the firmament, doubtless, is the heaven, and even in rising he looks along it;—'he flasheth forth after the starting<sup>2</sup> of the Dawn,'—for the Dawn shines forth first, and after her shining forth he (the sun) follows, flashing forth.

5. By means of the fashioning (formula) he then fashions him out of that (matter): he thereby

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, they are allied.

<sup>2</sup> Or, perhaps, after the precedence (example) of the Dawn.

fashions that infused seed, whence the seed infused into the womb is fashioned.

6. [Vâg. S. XII, 4] 'A well-winged bird thou art!'—the well-winged bird means vigour: he thus forms him so as to be (endowed with) vigour;—'the Trivṛit is thy head,'—he thus makes the Trivṛit stoma (nine-versed hymn) his head;—'the Gâyatra thine eye,'—he thus makes the Gâyatrî metre his eye;—'the Bṛihat and Rathantara thy wings,'—he thus makes the Bṛihat and Rathantara (hymn-tunes) his wings;—'the hymn is the self,'—the Pañkavimsa stoma (twenty-five-versed hymn) he makes the self (soul, or body);—'the metres the limbs,'—for the metres are indeed his (Agni's) limbs;—'the prayers his name,'—the prayers (yagus) are his name 'Agni' by which they call him,—'the Vâmadevyâ sâman is thy body,'—the body, doubtless, is the self: thus 'the Vâmadevyâ (hymn-tune) is thy body, thy self;—'the Yagñâyagñiya thy tail,'—he thus makes the Yagñâyagñiya<sup>1</sup> his tail;—'the hearths thy hoofs,'—by means of the hearths he (Agni) is indeed established in this world;—'thou art a well-winged bird: go to the heaven! fly to the light!'—thus having made him a well-winged bird<sup>2</sup>, he says, 'Go to the gods! fly to the heavenly world!'

7. He fashions him here (in the pan or womb) into (a bird) with wings and tail; for whatlike the seed is fashioned in the womb, suchlike it is born; and because he here fashions him as (a bird) with

<sup>1</sup> The ordinary hymn-tune of the Agnish/oma-sâman, the last and characteristic stotra of the simplest, or Agnish/oma Soma-sacrifice.

<sup>2</sup> Or, the bird (or eagle, suparna) Garutmat.

wings and tail, therefore he is hereafter born with wings and tail.

8. Now some, after addressing him by that fashioning (formula), build a different altar (than of an eagle's shape), either one constructed in the form of a trough<sup>1</sup>, or like a chariot-wheel, or like a kite, or like the front part of a thill, or like a thill on both sides, or one consisting of a heap of loose soil<sup>2</sup>. Let him not do so, (but) in such wise as one might carve a young one with wings and tail: let him therefore build it (the fire-altar) in the form of an eagle.

9. With that fashioning (formula) he holds him high up from thence towards east<sup>3</sup>; for he, Agni, is yonder sun: he thus places yonder sun high up from here in the east; and hence yonder sun is placed high up from here in the east. He holds him up so as to be beyond the reach of the arms, for he (the sun) is beyond the reach of the arms from here. He then lowers him, and, having lowered him, he holds him above the navel: the significance of this has been explained<sup>4</sup>.

10. He then strides the Vishṇu-strides<sup>5</sup>. For the gods, in the form of Vishṇu (the sun), then strode through these worlds; and inasmuch as, in the form of Vishṇu, they thus strode, they are called the Vishṇu-strides: in like manner does the Sacrificer,

<sup>1</sup> *Sâyana* seems to make this a round vessel,—*dronaḥ parimandalânâma*-(? *lamâna*) *rûpam* *dronam* *iva* *ḷīyate* *dronaḷit*.

<sup>2</sup> *Samuhya samuhya purīṣham tenaiva kevalena ḷīyata iti samuhyapurīṣhaḥ*, *Sây*.

<sup>3</sup> As in the case of the lump of clay, VI, 4, 3, 10.

<sup>4</sup> VI, 7, 1, 8 seq.

<sup>5</sup> Or the Vishṇu-steps, as the term, for a special reason, was translated at V, 4, 2, 6.

in the form of Vishnu, now stride through these worlds.

11. Now he who is Vishnu is this sacrifice; and he who is this sacrifice is that same Agni in the ukhâ (fire-pan); into that same (Agni) the gods changed themselves, and strode through these worlds; and in like manner the Sacrificer, having changed himself into that same (Agni), strides through these worlds.

12. Standing with his face towards north-east (he strides); for standing towards north-east Pragâpati created offspring by means of the Vishnu-strides: in like manner does the Sacrificer now, standing towards north-east, create offspring by means of the Vishnu-strides.

13. [Vâg. S. XII, 5] 'Thou art Vishnu's stride,'—for in the form of Vishnu he strides;—'the slayer of foes;'—for he now slays his foes;—'mount thou the Gâyatrî metre,'—the Gâyatrî metre he does mount,—'stride along the earth!'—along the earth he indeed strides. He stretches forward his (right) foot and strides: he raises the fire upwards, for upwards he ascends.

14. 'Thou art Vishnu's stride,'—for in the form of Vishnu he strides;—'the slayer of plotters,'—for he now does slay the plotters;—'mount thou the Trishţubh metre!'—the Trishţubh metre he does mount;—'stride along the air!'—along the air he indeed strides. He stretches forward his foot and strides: he raises the fire (yet further) upwards, for upwards he ascends.

15. 'Thou art Vishnu's stride,'—for in the form of Vishnu he strides;—'the slayer of the evil-minded,'—for he now does slay the evil-

minded;—‘Mount the *Gagatī* metre!’—for the *Gagatī* metre he does mount;—‘stride along the sky!’—along the sky he indeed strides. He stretches his foot forward and strides: he raises the fire (yet further) upwards, for upwards he ascends.

16. ‘Thou art *Vishṇu*’s stride,’—for in the form of *Vishṇu* he strides;—‘the slayer of the hostile,’—for he now does slay the hostile;—‘mount thou the *Anushṭubh* metre!’—the *Anushṭubh* metre he does mount;—‘stride along the quarters!’—he looks along the (four) quarters; he does not stretch forward his foot, thinking, ‘Lest I lose these worlds!’—He raises the fire right up, for he ascends completely (to the top).

### THIRD BRĀHMAṆA.

1. He then holds it (the fire in the pan) up thus (towards north-east). Now the gods at that time were desiring, ‘May we be like *Parganya* (the rain-god)!’ By that body (of his<sup>1</sup>) they became like *Parganya*, and in like manner does the Sacrificer by that body (of his) become like *Parganya*.

2. [*Vâg. S. XII, 6; Rîk S. X, 45, 4*] ‘*Agni* roared like the thundering sky,’—for he (*Agni*) indeed roars like the thundering *Parganya*;—‘again and again licking the ground, stroking<sup>2</sup> the plants,’—for *Parganya*, whilst licking again and

<sup>1</sup> Viz. by the *Agni* who is now being held up, and of whom *Parganya* is said to be another form, at VI, 1, 3, 15. It is probably the smoke rising from the fire-pan that suggests the idea of the *Jupiter pluvius* sending forth his flashes of light from the dark cloud.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, anointing (? either furbishing, or impregnating).



again the ground, does stroke the plants;—‘scarce born, the kindled shone forth,’—for scarce born he indeed lights up everything here;—‘with his light he shineth between the two worlds,’—the two worlds, doubtless, are the heaven and the earth, and these two he indeed illumines by his light. He holds it (the fire in the pan) up so as to be beyond the reach of his arms, for Parganya is beyond the reach of (our) arms.

3. He then lowers it; for whatever sap, whatever sustenance there is in this world, that rises upwards with it through these worlds, for Agni is the sap, Agni is the substance in this world: thus were that always to be so<sup>1</sup>, then there would be no sap, no sustenance in this world; but when he lowers (the fire), he bestows sap and sustenance on this world.

4. And, again, why he lowers it,—he then indeed rises upwards from here through these worlds: that is, as it were, a rising away from here. But this earth is the resting-place; and were that always to be so, the Sacrificer would be removed from this world. But when he lowers (the fire), he thereby comes back to this resting-place, and stands firmly on this resting-place.

5. And, again, why he lowers it,—there, indeed, in rising upwards, he conquers these worlds from here: that is, as it were, a conquering in a forward direction. Now the conquest of him who conquers only in a forward direction is completed by others; but for him who conquers both ways there is free scope: thus, when he lowers (the fire) he conquers

---

<sup>1</sup> Literally, were that to be so much only (i.e. were the fire always to be held up there).

these worlds both from here upwards and from thence backwards.

6. [Vāg. S. XII, 7-10] 'Ever returning Agni, turn thou back unto me, with life, with vigour, with offspring, with riches; with gain, with wisdom, with wealth, with prosperity!—O Agni, Aṅgiras! may thine be a hundred courses, and a thousand returns: with increase of increase bring back what was lost by us, and bring us again riches!—Return again with sustenance, again, O Agni, with food and life, guard us again from trouble!—With wealth return, O Agni, overflow with the all-feeding stream on every side!'—that is, 'with all this return thou to me!' Four times he lowers (the fire further and further), for four times it rises upwards: thus as often as it rises upwards, so often he lowers it; and having lowered it (completely), he holds it above his navel: the significance of this has been explained <sup>1</sup>.

7. He then addresses him (Agni); for Agni is vital power: he thus lays vital power into his self: [Vāg. S. XII, 11] 'Hither have I brought thee,'—for they do indeed bring him hither;—'thou hast entered,'—he then lays vital power into his self;—'stand thou firm, never staggering!'—he thus lays the vital power firmly into his self;—'may all the people long for thee!'—the people are food: thus, 'may all food long for thee!'—'may thy rule not fall away from thee!'—rule means glory: thus, 'may thy glory not fall away from thee!'

8. He then unties the sling of the netting, and the sling of the gold plate; for the sling belongs to

<sup>1</sup> VI, 7, 1, 8 seq.

Varuṇa : he thus frees himself from Varuṇa's noose. He does so with a verse to Varuṇa : he thus frees himself from Varuṇa's noose by its own self, by its own deity. [Vâg. S. XII, 12; Rîk S. I, 24, 15] 'Take off from us, O Varuṇa, the uppermost cord, down (take) the lowest, away the middle one!'—as the text, so the meaning;—'and so, O Âditya, may we be sinless in thy service for safety (Aditi)!—Aditi is this earth : thus, 'Sinless may we belong to thee and to her (the earth)!'

9. He then holds him (Agni) up thus (towards south-east); for on that former occasion he raises him upwards from here towards the east with the fashioning formula<sup>1</sup>; and he then holds him up thus (towards north-east<sup>2</sup>). Now were that alone to take place, he (the sun), surely, would stop even there (in the north); but inasmuch as he now holds him up thus (towards south-east), he (the sun) having gone thus (in a northerly direction), then comes back again thus (in a southerly direction).

10. [Vâg. S. XII, 13; Rîk S. X, 1, 1] 'The great hath stood up erect before the Dawns,'—for before the dawn the great one (Agni) indeed stands up erect;—'emerged from the gloom he hath come with light,'—for emerged from the gloom, the night, he indeed comes with light, with the day;—'well-shapen with white light,'—for he, Agni, is indeed well-shapen with white light;—'when born, he hath filled all homesteads;'—all homesteads, doubtless, means these worlds, and these he indeed fills, when born. He holds him up so as to be beyond the reach of the arms, for he (the

<sup>1</sup> VI, 7, 2, 9.

<sup>2</sup> VI, 7, 3, 1.

sun) is beyond the reach of arms from here. He then lowers him : he thereby comes back to this resting-place, and stands firmly on this resting-place. [He does so] with a *gagati* verse<sup>1</sup>, for the *Gagati* gains these worlds from above hitherwards.

11. [Vâg. S. XII, 14; *Rîk* S. IV, 40, 5] 'The swan dwelling in the light,'—the swan dwelling in the light, doubtless, is yonder sun;—'the Vasu dwelling in the air,'—the Vasu dwelling in the air, doubtless, is the wind;—'the priest seated on the altar,'—the priest seated on the altar, doubtless, is Agni;—'the guest,'—for he (Agni) is indeed the guest of all beings;—'dwelling in the retreat<sup>2</sup>,'—that is, 'dwelling in rugged places;—' 'the man-dwelling,'—the man-dwelling, doubtless, is the vital air; and men are human beings : he thus means that vital air, that fire, which (burns) in human beings;—'the space-dwelling,'—for he (Agni) indeed is seated in all spaces;—'the law-seated,'—that is, 'the truth-seated;—' 'the sphere-dwelling,'—for he is indeed seated in all spheres;—'the water-born, cow-born'—for he is indeed both water-born and cow-born;—'law-born,'—that is, 'truth-born;—' 'rock-born,'—for he is born from the rock;—'the law,'—that is, 'the truth.' With 'the Great!' he deposits it (the fire); for he (Agni) is indeed the great (truth) : he thus deposits him (on the seat) after making him what he is.

12. [He does so] with two syllables ('*brîhat*'),—the Sacrificer is two-footed, and the Sacrificer is

<sup>1</sup> It is rather a *trishubh* verse.

<sup>2</sup> Rather, (the guest) dwelling in the house (*duroṇa*-sad), but the author evidently derives '*duroṇa*' from '*dus*' (bad), making it a synonym of '*durga*.'

Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus deposits him.

13. He then stands worshipping by him ; for he makes, as it were, light of him, when he strides with him through these worlds both thus (upwards), and thus (downwards) : he now makes amends to him, so that he (Agni) may not hurt him.

14. And, again, why he stands by him ;—the gods at that time were afraid, lest he should injure these worlds of theirs from anigh : they thereby appeased him towards these worlds ; and in like manner does he (the Sacrificer) now appease him towards these worlds.

15. [Vâg. S. XII, 15-17] ‘Seat thee in this thy mother’s lap, thou, O Agni, knowing all ordinances! burn her not with thy heat, thy flame! shine in her with a brilliant light!—Glowing with light and heat within thine own seat, be thou gracious unto this Ukhâ, O knower of beings!—Being gracious unto me, O Agni, now seat thee graciously! seat thee here in thine own seat, having made happy all the regions!’—by saying ‘Gracious—Gracious,’ he appeases him, so that he may not injure any one, and thus he, being appeased, does not injure these worlds.

16. With three (verses) he stands by worshipping ;—three in number are these worlds, and three-fold is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thereby makes amends to him, and with so much does he thereby appease him towards these worlds.

## FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. He then stands by him worshipping with the Vâtsapra rite<sup>1</sup>. For Pragâpati, having by means of the Vishṇu-strides produced creatures, created vital power for them by means of the Vâtsapra rite; and in like manner the Sacrificer, having, by means of the Vishṇu-strides, produced creatures (or, subjects), creates vital power for them by means of the Vâtsapra rite.

2. Now the Vâtsapra rite, doubtless, is he, the golden-handed<sup>2</sup> (Agni);—hence whomsoever that is born one may wish to obtain the full (measure of) life, let him touch that one with the Vâtsapra rite, and he thereby creates vital power for that newborn one; and accordingly that one obtains the full (measure of) life. And whomsoever one may wish to be vigorous, let him first address that one with the Vikṛiti (fashioning) formula<sup>3</sup>, and that one accordingly becomes vigorous.

3. [Vâg. S. XII, 18–20] ‘From the sky Agni was first born;’—the sky, doubtless, is the breath, and from the breath he (Agni) was indeed first born,—‘from us the second time, the knower of beings,’—inasmuch as he, man-like, on that occasion generated him a second time<sup>4</sup>;—‘the

<sup>1</sup> That is, the recitation of Vâg. S. XII, 18–28 or 29 (*Rik* S. X, 45), ascribed to the poet Vatsapri Bhâlandana. The Brâhmana, however, comments only on the first three verses, and perhaps these alone were used for the purpose at the time when the Brâhmana was composed.

<sup>2</sup> This is a somewhat doubtful meaning of ‘dâkshâyana-hasta.’ The synonyms (if correct), *hiranyapâni* and *hiranyahasta*, always refer to Savitrî, the sun.

<sup>3</sup> See VI, 7, 2, 5–6.

<sup>4</sup> ? Or, as a second; see above, VI, 1, 1, 11.

third time in the waters,'—inasmuch as he there did generate him a third time from the waters;—'he, the manly-minded, (kindling him) the imperishable,'—the manly-minded, doubtless, is Pragâpati; and the imperishable, Agni<sup>1</sup>;—'kindling him the mindful praises (*gar*) him,'—for he who kindles him generates him, mindful.

4. 'We know, O Agni, thy threefold three,'—Agni, Vâyû (wind), Âditya (sun), these are his three in three forms;—'We know thy manifold scattered sites,'—inasmuch as he (Agni) is here distributed manyways;—'we know thy highest name which is in secret,'—'the youngest,' that indeed is his highest name in secret;—'we know that source whence thou art come,'—the source, doubtless, is the (heavenly) waters, for from the waters he first came.

5. 'In the sea the manly-minded (kindled) thee, in the waters,'—the manly-minded is Pragâpati: thus, 'In the waters Pragâpati (kindled) thee;'—'the man-watcher hath kindled thee, O Agni, in the udder of the sky,'—the man-watcher, doubtless, is Pragâpati, and the udder of the sky is the waters;—'thee, whilst standing in the third region,'—the third region, doubtless, is the sky;—'the buffaloes made (thee) grow in the lap of the waters;'—the buffaloes, doubtless, are

---

<sup>1</sup> The construction of the text here favoured by the author is very doubtful. It has probably to be construed,—'the third time (he, Agni, was born) in the waters, he, the manly-minded (or, friendly to men). Kindling him, the imperishable (Agni), the heedful (? or pious) one praises him,'—or perhaps, 'While kindling him, the considerate one praises him unceasingly.' A point which favours the author's construction is that, in verse 3, '*nrîmanas*' certainly refers not to Agni, but to him who generated him.

the vital airs : thus, 'the vital airs made thee grow in the sky.'

6. These (three verses<sup>1</sup>) have one and the same explanation regarding him (Agni) : they are Trishubh verses relating to Agni. Inasmuch as they relate to Agni, they are Agni ; and inasmuch as they are Trishubhs, and eleven (syllables), they are Indra ;—but Agni consists of Indra and Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus stands worshipping by him. And Indra and Agni are all the gods, and Agni includes (or belongs to) all the deities : as great as Agni is, as

<sup>1</sup> The remaining verses (XII, 21–29) are as follows :—

1. Agni roared like the thundering sky, &c. (see VI, 7, 3, 2).

2. The upraiser of glories, the upholder of riches, the inspirer of thoughts, the guardian of Soma ; the excellent son of power, shines forth as king in the waters, kindled before the dawns.

3. A beacon unto all that is, the child of the world filled the two spheres even when born ; even the hard rock he broke going thither when the five peoples worshipped Agni.

4. An eager cleanser, a wise messenger, the immortal Agni has been set up among the mortals ; flickering (?) he sends forth the red smoke, striving with his bright flame to reach the sky.

5. Looking like a golden disk, &c. (see VI, 7, 2).

6. Whoso maketh for thee this day a ghee-baked cake, O divine Agni of auspicious flame, lead him onwards to bliss, unto god-allotted glory, O youngest !

7. Make him share in the songs of triumph, make him share in every hymn that is sung ! Dear be he unto Sûrya, dear unto Agni ; let him prevail with the living one and with them that are to be born !

8. They that worship thee day by day, O Agni, win all desirable boons ; ardently wishing for wealth, they have opened with thee the stable filled with cows !

9. Agni Vaisvânara has been celebrated by the R̥shis, the guardian of Soma, most gracious unto men : let us invoke heaven and earth who are free from hatred ! grant us wealth, ye gods, with abundance of men !



great as is his measure, with so much he thus stands worshipping by him.

7. And, again, why the Vishnu-strides and the Vâtsapra rite are (performed);—by the Vishnu-strides Pragâpati created this world, and by the Vâtsapra the fire (Agni); by the Vishnu-strides Pragâpati created the air, and by the Vâtsapra the wind (Vâyû); by the Vishnu-strides Pragâpati created the sky, and by the Vâtsapra the sun (Âditya); by the Vishnu-strides Pragâpati created the regions, and by the Vâtsapra the moon; by the Vishnu-strides Pragâpati created that which has been, and by the Vâtsapra that which shall be; by the Vishnu-strides Pragâpati created possession (wealth), and by the Vâtsapra hope; by the Vishnu-strides Pragâpati created the day, and by the Vâtsapra the night; by the Vishnu-strides Pragâpati created the former (bright) fortnights, and by the Vâtsapra the latter (dark) fortnights; by the Vishnu-strides Pragâpati created the half-months, and by the Vâtsapra the months; by the Vishnu-strides Pragâpati created the seasons, and by the Vâtsapra the year: thus the reason why the Vishnu-strides and Vâtsapra are (performed) is that he thereby even now creates everything.

8. And, again, why the Vishnu-strides and the Vâtsapra rite are (performed). By the Vishnu-strides Pragâpati drove up to heaven. He saw that unyoking-place, the Vâtsapra, and unyoked thereat to prevent chafing; for when the yoked (beast) is not unloosed, it is chafed. In like manner the Sacrificer drives up to heaven by the Vishnu-strides; and unyokes by means of the Vâtsapra.

9. Having stridden the Vishnu-strides, he then

forthwith stands by the fire worshipping it with the Vâtsapra, just as one who has journeyed would forthwith unyoke. Men (proceed) after the manner of the gods : hence even now, when a troop of men have journeyed they forthwith unyoke.

10. Now, the Vishṇu-strides indeed are the day and the night, and the Vâtsapra is the day and the night : he thus journeys for a day and a night, and takes rest for a day and a night : and hence even now when a troop of men have journeyed for a day and a night they take rest for a day and a night.

11. Only for one half of the year he strides the Vishṇu-strides, and for one half he worships the fire with the Vâtsapra ; for the world of heaven is in the midst of the year : thus were he to stride for less than half (a year), he would not reach that world of heaven ; and were he to do so for more than half (a year), he would pass beyond that world of heaven and lose it ; but when he strides for one half, and worships the fire for one half, he unyokes forthwith after reaching the world of heaven.

12. He proceeds with these two alternately<sup>1</sup>, even as one would accomplish a long way by (repeatedly) unyoking. Both before and after (the Dîkshâ), he combines both, the Vishṇu-strides and the Vâtsapra ; for the Vishṇu-strides are the day, and the Vâtsapra the night ; and Pragâpati, both when he was about to generate and when he had generated this universe, enclosed it on both sides by day and night : in like

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, whilst on the first day of the Dîkshâ, as well as on the day after its completion, both the Vishṇu-strides and the Vâtsapra are performed, during the intermediate period of one year they are performed on alternate days,—the Vishṇu-strides on even, and the Vâtsapra on uneven days.

manner the Sacrificer now, both when he is about to generate and when he has generated this universe, encloses it on both sides by day and night.

13. As to this they say, ' If the Vishṇu-strides are the day, and the Vâtsapra the night, and both of them are (performed) during the day, not during the night, how then are they both performed for (or by) him also during the night ? ' Well, on that (first) occasion, when he is being initiated, he, at the outset, combines both (performances) in the afternoon ; for the afternoon is the same thing as the night. Then throwing them thus together, he at the end combines them both in the forenoon ; for the forenoon is the same thing as the day ; and in this way they are both performed during the day, and both during the night.

14. Now early on the day on which he may intend to combine them, when the sun has risen, he first throws out the ashes (from the pan) ; having thrown out the ashes, he releases his speech ; having released his speech, he puts on a kindling-stick ; having put on a kindling-stick, he takes the ashes down to (and throws them into) the water. In the same way as he takes them down he returns after taking some of the ashes ; and having thrown it into the pan he stands reverentially by the fire. He then performs two expiations.

15. And if the day should be one for the Vishṇu-strides, let him, after striding the Vishṇu-strides, worship the fire with the Vâtsapra ; and if it be one for the Vâtsapra, let him, after worshipping with the Vâtsapra, and striding the Vishṇu-strides, finally perform the Vâtsapra. Let him not conclude by performing the Vishṇu-strides, for that would be as if

after going for a drive he were not to unyoke ; but when he concludes by performing the Vâtsapra—the Vâtsapra being a halting-place—(it is) as if he made a halt and unloosed (the team) : let him therefore conclude by performing the Vâtsapra.

#### EIGHTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. 'Let him drive Agni about while keeping him up,' so they say. The gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Prâgapati, were contending. The gods drove about on wheels (cars), and the Asuras stayed at home. The gods, while driving about on wheels, saw<sup>1</sup> this rite (sacrificial performance), for it was indeed in driving about on wheels that they saw this rite : hence it is to the cart that the formulas relate at the (performance with) sacrificial cakes<sup>2</sup>, and to the cart in the building of the fire-altar<sup>3</sup>.

2. Now he who drives Agni about goes to the gods by the sacred performance, for divine is the rite performed by him ; but he who does not drive him about goes to the Asuras by the sacred performance, for demoniac is the rite performed by him.

3. Here now some say, 'It is by himself that he (Agni) is driven about ; for by the Vishṇu-strides he drives forward, and by the Vâtsapra he unyokes.' Let him not think this to be so ; for divine (to the gods) is that progress of his, to wit, the Vishṇu-strides ; and divine the unyoking, to wit, the Vâtsapra. But human would be that progress of his, which he makes in this manner, and human the unyoking he makes.

<sup>1</sup> Sâyaṇa says, 'vîrasiddheh,' 'by the heroes' success.'

<sup>2</sup> See I, 1, 2, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Sâyaṇa refers to Vâg. S. XII, 31, 'upwards may the All-gods bear thee . . .' (paragraph 9 below), as a passage in point.

4. This Agni is Pragâpati ; and Pragâpati is both the gods and men. Now when the Vishnu-strides and the Vâtsapra are (performed), he thereby makes up that form of his which is divine ; and when he drives him about he thereby makes up that form of his which is human. Verily, then, he who, knowing this, drives him about, makes up that whole and entire Pragâpati : let him therefore by all means drive him (Agni) about.

5. Now on any day on which he may intend to drive, he gets the chariot placed north of the fire (with the pole) to the east ; and puts a kindling-stick on it (the fire) ; for at that time the gods first regaled him (Agni) with food, with that kindling-stick, when he was about to start : and in like manner does this one now first regale him with food, with that kindling-stick, when he is about to start.

6. [Vâg. S. XII, 30 ; Rîk S. VIII, 44, 1] 'With fuel serve ye Agni!'—that is, 'with fuel worship ye Agni!'—'with draughts of ghee awake ye the guest, offer ye libations unto him!'—that is, 'with (draughts of) ghee do ye awake the guest, and offer libations unto him!'—with a (verse) containing (the verb) 'awake' he awakens him for the starting.

7. He then lifts him (the fire) up, with (Vâg. S. XII, 31), 'Upwards may the All-gods bear thee, O Agni, by their thoughts!'—at the beginning all the gods did indeed bear him upwards by their thoughts, for that (or, he) was then their thought : in like manner does this (Sacrificer) now bear him upwards by his thoughts, for this now is his thought ; —'be thou gracious unto us, of fair look, and rich splendour!'—as the text, so its meaning. From the south he places him (Agni) northwards

on (the chariot)—the significance of this has been explained. Having put the Gârhapatya into a pot, he places it on (the chariot) behind (the Âhavanīya, or Ukhyā Agni). If he choose, he himself may mount up beside him (Agni), or he may walk by the side (of the chariot).

8. He then yokes two oxen, first the right one, then the left one: so (it is done) with the gods, otherwise in human (practice). And in whatever direction he may intend to drive, let him first drive east, for the east is Agni's region: he (Agni) thus proceeds towards his own region.

9. [Whilst driving thither, he mutters, Vâg. S. XII, 32] 'Go forth, O Agni, brilliant thou with propitious flames!'—that is, 'Brilliant, O Agni, go thou forth with propitious, shining flames!'—'Beaming with great beams injure not my people with thy body!'—that is, 'With great shining flames do not injure my people by thyself!'

10. Whenever the axle creaks, let him mutter that prayer (Vâg. S. XII, 33); for demoniacal is that voice which is in the axle: he thereby appeases that (voice) and makes it as of the gods.

11. And, again, why he mutters that prayer;—with whomsoever, mounted (on a chariot), the axle creaks, this is his own voice: hence when the axle creaks while Agni is mounted, this is the voice of Agni himself. It was Agni indeed whom the gods thereby praised and magnified; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) thereby praise and magnify him: 'Agni roared like the thundering sky,'—the meaning of this has been explained<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See above, VI, 7, 3, 2.

12. If he unyokes before (reaching) his dwelling, let the fire remain on the chariot itself; but when he unyokes for (staying at) his dwelling, he stops the chariot (with the pole) to the east; and north of it he raises and sprinkles (a place) where he takes it (the fire) down. He takes it down from south to north: the meaning of this has been explained.

13. He then puts a kindling-stick thereon; for on that occasion the gods regaled him (Agni) with food, with that kindling-stick, after he had travelled: in like manner does this (Sacrificer) now regale him, after he has travelled, with food, with that kindling-stick.

14. [He puts it on, with Vâg. S. XII, 34; *Rîk* S. VII, 8, 4] 'Far, far famed is this Agni of the Bharata (tribe),'—the Bharata<sup>1</sup>, doubtless, is Pragâ-pati, for he sustains (bhar) this entire (universe);—'that his great light shineth brightly, as the sun,'—that is, 'that, like the sun, his great light shines brightly;'—'he who overthrew Pûru in battles,'—Pûru, by name, was an Asura-Rakshas: him Agni overthrew (abhi-sthâ) in battles;—'blazed up hath the divine guest, gracious unto us;'—that is, 'being kindled, the divine guest is gracious to us.' With a (verse) containing (the verb) 'sthâ' (he performs), for he thereby makes him stop (sthâ) for (staying at) his home.

15. Now, then, the (symbolic) correspondence,—with the first (formula) he puts on a kindling-stick, with one he lifts him up, with one he starts, with one he addresses the axle, with the fifth he puts on a

<sup>1</sup> Mahâdhara, in accordance with Nigh. III, 18 (priest), explains 'bharata' as the one who brings (bhar) offerings; and, with Sâyana, identifies the Bharata with the Sacrificer.

kindling-stick, that makes five,—of five layers consists the fire-altar, five seasons are a year, and the year is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become.

## SECOND BRĀHMAṆA.

1. Now, then, as to the taking down of the ashes (to the water<sup>1</sup>). Now, the gods at that time threw out the ashes (from the pan). They said, 'If we make this, such as it is, part of our own self, we shall become mortal carcases, not freed from sin ; and if we cast it away, we shall put outside of Agni what therein is of Agni's nature : find ye out in what manner we shall do this!'—They said, 'Meditate ye (*ċit*)!' whereby, indeed, they said, 'Seek ye a layer (or altar, *ċiti*). Seek ye in what manner we shall do this!'

2. While meditating, they saw this,—'Let us take it down to the water ; for the water is the foundation of this universe : having settled it on that wherein is the foundation of this universe, we shall reproduce from out of the water what there is of Agni's nature in this (heap of ashes).' They then took it down to (and threw it into) the water ; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) now take it down to the water.

3. [Vāg. S. XII, 35] 'O divine waters, receive ye these ashes, and put them in a soft and fragrant place!'—that, being consumed (matter), has run its course (is useless) : regarding that he says, 'Put it in the most fragrant place!'—'May

<sup>1</sup> The ashes removed from the 'ukhâ' or fire-pan are put in a bag made of leaves of some sacred tree, and are then thrown into the water in two portions. As they are floating on the water, a small portion is taken from them again with the little finger and put in the pan.



the wives, wedded to a good lord, bow down to him,'—the wives, doubtless, are the waters, for from the waters this universe is produced; and in Agni the waters have indeed a good lord;—'bear it on the waters, even as a mother (bears) her son!'—that is, 'as a mother would bear her son on her lap, so bear ye this!'

4. [Vāg. S. XII, 36; R̥k S. VIII, 43, 9] 'In the waters, O Agni, is thy seat,'—that is, 'in the waters, O Agni, is thy womb;'—'as such thou clingest to the plants,'—for he does indeed cling to (love) the plants,—'being in (their) womb thou art born again,'—when he is in the womb he is indeed born again.—[Vāg. S. XII, 37] 'Thou art the child of the herbs, the child of the trees, the child of all that is, O Agni, thou art the child of the waters;'—he thus makes him (Agni) the child of this entire (universe).

5. With three (verses) he throws (the ashes into the water),—threefold is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus throws them down. First with one (prayer), and then with two; or first with two, and then with one,—but at two separate times he throws them down: he thus throws them down by means of the two-footed animals.

6. He then takes some (of the ashes) therefrom: he thereby reproduces from the waters what there is of Agni's nature in that (heap of ashes). [He takes it] with that (nameless or little finger), for with that (finger) medicine is prepared: it is with that one he thus puts him (Agni) together. [Vāg. S. XII, 38-41] 'Having settled<sup>1</sup> in the womb, as

<sup>1</sup> 'Pra-sad' (=pra-âp, Mahidhara) seems here really to have the

ashes, in the waters, and the earth, O Agni,'—by his ashes he is, indeed, settled in the womb, that is, both in the waters and in the earth;—'having united with the mothers, thou hast again, brightly shining, seated thee;'—that is, 'Having joined thy mothers, thou, the shining one, hast again seated thyself (in thy home).—'Having again seated thee in thy seat, the waters and the earth, O Agni, thou liest in her (the earth, or pan) most happy, as in a mother's lap.'—'Return again with sustenance, again, O Agni, with food and life; guard us again from trouble!—With wealth return, O Agni, overflow with the all-feeding stream on every side!'—that is, 'With all this return thou to me!'

7. With four (verses) he takes (some of the ashes);—he thereby supplies him (Agni) with four-footed animals; and animals being food, it is with food he thus supplies him. With three (verses) he takes (the ashes) down (to the water),—that makes seven, for of seven layers consists the fire-altar<sup>1</sup>, seven seasons are a year, and the year is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become.

8. Having taken some of the ashes, and returned, he throws it into the fire-pan, and stands by (the fire) worshipping it; for when he throws Agni into the water he does what is improper; he now makes amends to him so that he may not injure him. With two (verses) relating to Agni (he worships),—for it is to Agni that he makes amends,—and with such

---

meaning of 'abhiprasad' or 'anuprasad,' as the accusative can scarcely be taken along with 'âsadaḥ.'

<sup>1</sup> See p. 249, note 3.

as contain (the verb) 'budh' (to attend to, awake), in order that Agni may attend to this speech of his.

9. [Vâg. S. XII, 42-3; *Rik* S. I, 147, 2; II, 6, 4] 'Attend thou to this word of mine, O youngest!'—that is, 'attend to this word of mine, O youngest!'—'put forth most plentifully, O faithful one!'—that is, 'put forth most abundantly, O faithful one!'—'this one revileth thee, and that one singeth thy praises,'—that is, 'one (man) reviles thee, and another sings thy praises;'—'reverently I revere thy body, O Agni!'—that is, 'I, thy reverer, revere thy body, O Agni!'—'Be thou a munificent patron of offerings, O lord of wealth, the bestower of wealth, keep off from us the haters!' this he says in order that he may keep off haters from him. With two (verses) he worships the fire, a Gâyatri and a Trishûbh verse: the significance of this has been explained.

10. These make nine (verses),—there are nine regions<sup>1</sup>, and Agni is the regions; nine vital airs, and Agni is the vital airs: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become.

11. He then performs two expiations; for it is for (the obtainment of) all his desires that he sets up that (fire);—thus whatever part of his desires is here cut off when the fire is thrown into the water, that he thereby joins together and restores. He performs both expiations which (are performed) when the fire has gone out<sup>2</sup>: the significance of this has been explained.

---

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the four cardinal points, and the four intermediate points, of the compass, and the upper region. To these paragraph 12 adds, as a tenth, the lower region.

<sup>2</sup> VI, 6, 4, 10 seq.

12. This makes ten (performances),—the Virâg consists of ten syllables, and Agni is the Virâg<sup>1</sup>; there are ten regions, and Agni is the regions; ten vital airs, and Agni is the vital airs: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become.

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, the wide-shining, or wide-ruling one.

## SEVENTH KĀNDA.

## THE GĀRHAPATYA HEARTH.

## FIRST ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMANA.

1. Being about to build the Gārhapatya (fire-place), he sweeps (its site) with a Palāsa (*butea frondosa*) branch. For when he builds the Gārhapatya<sup>1</sup> he settles on that place; and whatsoever builders of fire-altars (there have been), they are indeed settled on this earth; and when he sweeps (that place) he thereby sweeps away those settled (there before him), thinking, 'Lest I should settle on those already settled (here).'

2. [He sweeps, with Vâg. S. XII, 45] 'Off with you! away with you! crawl away from here<sup>2</sup>!'—that is, 'Go off, go away, and crawl away from here!' he says this to those that crawl on their belly;—'Ye that are here of old and of late!' that is, 'both ye who were here of yore, and ye of the present day.'

3. 'Yama hath given the settlement on earth (to this Sacrificer);'—for Yama indeed rules over the settling on this earth, and it is he who grants to this (Sacrificer) a settlement on this earth.

<sup>1</sup> That is, 'the householder's fire,' which represents the Sacrificer's domestic hearth.

<sup>2</sup> This first pāda is taken from *Rik* S. X, 14, 9. The four pādas of the verse are muttered by the Adhvaryu while sweeping the four sides of the site respectively, beginning in the east and ending in the north. On this place when swept the circular site of the Gārhapatya is then marked off by saline soil being scattered over it (cf. *Taitt. S.* V, 2, 3, 2-3).

4. 'The Fathers have prepared this place for him!' for Yama is the Kshatra (nobility, or ruling power), and the Fathers (deceased ancestors) are the clansmen; and to whomsoever the chief (kshatriya), with the approval of the clan, grants a settlement, that (settlement) is properly given: and in like manner does Yama, the ruling power, with the consent of the Fathers, the clan, now grant to this (Sacrificer) a settlement on this earth.

5. With a palāsa branch he sweeps; for the Palāsa tree is the Brahman<sup>1</sup>: it is by the Brahman he thus sweeps away those already settled;—with a prayer (he does so), for the prayer is the Brahman: it is by the Brahman he thus sweeps away those already settled. He throws it (the branch) out towards the north<sup>2</sup>.

6. He then scatters saline soil (over the hearth-site); for the Gārhapatya is this world, and salt means cattle: he thus bestows cattle on this world,—hence those cattle here in this world.

7. And again why he scatters saline soil. Pragā-pati created creatures; he created them with different kinds of amnions: they did not agree together. He desired, 'May they agree together!' He made them to be of the same (kind of) amnion: hence even to this day, being of equal amnions, they agree together. And he who offers, offers thinking, 'May I be (born) with the same (kind of) amnion as the gods!' and when he scatters saline salt (in the hearth-site) he thereby becomes of equal amnion with the gods.

<sup>1</sup> For the identification of the Palāsa with the Brahman (sacred writ, or the holy spirit embodied therein), see part i, p. 90, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> 'He throws it upwards,' Delbrück, Synt. F. V, 79.

8. [He does so, with Vâg. S. XII, 46] 'Concord thou art!' for thereby they agreed together<sup>1</sup>;—'fulfilment of desire;' for salt is cattle, and fulfilment of desire means cattle;—'In me may there be the fulfilment of thy desire!' that is, 'May there be on me cattle for thee!'—He covers with it the whole (circular) Gârhapatya; for the Gârhapatya altar is the womb, and the saline soil is the amnion: he thus covers the whole womb with the amnion.

9. He then scatters sand to keep (the saline soil, or amnion) from being scorched<sup>2</sup>;—for sand is nothing else than the ashes of Agni Vaisvânara, and him, Agni Vaisvânara, he is indeed about to build up; and Agni does not scorch his own self.

10. And again why he scatters sand,—sand is nothing else than the seed of Agni Vaisvânara<sup>3</sup>, and him, Agni Vaisvânara, he is about to build up; but nothing is fashioned from out of the seedless: 'May he (Agni) be fashioned from out of this seed!' so he thinks.

11. [He scatters it, with Vâg. S. XII, 46] 'Agni's ashes thou art! Agni's soil thou art!' for Agni's ashes are useless, and the sand is not useless: he thus makes it (the Gârhapatya hearth) to be useful. He covers with it the whole Gârhapatya; for the

<sup>1</sup> Sâyana, on Taitt. S. IV, 2, 4, takes '*samgñânam*' in the sense of 'knowledge, recognition;' explaining it from the fact that cattle by their smell recognise the places of saline soil and lick them.

<sup>2</sup> Or, to keep (the fire) from burning over (or through the sand, and injuring the saline soil or amnion). For the construction, see p. 198, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> This notion is apparently based on the supposed etymological connection of '*sikatâ*,' sand, with the root '*siḥ*.'

Gârhapatya altar is the womb, and the sand is seed : he thus fills the whole womb with seed.

12. He then encloses it with enclosing-stones ; for the enclosing-stones are the womb : he thus encloses the seed here cast in the womb ; and hence the seed which is cast is enclosed in the womb.

13. And, again, why he encloses it with enclosing-stones ;—the Gârhapatya hearth is this (terrestrial) world, and the enclosing-stones are the waters : he thus surrounds this world with water,—it is with the ocean that he thus surrounds it on all sides, and hence the ocean flows round this world on all sides. (He puts up the stones) by turning to the right (or south)<sup>1</sup>, whence the ocean flows round this world (from the east) southwards ;—by means of a dug out (hole, or moat)<sup>2</sup>, whence the ocean flows round this world in a moat.

14. [Vâg. S. XII, 46] ‘Ranging ye are!’ for he does range them ;—‘ranging around ye are!’ for he does range them all round ;—‘upwards ranging get ye fixed!’ thus he says, placing them upright : hence the ocean surges upwards ; but were he to place them sideways, the ocean surely would all at once overflow all this (earth). He does not settle them, for unsettled are the waters ; nor does he pronounce the Sûdadohas (verse) on them<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> That is, from east to south, &c., following the course of the sun.

<sup>2</sup> ? That is, by digging in each stone, the circle consisting of altogether twenty-one stones.

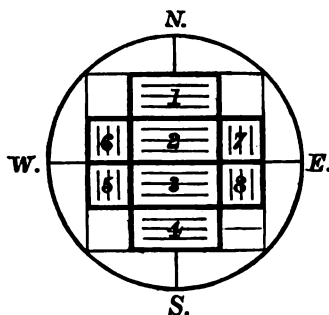
<sup>3</sup> The two ceremonies here referred to, viz. the ‘sâdana’ (settling, setting, steadying, viz. by means of the formula, XII, 53, ‘with the help of that deity lie thou steady, like Âṅgiras,’ see VII, 1, 1, 30) and the muttering of the Sûdadohas verse (Vâg. S. XII, 55, for which



15. For the enclosing-stones are the bones, and the Sûdadohas is the breath ; and there is no breath in the bones. With one and the same formula he lays down many bricks<sup>1</sup>, for of one and the same form are the waters ; and as to there being many enclosing-stones, it is because there are many waters.

16. The enclosing-stones, then, are the womb ; the saline earth is the amnion, and the sand is the seed. The enclosing-stones are outside, and the saline earth is inside ; for the womb is outside, and the amnion inside. The saline earth is outside, and the sand inside ; for the amnion is outside, and the seed inside. He who is born is born from these : it is from them that he thus causes him (Agni) to be born.

17. Thereon he now builds it (the hearth) : he



GÂRHAPATYA HEARTH.

thereby fashions that infused seed ; and hence the infused seed is fashioned in the womb.

see note to paragraph 31), are the so-called 'necessary' rites, because they have as a rule to be performed on each (special) brick, when it has been laid down in building up the fire-altar.

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the so-called 'lokamprîṇâ' (or space-filling bricks), for which see p. 153, note.

18. He puts on (the circular site) four (bricks) running eastwards<sup>1</sup>; two behind running crosswise (from south to north), and two (such) in front. Now the four which he puts on running eastwards are the body; and as to there being four of these, it is because this body (of ours) consists of four parts<sup>2</sup>. The two at the back then are the thighs; and the two in front the arms; and where the body is that (includes) the head.

19. Now he here fashions him (Agni) with wings and tail; for whatlike the seed is fashioned in the womb suchlike (offspring) is born: thus inasmuch as he now fashions him with wings and tail, he is born hereafter<sup>3</sup> with wings and tail.

20. While being indeed furnished with wings and tail, people do not see him as one having wings and tail<sup>4</sup>: hence one does not see the child in the womb in its proper shape; but hereafter they (will) see him as one having wings and tail, and hence one sees the child after it is born in its proper shape.

21. Four (bricks) he puts on first, for of him that

<sup>1</sup> That is, with the lines by which they are marked running from west to east. Whilst these four bricks are oblong ones, measuring two feet by one, the four placed at the back and in front of them measure each a foot square, as do also those placed in the corners of the square pile, except the south-east corner, where two bricks are to be placed measuring one foot by half a foot each.

<sup>2</sup> See VI, 1, 1, 3-6.

<sup>3</sup> Or 'yonder,' that is, as the great fire-altar, soon to be built, which is ultimately to receive the Âhavanîya fire, taken from the Gârhapatya.

<sup>4</sup> While in the form of the Gârhapatya the wings and tail are not represented at all, these appendages form an important part of the great altar of the Âhavanîya fire. In the Gârhapatya hearth, Agni would seem represented rather as a man lying on his back with the head towards the east.

is being produced it is the body (trunk) that is produced first. Sitting south (of the hearth-site) with his face to the north he puts on first one (brick) of the upper (north) part<sup>1</sup> (of the trunk); and in this manner that Agni of his comes to be built up towards (or for the Sacrificer) himself.

22. [He puts it on, with *Vāg. S. XII, 47*; *Rik S. III, 22, 1, &c.*] 'This is the Agni wherein Indra taketh the Soma-juice,' for the Gârhapatya hearth is this (terrestrial) world, and the Soma-juice is the waters: Indra thus took up the waters in this world; —'into his belly, craving it,'—for the belly is the centre;—'thousandfold strength, like a swift racer,'—the thousandfold strength, doubtless, is the waters,—'thou, having gained, art exalted, O knower of beings!' that is, 'thou, being built, art built<sup>2</sup>, O knower of beings!'

23. [The second brick, with *Vāg. S. XII, 48*] 'O Agni, what splendour is thine in the heaven,'—his splendour in the heaven doubtless is the sun;—'on earth,' that on earth is this fire;—'and that which is in the plants, in the waters, O holy one!' he thereby means the fire that is both in the plants, and in the waters;—'wherewith thou hast overspread the wide air,'—that is, the wind;—'brilliant is that light, surging, man-viewing;' that is, 'great is that light, surging, man-viewing.'

24. [The third, with *Vāg. S. XII, 49*] 'O Agni,

<sup>1</sup> In laying down the bricks he again follows the course of the sun, that is, he lays down the four large or central ones from north to south, then the two back ones from south to north, and finally the two front ones from north to south.

<sup>2</sup> ?That is, Thou, being built (as the Gârhapatya), art built (once more as the Âhavanīya).

thou goest up to the flood of the heaven ;  
 the flood of that heaven doubtless is the waters  
 (of the atmosphere) : to them he goes by his smoke ;  
 —‘hither callest thou the divine inspirers,’—  
 the divine inspirers doubtless are the vital airs,  
 for these inspire all thoughts ;—‘the waters approach (thee), they that are beyond the luminous sphere of the sun, and they that are below here ;’—the luminous sphere doubtless is that world yonder where that (sun) is burning : he thereby means both the waters which are beyond, and those which are below that (sun).

25. [The fourth one, with Vâg. S. XII, 50] ‘The Agnis Purīshyas,’—that is, the Agnis favourable to cattle ;—‘together with those of the streams (prāvāna) ;’ this is a form of starting<sup>1</sup> (prāyana), for the Gārhapatya is indeed a starting of the fire ;—‘may they, benevolent, accept the sacrifice, the copious, salutary draughts !’ that is, ‘may they benevolently accept the sacrifice, the copious, innocuous draughts !’

26. He puts them down separately : what different desires there are, those he thereby lays into the self. He ‘settles’ them once : he thereby makes the self one. He pronounces the Sûdadohas<sup>2</sup> verse on them ; for the Sûdadohas is the vital air : by means of the vital air he thus makes him (Agni) continuous, joins him together.

27. Thereupon going round behind, he sits down on the north side with his face to the south, and puts on first the southern one of the two behind,

<sup>1</sup> Viz. inasmuch as ‘prāvāna’ begins with the preposition ‘pra,’ forward, Sây.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 307, note 2.

with (Vâg. S. XII, 51), 'Potent nourishment, O Agni, the possession of kine,'—nourishment means cattle: he thus invokes for him the blessing of cattle;—'Grant thou perpetually unto him that calleth!'—he that calls doubtless is the Sacrificer;—'May there be to us a son, the perpetuator of the race,'—a son means offspring;—'let that, O Agni, be thy good-will unto us!' he therewith invokes a blessing.

28. Then the northern one, with (Vâg. S. XII, 52; *Rîk* S. III, 29, 10), 'This is thy natural womb, whence born thou shonest forth,'—that is, 'this (householder's hearth) is thy primeval, perennial womb (birth-place), whence born thou wert enkindled;'—'knowing it, ascend, O Agni, and increase our substance!' as the text, so its meaning.

29. These two are his (Agni's) thighs,—separately he puts them on, separately he 'settles' them, separately he pronounces the Sûdadohas verse upon them, for separate are these two thighs. There are two of them, for there are two thighs. Behind he puts them on, for behind are those thighs. At their upper ends they are joined (to the central ones<sup>1</sup>), for so are these thighs joined (to the body) at their upper ends.

30. Thereupon, going round again by the same way, he sits down on the south side, with his face to the north, and puts on first the northern one of the two (bricks) in front, with (Vâg. S. XII, 53),

---

<sup>1</sup> They are joined to each other, according to *Sâyana*, but this can hardly be the meaning intended, as the stones lie close to each other also at the lower (western) end.

‘Ranging thou art: by that deity, Aṅgiras-like, lie thou steady<sup>1</sup>!’ Then the southern one, with, ‘Ranging round thou art: by that deity, Aṅgiras-like, lie thou steady<sup>1</sup>!’

31. These two are his (Agni’s) arms,—separately he puts them on, separately he ‘settles’ them, separately he pronounces the Sûdadohas<sup>2</sup> verse on them; for separate are these two arms. There are two of them, for there are two arms. He puts them on in the forepart, for these arms are here in front. At their upper ends they are joined (to the central ones), for so are these two arms joined (to the body) at the upper ends. Those two (arms) he puts on thus (from north to south), and those two (thighs) thus (from south to north): that is (from east to) southward<sup>3</sup>, for thus it is with the gods<sup>4</sup>.

32. Eight bricks he puts on (the hearth-site),—the Gâyatrî consists of eight syllables, and Agni is Gâyatra<sup>5</sup>: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great he thus builds him. Five times he ‘settles’ (the bricks)—the fire-altar consists of five layers; five seasons are a year, and Agni is the year: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure,

<sup>1</sup> This common portion of the two formulas forms the so-called ‘settling’ (or ‘setting’) formula (sâdana); Kâty. Sr. XVI, 7, 14; cf. VI, 1, 2, 28, and p. 301, note 3. ‘Aṅgiras-like’ apparently means, ‘as (thou didst) in the case of, or with, Aṅgiras.’

<sup>2</sup> Vâg. S. XII, 55; R̥k S. VIII, 69; 3. ‘At his birth the well-like milking, speckled ones mix the Soma (draught), the clans of the gods in the three spheres of the heavens.’ This difficult verse has been differently translated by different translators. The Brâhmana itself also gives a very different, doubtless quite fanciful, interpretation of it at VIII, 7, 3, 21.

<sup>3</sup> That is, in accordance with the course of the sun.

<sup>4</sup> Or, ‘thus (it goes,—or, Agni, as a bird, flies) to the gods.’

<sup>5</sup> See VI, 1, 1, 15.

so great he thus builds him. Eight bricks he 'settles' five times, that makes thirteen,—thirteen months are a year, and there are thirteen layers of earth in the fire-altar : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become.

33. He then puts on a space-filling one : the significance of that one (will be explained) further on<sup>1</sup>. Three there are in front<sup>2</sup>,—threefold is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great he thus builds him ;—and ten those that follow<sup>3</sup>,—the significance of these (will be explained) further on. Or first two, then ten, and then one, for in this way they build up the pile,—these amount to thirteen : the significance of this has been told.

34. Both these kinds (of bricks) amount to twenty-one ;—there are twelve months, five seasons, these three worlds, and yonder sun as the twenty-first : that sun he thus establishes in this fire-altar.

35. Moreover, there are twenty-one enclosing-stones,—twelve months, five seasons, these three worlds, and that Agni from yonder (sun)<sup>4</sup> as the twenty-first : this Agni he thus establishes in yonder sun. And inasmuch as he puts on those (bricks) in this way, he thereby establishes those two (the sun and the fire) in each other, and (accordingly) those two are established in each other ; for both of them he now makes out to be the twenty-first, and both

<sup>1</sup> VIII, 7, 2, 1 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. one in the north-east, and two (of half the size) in the south-east corner.

<sup>3</sup> Viz. one in the south-west, and one in the north-west corner ; and further, eight more filling up the four segments of the circle. See the outline of the Gârhapatya altar at p. 302.

<sup>4</sup> Or, perhaps that Agni on yonder sky (or fire-altar?). In any case it is the sun that is referred to.<sup>4</sup>

of them are then here<sup>1</sup>, as the Āhavanīya and the Gārhapatya.

36. He then throws thereon a layer of earth,—the significance of this (will be told) further on<sup>2</sup>. He takes it from the edge of the pit (*Kātvāla*); for the *Kātvāla* is the same as Agni<sup>3</sup>, and in this way does that which is of Agni's nature become his. It (the Gārhapatya altar) should be even with the mouth (of the fire-pan): the significance of this has been told<sup>4</sup>.

37. It (the Gārhapatya hearth) measures a fathom (in diameter<sup>5</sup>), for man is a fathom high, and man is *Pragāpati* (the lord of generation), and *Pragāpati* is Agni: he thus makes the womb of equal size to his (Agni's) body. It is circular, for the womb is circular; and moreover the Gārhapatya is this (terrestrial) world, and this world doubtless is circular.

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, they will be here after the completion of the two altars,—the Gārhapatya fire being the Agni proper, and the Āhavanīya fire the sun.

<sup>2</sup> For this, and the formula (*Vâg. S. XII, 56*) used therewith, see VIII, 7, 3, 1 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See part ii, p. 116, note 3, 'The earth taken from the pit being used for constructing the high altar, both are of the same size or cubic extent.'

<sup>4</sup> See VI, 3, 3, 26.

<sup>5</sup> Or rather, it is a circle corresponding in area to a square of one fathom; which gives a diameter somewhat exceeding in length a fathom (that is, the space between the tips of the middle fingers when the arms are extended). The measurement is (at least theoretically) a relative one, being adapted to the Sacrificer's size; but practically the fathom (*vyâma*, or *purusha*, man) may be taken to be of about 6 feet, the *vyâma* being equal to 4 *aratnis* (cubits) of 2 *prâderas* (spans of some 18 inches each). This allows for a central square of 4 feet, and about 1 foot (in reality somewhat less) for each of the two bisectors of the segments.



38. He then pours those two (fires) together<sup>1</sup>,—he thereby establishes concord between them—with (Vâg. S. XII, 57–60), ‘Unite ye two, and get ye on together, loving, radiant, well-disposed, dwelling together for food and drink!—Together have I brought your minds, together your rites, together your thoughts: O Agni Purishya<sup>2</sup>, be thou the overlord, and bestow thou food and drink upon our Sacrificer!—O Agni, thou art the Purishya, wealthy, prosperous: having made happy all the regions, seat thee here in thine own seat!—Be ye two unto us of one mind, of one thought, without guile! Injure ye not the sacrifice, nor the lord of the sacrifice, and be ye propitious unto us this day, ye knowers of beings!’ He therewith pacifies them for (mutual) safety, so that they shall do no injury to one another.

39. With four (verses) he pours them together,—he thereby establishes concord between them by whatever four-footed cattle there are; and cattle being food, it is by means of food that he establishes concord between them.

40. Let him not look at that (pan) while empty: ‘I must not look at the empty one!’ so he thinks. Were he to look at the empty (pan), it would certainly devour him.

41. He then pours sand into it<sup>3</sup>, for sand (sikatâ) is

<sup>1</sup> That is, he pours the fire of the pan (ukhyâgni) on the Gârhapatya (hearth).

<sup>2</sup> ‘Purishya’ seems here to have the sense of ‘rich, plentiful.’ See p. 201, note.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Ukhâ,’ the pan, is feminine, and represents the womb from which Agni is born.

the seed of Agni Vaisvânara : he thus pours (sic) Agni Vaisvânara as seed into it. It should be even with the brim : the significance of this has been explained.

42. He then unlooses it, to keep it from chafing ; for if that which is yoked is not unloosed it is chafed. Now when yoked there, it (the fire-pan) bore this Agni within it as seed, and him it has now brought forth. It now conceives a second time ; for the 'Ukhâ' is a female, and hence when a female has brought forth the seed the first time, it conceives a second time.

43. [He unlooses it from the netting, with Vâg. S. XII, 61] 'Even as a mother her son, so hath the Earth borne Agni Purîshya,'—that is, Agni, favourable to cattle ;—'she, the Ukhâ, in her own womb ;' that is, the Ukhâ has borne Agni in her own womb ;—'May Pragâpati, the all-former, release her, in concert with the All-gods, the seasons !' the All-gods doubtless are the seasons : thus Pragâpati, the all-former, releases it, in concert with the All-gods, the seasons. He deposits it north of the fire, at a cubit's distance : the significance of this has been explained <sup>1</sup>.

44. He then pours milk into it,—it first receives seed, and now it receives milk ; for the fire-pan is a female : hence when a female receives seed, then it receives milk. The sand is below, and the milk above, for the seed is below, and the milk above. He pours it into the middle, so that thereon he may place the human head <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> VI, 3, 1, 30.

<sup>2</sup> See VII, 5, 2, 14.

## SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. Pragâpati produced creatures. Having produced creatures, and run the whole race, he became relaxed<sup>1</sup>. From him, when relaxed, the vital air went out from within : then his vigour went out of him. That having gone out, he fell down. From him, thus fallen, food flowed forth : it was from that eye on which he lay that his food flowed. And, verily, there was then no firm foundation whatever here.

2. The gods spake, 'Verily, there is no other foundation than this : let us restore even him, our father Pragâpati ; he shall be our foundation.'

3. They said unto Agni, 'Verily, there is no foundation other than this : in thee we will restore this our father Pragâpati ; he shall be our foundation.'—'What will then be my reward ?' said he.

4. They spake, 'This Pragâpati is food : with thee for our mouth we will eat that food, and he (Pragâpati) shall be the food of us, having thee for our mouth.' He said, 'So be it !' Therefore the gods eat food with Agni as their mouth ; for to whatsoever deity men offer, it is into Agni that they offer, since it is with Agni for their mouth that the gods thus took in the food.

5. Now the vital air which went out from within him is no other than the wind that blows yonder ; and the vigour which went out of him is yonder sun ; and the food which flowed from him is all the food which there is within the year.

6. The gods heated him in the fire ; and when the

---

<sup>1</sup> Literally, fallen asunder, i.e. broken to pieces, or disjointed ('opened,' Delbrück, Synt. F. V, p. 385).

fire rose over him thus heated, that same vital air which had gone out from within him came back to him, and they put it into him ; and the vigour which had gone out of him they put into him ; and the food which had flowed from him they put into him. Having made him up entire and complete, they raised him (so as to stand) upright ; and inasmuch as they thus raised him upright he is these worlds.

7. This (terrestrial) world truly is his foundation ; and what fire there is in this world that is his (Pragâpati's) downward vital air. And the air is his body, and what wind there is in the air, that is that vital air of his in the body. And the sky is his head ; the sun and the moon are his eyes. The eye on which he lay is the moon : whence that one is much closed up, for the food flowed therefrom.

8. Now that same foundation which the gods thus restored is the foundation here even to this day, and will be so even hereafter.

9. And the Pragâpati who became relaxed is this same Agni who is now being built up. And when that fire-pan lies there empty before being heated, it is just like Pragâpati, as he lay there with the vital air and the vigour gone out of him, and the food having flowed out.

10. He heats it on the fire, even as the gods then heated him (Pragâpati). And when the fire rises over it thus heated, then that same vital air which went out from within him comes back to him, and he puts it into him. And when, putting on the gold plate, he wears it, he puts into him that very vigour which had gone out of him. And when he puts on kindling-sticks, he puts into him that very food which had flowed from him.

11. He puts them on in the evening and morning, for the food both of the day and the night was flowing out. These same (ceremonies) should be (performed) during a whole year, for that Pragâpati whence those (substances) went out is the year: into that whole (Pragâpati) he thus puts all that (which belongs to him). And in whatever part of this (year) he should therefore <sup>1</sup> not do so, into that part of him (Pragâpati) he would not put that (which belongs therein). 'One must not even be a looker-on at the (building up of a fire) not carried about for a year,' Vâmakakshâyana was wont to say, 'lest he should see this our father Pragâpati being torn to pieces <sup>2</sup>.' He restores him so as to be whole and complete, and raises him to stand upright, even as the gods then raised him.

12. This (terrestrial) world in truth is his (Pragâpati's) Gârhapatya (hearth); and what fire there is in this world that to him is the fire on the Gârhapatya. And what space there is between the Âhavantya and the Gârhapatya, that is the air <sup>3</sup>; and that wind in

---

<sup>1</sup> Or, in whatever part of this (year) from henceforward he should not do so.

<sup>2</sup> It is very doubtful whether this second clause of the oratio directa is really meant to belong to Vâmakakshâyana's argument, or whether it is the author's own, in which case it has to be taken with what follows. 'Lest he should . . . pieces, he (first) restores him,' &c. That is, he is not to place him (Pragâpati) in an upright position, until he has been completely restored. The particular form of the participle qualifying Pragâpati (*viñhidyamâna*) might seem to favour the former alternative; see, however, paragraph 23, *antayoḥ samskriyamânayor*, 'after the two ends have been perfected.'

<sup>3</sup> In this and the following paragraphs the ordinary position of subject and predicate seems often reversed: in the present case one would expect—that air is to him the space between the two fires.

the air is for him the fire on the Āgñīdhṛtya. The sky is his Āhavanīya (hearth), and those two, the sun and the moon, are the fire on the Āhavanīya. This then is indeed his own self<sup>1</sup>.

13. The Āhavanīya truly is his head; and the fire which is on the Āhavanīya is that vital air of his in the head. And as to why it (the Āhavanīya) has wings and tail, it is because that vital air in the head has wings and tail<sup>2</sup>;—the eye is its head, the right ear its right wing, the left ear its left wing, the vital air its central body<sup>3</sup>, and the voice is the tail (and) the foundation (the feet): inasmuch as the vital airs subsist by eating food with speech (voice)<sup>4</sup>, the voice is the tail, the foundation.

14. And what space there is between the Āhavanīya and Gārhapatya, that is the body (trunk); and the fire on the Āgñīdhṛtya is to him that vital air inside the body. The Gārhapatya is his foundation; and the fire on the Gārhapatya is his downward vital air.

15. Now some build it (the Gārhapatya) in three layers, saying, 'There are here three downward vital airs.' Let him not do so: they who do so do what is excessive,—one amounting to twenty-one, one amounting to the Anushṭubh, and one amounting to the Bṛ̥ḥati; for this (altar) is of one single form—a

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the sacrificial ground thus becomes identical with the universe, i. e. with Pragāpati.

<sup>2</sup> That is, it is (like) a bird. The word 'prāṇa' might almost be rendered here by 'the living being.'

<sup>3</sup> In the text this is reversed, the head is the eye, the right wing the right ear, the left wing the left ear, the central body the vital air, which can scarcely be the construction intended by the author.

<sup>4</sup> Or, with the mouth. In VIII, 5, 4, 1; X, 5, 2, 15, 'vāk' is identified with the tongue.

womb. And as to those downward vital airs, they are indeed a bringing forth, for even the urine and faeces he voids are 'brought forth.'

16. Now then the (mystic) correspondence,—twenty-one bricks, nine formulas <sup>1</sup>, that makes thirty;—and the 'settling' and Sûdadohas verse, that makes thirty-two,—the anushṭubh verse consists of thirty-two syllables: this is an anushṭubh <sup>2</sup>.

17. And, again, there are twenty-one enclosing-stones; the formula the twenty-second; the formula for the sweeping, the saline earth and its formula, the sand and its formula, the 'filling' (soil) and its formula; with four (formulas) he pours (the two fires) together; with a fifth he unties (the pan); then this (Nirṛiti) with three <sup>3</sup>,—the anushṭubh verse consists of thirty-two syllables: this then is an anushṭubh.

18. Then there are these two formulas <sup>4</sup>, and they are indeed an anushṭubh—the Anushṭubh is speech: thus what twofold form of speech there is, the divine and the human, loud and low, that is those two.

19. The Gârhapatya pile thus is those three

<sup>1</sup> Viz. XII, 47–54 (XII, 53, consisting of two formulas).

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, these thirty-two items form, as it were, an Anushṭubh verse consisting of thirty-two syllables.

<sup>3</sup> See VII, 2, 1, 1 seq.

<sup>4</sup> I do not see what other formulas can be intended here except those addressed to the enclosing stones, concluding with the 'sâdana,' or 'settling' formula, viz. Vâg. S. XII, 53; see above, VII, 1, 1, 30; though these do not exactly yield thirty-two syllables, but thirty-four (see, however, paragraph 22). Our available MSS. of the commentary are unfortunately defective at this place.—On the artificial manipulation of making up imaginary metres by the mere number of syllables, irrespective of their real prosodic value, see Professor Weber, Ind. Stud., VIII, p. 23 seq.

anushṭubh verses. And as to why they make up three anushṭubhs in this (Gârhapatya), it is because all these (three) worlds then come to be (contained) therein. From it they take one of the two (first) anushṭubhs of thirty-two syllables (to be) the Âhavanīya,—that Âhavanīya is that sky, that head (of Pragâpati). Then one of the two (anushṭubhs) is left here (to be) this Gârhapatya, this foundation, this very (terrestrial) world.

20. And as to those two formulas, they are that space between the Âhavanīya and the Gârhapatya, that air (-world), that body (of Pragâpati). And because there are two of them (making up one anushṭubh), therefore that space (and hearth) between the Âhavanīya and the Gârhapatya (viz. the Âgnīdhṛtya hearth<sup>1</sup>) is smaller; and therefore the air-world is the smallest of these worlds.

21. That same Anushṭubh, speech, is threefold. That fire, taking the form of the vital air, goes along with it (speech),—the fire which is on the Âhavanīya (altar) is the out-breathing, and yonder sun; and the fire which is on the Âgnīdhṛtya is the through-breathing, and the wind which blows yonder; and the fire which is on the Gârhapatya is the in-breathing, and what fire there is here in this (earth-) world. And verily he who knows this makes up for himself the whole Vāk (speech), the whole vital air, the whole body (of Pragâpati).

---

<sup>1</sup> Or, the Dhishnya hearths (see paragraph 23), which are more properly situated between the Gârhapatya and the Âhavanīya fire-places. See the plan of the sacrificial ground in part ii; where, however, the Âhavanīya of the Prâkīnavamsa (hall), or the so-called śālādvārya (hall-door fire), would represent the Gârhapatya for the Âhavanīya of the Mahāvedi.



22. Then that *Bṛīhatī* (metre),—the two (verses) of thirty-two syllables : that makes thirty-two ; then those two formulas : that makes thirty-four ; Agni the thirty-fifth ;—a metre does not vanish by a syllable (too much or too little), neither by one nor by two <sup>1</sup> ;—moreover, that (Agni) consists of two syllables : that makes thirty-six. The *Bṛīhatī* consists of thirty-six syllables,—it is the *Bṛīhatī* that that (*Āhavanīya*) pile thus amounts to ; for whatlike the seed which is infused into the womb, suchlike (offspring) is born therefrom : thus in that he makes up that *Bṛīhatī* (metre) in this (*Gârhapatya* hearth), thereby that (*Āhavanīya*) fire-altar amounts to the *Bṛīhatī*.

23. As to this they say, ‘As the *Gârhapatya* is this (terrestrial) world, the *Dhishnya* hearths the air, and the *Āhavanīya* the sky, and the air-world is not separated from this (earth-) world, why then, after building the *Gârhapatya*, does he build the *Āhavanīya*, and (only) then the *Dhishnyas* ?’ Well, at first these two worlds (heaven and earth) were together ; and when they parted asunder, the space which was between (*antar*) them became that air (*antariksha*) ; for ‘*īksha*’ <sup>2</sup> indeed it was theretofore, and ‘Now this “*īksha*” has come between (*antarâ*),’ they said, whence ‘*antariksha*’ (air). And as to why, after building the *Gârhapatya*, he builds the *Āhavanīya*, it is because these two worlds were created first. Then, going back, he throws up the *Dhishnya* hearths, just to prevent discontinuity of

<sup>1</sup> The same latitude in the computation of the number of syllables constituting a metre is conceded, Ait. Br. I, 6.

<sup>2</sup> ? That is, ‘visible,’ or, ‘capable of being seen through.’

the sacred work ; and thus indeed the middle is completed, after the two ends have been completed.

### THE ALTAR OF NIRṚITI.

#### SECOND ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. They now take the Nirṛiti (bricks) from there. For, having built the Gârhapatya, the gods then ascended it,—the Gârhapatya being this (earth-) world, it is this world they ascended after completing it. They saw nothing but darkness not to be seen through.

2. They said, ‘Think ye upon this, how we may dispel that darkness, evil!’ They said, ‘Meditate ye (ketay)!’—whereby indeed they said, ‘Seek ye to build an altar (ċitim)!’—‘Seek ye so that we may dispel that darkness, evil!’

3. Whilst meditating, they saw those Nirṛiti bricks; they piled them up, and by them dispelled that darkness, evil; for Nirṛiti (corruption, or destruction) is evil; and inasmuch as by them they dispelled Nirṛiti, evil, these are Nirṛiti’s (bricks).

4. Now that same thing which the gods did, is done here: even now that darkness, that evil, has indeed been dispelled by the gods themselves; but when he now does this, it is because he thinks, ‘I must do what the gods did.’ And, besides, he removes, by means of these (bricks), whatever evil, whatever corruption there is; and because he removes by them evil, corruption (nirṛiti), therefore these are Nirṛiti’s (bricks).

5. And, again, why they take these (bricks) of Nirṛiti;—when the gods restored the relaxed Pragâpati, they cast him as seed into the fire-pan, the

womb ; the fire-pan being indeed a womb. In the course of a year they prepared for him this foundation, even this (terrestrial) world ; the Gârhapatya (hearth) being this world : therein they generated him. And whatever evil there was in him, whatever mucus, whatever inner and outer membrane, that they removed from him by means of these (bricks) ; and inasmuch as thereby they removed his evil, his corruption, these are Nirṛiti's (bricks).

6. In like manner the Sacrificer now casts his own self<sup>1</sup>, as seed, into the fire-pan, the womb ; the fire-pan being indeed a womb. In the course of a year he prepares for that (self of his) this foundation, even this (terrestrial) world ; the Gârhapatya being this world : therein he generates it. And whatever evil there is of it, whatever mucus, whatever inner and outer membrane, that he removes therefrom by these (bricks) ; and inasmuch as he thereby removes its evil, its corruption, these are Nirṛiti's (bricks).

7. They measure a foot (square) : he thus treads evil, corruption, under foot. They are unmarked ; for whatever is not, that is unmarked (by characteristics) : he thus makes evil, corruption to be non-existent. They get baked by (rice) husks, for husks belong to Nirṛiti : by Nirṛiti's own (objects) he thus performs Nirṛiti's rite. They are black, for black was that darkness ; and black in truth is Nirṛiti (corruption).

8. With them they proceed towards that (south-western) quarter, for that is Nirṛiti's quarter : he thus places Nirṛiti (corruption) in Nirṛiti's quarter.

---

<sup>1</sup> Or (Pragâpati's), Agni's self, or body.

And anywhere where there is a self-produced hollow<sup>1</sup> or cleft in the ground, he lays down those (bricks); for on whatever part of this (earth) there is a cleaving, or in whatever part of it plants are not produced, verily that part of it Nirṛiti seizes upon: he thus places corruption in a (part) of the earth set aside for Nirṛiti. Having put them in their places in a direction away from himself<sup>2</sup>, he lays them down<sup>3</sup>.

9. [He lays them down, with Vāg. S. XII, 62-64] 'Seek thou him that offereth not Soma, nor other offering!' him who neither presses Soma nor makes offering Nirṛiti indeed visits;—'Of the thief do thou follow the way, of the robber!' that is, 'follow the way both of the thief and the robber, and even as a thief or a robber remains concealed, so do thou remain concealed!'—'Seek thou some one other than us: this is thy way;' that is, 'seek him who is ignorant of this (sacred work);'—'Homage be to thee, O divine Nirṛiti!' he thus turns Nirṛiti aside by rendering homage to her.

10. 'Homage be unto thee full well, O sharp-edged Nirṛiti!' for Nirṛiti is indeed sharp-edged: to her he thereby renders homage;—'loose thou

<sup>1</sup> Or probably, a barren spot, see p. 43, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> That is, whilst himself remaining north of the place, and facing the south, he puts them down in the direction from north to south.

<sup>3</sup> That is, he performs the formal ceremony of 'laying down (upadhāna)' whilst muttering the respective verses. In the present case the 'laying down' of the bricks is to be performed by him whilst muttering the formulas, but without touching the bricks themselves. The direction that the bricks are to be deposited in a direction 'away from him' perhaps refers to the 'laying down' instead of to the actual placing them.

this iron bond!' for it is indeed with an iron bond that Nirṛiti binds him whom she binds;—'being of one mind with Yama and Yamt,'—Yama doubtless is Agni, and Yamt is this (earth), and by these two everything here is kept in check: thus, 'being of one mind with those two,'—'raise him unto the highest firmament!' the firmament is the heavenly world: thus, 'raise the Sacrificer up to the heavenly world!'

11. 'Thee, O awful (goddess), into whose mouth I offer—' Nirṛiti is indeed awful, and into her mouth he now offers when he performs this divine rite;—'for the unloosing of these bonds;' that is, of those bonds with which he has been bound;—'Thee whom people rejoice in calling Earth,'—the Earth is this (world), and he who exists, exists thereon,—'but I know thee to be Nirṛiti everywhere!' that is, in every respect I know that thou art Nirṛiti. Now Nirṛiti is this earth, and this earth makes him decay who becomes corrupted: in speaking thus, it is as if he were to say, 'Thou art So and So, the son of So and So, I know thee, do not injure me!' for in no wise does he who is known injure one when spoken to.

12. He does not touch (the bricks),—Nirṛiti being evil,—lest he put himself in contact with evil. He does not 'settle' them,—settlement being a firm footing—lest he give a firm footing to evil. He does not pronounce the Sûdadahas verse upon them,—the Sûdadahas being the vital air,—lest he should join Nirṛiti (corruption) together, and restore her.

13. Now some lay (the bricks) down from the farther end towards themselves,—Nirṛiti (corruption) being evil,—lest they themselves should go the way

to corruption. Let him not do so, but let him lay them down in the direction away from him : he thus drives evil, corruption, away from him.

14. Three bricks he lays down,—threefold is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus repels evil, corruption.

15. The seat, the netting, the sling of the gold plate, and the two pads he throws down on the farther side (of the bricks),—the sling<sup>1</sup> is sacred to Nirṛiti : from Nirṛiti's sling he is thus freed. [He throws them down, with Vâg. S. XII, 65] 'The indissoluble bond which the divine Nirṛiti hath fastened upon thy neck,'—indissoluble indeed for him who does not know this;—'that (bond) of thine I unloose, as from the middle of Âyus,'—Âyus<sup>2</sup> doubtless is Agni, and his middle (body) is that Gârhapatya which has been built;—not yet built is the Âhavanīya : hence whether a youth builds the altar, or an old man, he says 'as from the middle of Âyus;'—'now, being urged forward, eat thou this nourishment!' nourishment means food : thus, 'now, set free, eat thou this food.' With Trishṭubh verses (he performs this rite), for the Trishṭubh is a thunderbolt : it is thus with a thunderbolt that he repels evil, corruption.

16. There are three bricks, the seat, the netting, the sling of the gold plate, and the two pads ; that makes eight ;—the Gâyatrī consists of eight syllables,

<sup>1</sup> According to Sâyaṇa the sling of the gold plate is here singled out, because the other objects have necessarily been damaged by the hot fire-pan and are consequently thrown away as a matter of course.

<sup>2</sup> See III, 4, 1, 22. In the formula 'âyus' may rather have to be taken in the sense of 'life,' or 'vital power.' Mahīdhara takes 'na' in the sense of 'now (samprati),' instead of 'as.'

and Agni is Gâyatra : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus repels evil, corruption.

17. On the space between (the Sacrificer and the bricks) he pours out a jarful of water,—water is a thunderbolt : with a thunderbolt he thus separates from himself evil, corruption. With ‘Homage to (the goddess of) Prosperity who hath done this!’ they rise, for it was with a view to prosperity that the gods at first performed this rite, and to that (goddess) they then rendered homage ; and for prosperity indeed this (Sacrificer) now performs this rite, and to that (goddess) he now renders homage. They go back (to the sacrificial ground) without looking back : they thus abandon evil, corruption, even without looking back to it.

18. Having returned, he stands worshipping by the fire ; for when he goes into that (south-western) direction whilst Agni is only half built up, he does what is improper : he now makes amends to him to prevent his doing any harm.

19. And again, why he stands by (the fire). The Gârhapatya (hearth) is this (terrestrial) world ; for the Gârhapatya is a foundation, and the foundation doubtless is this (earth). Now when he goes into that direction, he goes where there is no path ; and when he stands by (the fire), he thereby returns to this (earth), the foundation, and establishes himself upon this foundation.

20. [He worships, with Vâg. S. XII, 66] ‘The harbourer and gatherer of riches,’ for a harbourer this world indeed is, a gatherer of riches ;—‘all form he watches over with his favours,’—that is, ‘all forms (of being) he watches over with

his favours;—‘like the god Savitrī, like Indra, he of true covenant stood at the meeting of ways<sup>1</sup>;’ as the text, so its meaning.

PREPARATION OF THE SITE OF THE GREAT  
(ÂHAVANĪYA) ALTAR.

SECOND BRĀHMANA.

1. He then prepares the Prāyanīya<sup>2</sup> (opening sacrifice). With the Havishkrīṭ of that (oblation) he releases (the Sacrificer’s) speech<sup>3</sup>. Having released his speech, he throws away the grass-bush (stambayagus<sup>4</sup>). Having thrown away the grass-bush, and drawn the first line of enclosure<sup>5</sup>, and the lines (across the mahâ-vedi), he says, ‘Throw thrice!’ and the Âgnīdhra throws thrice (the wooden sword)<sup>6</sup>.

2. Having returned (to the offering, or hall-door

<sup>1</sup> Mahīdhara takes ‘samare pathinām’ in the sense of ‘in the battle of (i. e. with) the waylayers (paripanthibhiḥ saha).’

<sup>2</sup> See part ii, p. 47 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Viz. by calling out three times ‘Havishkrīṭ, come hither,’ whereby the Adhvaryu summons one of the priests, or maid-servants, to assist in preparing the material for offering. See part i, p. 27 seq.

<sup>4</sup> Part i, p. 55 seq.

<sup>5</sup> Part i, p. 59 seq.

<sup>6</sup> See part i, p. 55. It must, however, be borne in mind that the passage here referred to relates to the construction of the Vedi of an ordinary ishī, whilst in the present instance we have to do with a Mahâvedi, as prescribed for Soma-sacrifices (cf. part ii, p. 111 seq., where, however, only a few distinctive points are adverted to). The plan of the Mahâvedi, given at the end of part ii, shows at the eastern end a square mound, the so-called utara-vedi, or higher, upper altar, on which the Âhavanīya, or offering, fire is maintained. On a similar earth mound, but raised in the centre of the square site (see VII, 3, 1, 27), the Agnikayana requires the erection of the large brick fire-altar, the preparation of the site of which is explained from the next paragraph.



fire) he proceeds with the opening sacrifice. Having performed the opening sacrifice, he yokes a plough. For the gods at that time, being about to heal him (Agni-Pragâpati), first supplied him with food, and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) now that he is about to heal him, first supply him with food. It (the food) is the plough (stra), for 'stra' is the same as 'sera<sup>1</sup>': he thus puts food into him.

3. It is made of udumbara (*ficus glomerata*) wood,—the Udumbara tree being sustenance, life-sap: he thus supplies him with sustenance, with life-sap. The cordage of the plough consists of muṅga grass, triply twisted: the significance of this has been explained.

4. Standing behind the right (southern) hip of Agni (the site of the fire-altar) he (the Prati-prasthâtṛi) addresses it (the plough) while being yoked (by the Adhvaryu) in front of the left (northern) shoulder, with (Vâg. S. XII, 67, 68; Rîk S. X, 101, 4, 3), 'The skilful yoke<sup>2</sup> the ploughs, and stretch across the yokes,'—the skilful are those who know, and they do yoke the plough and stretch the yokes across;—'the wise, with mind devoted to the gods,'—devotion means sacrifice: thus, 'the wise, performing sacrifice to the gods.'

5. 'Yoke ye the ploughs, and stretch across the yokes!'—they indeed yoke the plough, and stretch the yokes across;—'into the ready womb here cast ye the seed!' it is for the seed that that womb, the furrow, is made; and if one casts

<sup>1</sup> That is 'sa + irâ,' with draught or food.

<sup>2</sup> Or rather, put (the oxen) to the ploughs. Professor Ludwig takes 'sîrâ' in the sense of 'straps, traces,'—the skilful fasten the traces.

(seed) into unploughed (ground), it is just as if one were to shed seed elsewhere than into the womb. 'And plentiful yield<sup>1</sup> be there through our song!'—the song is speech, and yield means food;—'and let the ripe crop go anigh the sickle!' for when food gets ripe, people approach it with the sickle. With two (verses) he yokes, a Gâyatri and a Trishṭubh one: the significance of this has been explained.

6. He yokes the right (ox) first, then the left one: thus it is (done) with the gods, differently in human (practice). It is a team of six oxen, or one of twelve oxen, or one of twenty-four oxen: it is the year (he obtains) as the consummation.

7. He then ploughs through it,—ploughing means food; and the gods at that time when they were about to heal him (Agni-Pragâpati) first put food into him; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) now when he is about to heal him, first put food into him.

8. Only the body (of the altar-site) he ploughs through, not the wings and tail: he thus puts food into the body. And, indeed, the food which is put into the body benefits the body as well as the wings and tail; but that which (is put) into the wings and tail does not benefit either the body or the wings and tail.

9. On the right (south) side of the fire-altar, he ploughs first a furrow eastwards<sup>2</sup> inside the enclosing-stones, with (Vâg. S. XII, 69; Rik S. IV, 57, 8), 'Right luckily may the plough-shares plough up the ground, luckily the tillers ply with their

<sup>1</sup> Or, concession (Erhörung).

<sup>2</sup> That is, from the right thigh to the right shoulder (south-west to south-east).

oxen!—‘luckily—luckily,’ he says, ‘for what is successful that is lucky:’ he thus makes it (the furrow) successful.

10. Then on the hindpart (he ploughs a furrow) northwards<sup>1</sup>, with (Vāg. S. XII, 70), ‘With sweet ghee let the furrow be saturated,’—as the text so its meaning;—‘approved of by the All-gods, by the Maruts!’ for both the All-gods and the Maruts have power over the rain;—‘sapful, and teeming with milk,’—milk means life-sap: thus, ‘teeming with life-sap and food;’—‘with milk, O furrow, turn thou unto us!’ that is, ‘with life-sap, O furrow, turn thou unto us!’

11. Then on the left (north) side (he ploughs a furrow) eastwards<sup>2</sup>, with (Vāg. S. XII, 71), ‘The share-shod<sup>3</sup> plough,’—that is, ‘the plough abounding in wealth,’—‘propitious, offering prospect for the Soma-cup<sup>4</sup>’—for Soma is food;—‘it throweth up the cow, the sheep, the lusty wife, the swift-

<sup>1</sup> That is, from the right thigh to the left thigh (south-west to north-west). Whilst the first furrow was ploughed from the south-west to the south-east corner, the present and two following furrows are ploughed ‘sunwise’ from south-west to north-west, north-west to north-east, and north-east to south-east respectively. We are not told in what manner the plough is to be got back from the south-east to the south-west corner after the ploughing of the first furrow, whether it is to be carried there, or to be pulled back outside the enclosed square.

<sup>2</sup> That is, from the left thigh to the left shoulder (north-west to north-east).

<sup>3</sup> Or, the metal-shod. The author’s reason for interpreting ‘pavīravat’ by ‘rayimat’ is not clear.

<sup>4</sup> According to the St. Petersburg dictionary, ‘somapitsaru’ is probably a corrupt form, like the various readings ‘somasatsaru’ (Ath. S. III, 17, 3) and ‘sumatitsaru’ (Taitt. S. IV, 2, 5, 6=‘moving up and down,’ Śāyana). Cf. Vāsisht/ha Dharmasāstra (Bühler’s translation, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiv, p. 13), where ‘soma-

wheeled waggon,' for all this the furrow throws up (yields).

12. Then on the forepart (he ploughs a furrow) southwards<sup>1</sup>, with (Vâg. S. XII, 72), 'Milk out, O cow of plenty, their desire to Mitra, and to Varuṇa, to Indra, to the Asvins, to Pûshan, to creatures and plants!' husbandry is (beneficial) to all deities: thus, 'Milk out for these deities all their desires!'—He first ploughs thus (south-west to south-east), then thus (south-west to north-west), then thus (north-west to north-east), then thus (north-east to south-east): that is (sunwise), for thus it is with the gods<sup>2</sup>.

13. Four furrows he ploughs with prayer: he thereby puts into him (Pragâpati-Agni) what food there is in the four quarters; and that with prayer,—true is the prayer, and true (manifest) are those quarters.

pitsaru' is explained in the text as meaning 'provided with a handle (tsaru) for the Soma-drinker' (somapi). Also Indische Studien, XVII, p. 259, where Professor Weber proposes to divide the word 'somasatsaru' into 'soma(n),' with thongs, and 'sa-tsaru,' with handle. If 'somapi-tsaru' really represent the constituent elements, 'tsaru,' handle, may indeed be intended as having special reference to the handle of the Soma-cup (kamasa); though 'somapi' could only be taken in the sense of 'Soma-drinker,' and not in that of 'Soma-cup,' optionally suggested by Mahîdhara.

<sup>1</sup> That is, from the left to the right shoulder (north-east to south-east).

<sup>2</sup> Or, perhaps, thus it goes to the gods; this tends godward. Whilst the last three furrows are indeed ploughed 'sunwise' (east to south, &c.), the first furrow was ploughed in the opposite direction (south-west to south-east). The reason for this is that the whole performance is to take place in an easterly direction, so as to tend towards the gods. Were he to start at the south-east corner, and then plough right round, he would be moving away from the gods, who are supposed to reside in the east.

14. He then ploughs (again) through the body : he thereby puts into him what food there is in the year. Silently (he does so), for what is silent is undetermined, and the undetermined is everything : by means of everything he thus puts food into him. He first ploughs thus (through the middle from south to north), then thus (south-west to north-east), then thus (east to west), then thus (north-west to south-east),—that is sunwise<sup>1</sup>, for thus it is with the gods.

15. Three furrows he ploughs each time,—three-fold is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus puts food into him.

16. Twelve furrows he ploughs silently,—the year (consists of) twelve months, and the year is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus puts food into him.

17. Both kinds (of furrows) amount to sixteen,—of sixteen parts Pragâpati consists, and Pragâpati is Agni : he thus puts into him food proportionate to his body. And, indeed, the food which is proportionate to the body, satisfies, and does no harm ; but that which is too much, does harm, and that which is too little, does not satisfy.

---

<sup>1</sup> Here, again, the sunwise motion of the plough only applies to the three last furrows (or sets of furrows), which always move from left to right,—south-west to north-east, east to west, north-west to south-east. The first set of furrows—drawn from south to north, or along the ‘cross-spine’ (as distinguished from the real, or easterly spine running from west to east)—are apparently drawn in this way, in order to avoid the southerly direction, as that would imply speedy death to the Sacrificer,—his going to the Fathers, or deceased ancestors, who are supposed to reside in the south. In drawing the furrows in the way they do, the priests not only avoid that region, but at the very outset move away from it, and thereby assure long life to the Sacrificer.

18. And, again, why he ploughs through him,—the gods being about to put him (Pragâpati) together, thereby in the first place put the vital airs into him; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer), being about to put him together, thereby in the first place put the vital airs into him. They (the furrows) are lines, for these vital airs (move) in lines (channels).

19. Four furrows he ploughs with prayer: he thereby puts into him those four well-defined vital airs which are in the head; and this (he does) with prayer,—true is the prayer, and true (manifest, real) are these vital airs in the head.

20. And as to why he ploughs through the body: he thereby puts into him those vital airs which are inside the body. Silently (he does so), for who knows how many vital airs there are inside the body?

21. Having gained the object for which he yokes those (oxen), he now unyokes them, with (Vâg. S. XII, 73), 'Be ye unyoked, ye inviolable (oxen)!' for inviolable<sup>1</sup> they indeed are with the gods;—'Ye godward-striding!' for with them he performs the divine work;—'We have come to the end of this gloom;—gloom doubtless means famine: thus, 'we have come to the end of this famine;—'we have attained the light!' for he who attains the gods, the sacrifice, indeed attains the light. He then lets them loose towards north-east—the significance of this has been explained<sup>2</sup>. He gives them to the Adhvaryu, for it is he that does the work with them: let him assign them (to him) at the time of (the presentation of) the Dakshinâs.

<sup>1</sup> See part ii, p. 216, note 2, where 'aghnyâ' was used of cows.

<sup>2</sup> See VI, 4, 4, 22. The plough is put aside on the utkara (heap of rubbish).

## THIRD BRĀHMANA.

1. He then places a bunch of darbha (kusa) grass (poa cynosuroides) on (the middle of the altar-site) ; for the gods then placed plants thereon, and in like manner does the Sacrificer now place plants thereon.

2. And, again, why he places a bunch of grass thereon ;—when he (Agni) is built up, he is born, and he is born here for all (kinds of) food ; but these darbha plants (contain) both kinds of food, for they are both water and plants. Now the waters which, loathing Vṛitra, rose up on the dry land forming bushes, became those grasses<sup>1</sup>,—inasmuch as they rose forming bushes (dṛibh), they are (called) darbha-grasses. These darbha-grasses, then, are the water (which remained) pure, and meet for sacrifice, when Vṛitra flowed towards it ; and inasmuch as they are darbha-grasses, they are plants : by both kinds of food he thus gratifies him (Agni).

3. [He places it] at the meeting of the furrows, for the meeting of furrows is speech (the mouth)<sup>2</sup>, and the furrows (channels) are the vital airs ; and this is their place of meeting ; and in the mouth food is put for the vital airs. In the middle (he places the bunch), whereby he puts it into the very

<sup>1</sup> The author here alludes to the legend given at I, 1, 3, 4-5,—Vṛitra lay enveloping all that space which extends between heaven and earth, and because he lay enveloping (vṛi) all that, he is called Vṛitra. Him Indra slew. Being slain, he flowed stinking in all directions towards the water ; for in every direction lies the ocean. Now some of the water loathed him, it rose higher and higher and flowed over : hence (sprang) these kusa grasses,—they are indeed the water which was not putrified ; but with the other water some (matter) has indeed become mixed when the putrid Vṛitra flowed into it.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 200, note 3.

middle of him ; silently (he does so), for what is silent is undefined, and the undefined is everything : with everything he thus puts food into him.

4. He then offers thereon,—when he (Agni) is built, he is born, and he is born here for all (kinds of) food ; but that ghee is the life-sap (essence) of this universe, for it is the life-sap of both the waters and plants : he thus gratifies him by the life-sap of this universe. And as far as the life-sap extends, so far extends the body : he thus gratifies him by this universe. With (ghee) taken in five (ladlings, he offers),—the fire-altar consists of five layers, five seasons are a year, and the year is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much food he thus gratifies him.

5. And, again, why he offers thereon ;—when in the beginning the *Rîshis*, the vital airs<sup>1</sup>, put together this Agni, they gained for themselves that fore-share<sup>2</sup> in him : hence they are the fore-sharers. Thus when he offers on (the grass-bush) he thereby gratifies those *Rîshis*, the vital airs, who gained for themselves the fore-share in him (Agni). With fivefold-taken ghee (he offers) : the significance of this has been explained.

6. And, again, why he offers thereon ;—whatever forms, whatever modes of chanting, whatever *prishtha* (stotras), whatever metres he is now going to bestow on Agni, for them he prepares this fore-share, and it is them he thereby gratifies. With

<sup>1</sup> See VI, I, I, I.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, a share in front, in the first place, i.e. a preferential share, or fore-taste. Being accented separately, 'purastât' here, however, forms no compound with 'bhâga;' though it does in 'purastâdbhâga,' fore-sharer. Cf. Taitt. S. V, 6, 4, 2.



fivefold-taken ghee (he offers): the significance of this has been explained.

7. And, again, why he offers thereon;—at that time the gods were afraid, thinking, ‘Long indeed is this performance: we hope the Rakshas, the fiends, will not smite here this (Agni) of ours!’ They saw this preliminary conclusion<sup>1</sup> of this performance, and brought that whole (Agni) to completion even at that (point), and built him up then; and in like manner this (Sacrificer) brings that whole (Agni) to completion even at this (point), and builds him now.

8. [Vâg. S. XII, 74] ‘The year,’ this is a layer (of bricks);—‘together with the dark half-months,’ this is a layer of earth;—‘the Dawn,’ this is a layer (of bricks);—‘together with the ruddy (cows),’ this is a layer of earth;—‘the two Asvins,’ this is a layer (of bricks); ‘together with their wonderful deeds,’ this is a layer of earth;—‘the Sun,’ this is a layer (of bricks);—‘together with the dappled horse,’ this is a layer of earth;—‘(Agni) Vaisvânara,’ this is a layer (of bricks);—‘together with Iḍâ,’ this is a layer of earth;—‘with ghee,’ this is a layer (of bricks);—‘Svâ-,’ this is a layer of earth;—‘hâ!’ this is a layer (of bricks).

9. There are thirteen utterings,—thirteen months are a year; thirteen in number are the layers of bricks and earth of the fire-altar: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great he thus builds him up. With butter he sacrifices,—butter is the

---

<sup>1</sup> Literally, a conclusion previously, or at the beginning of the performance.

same as Agni : it is Agni he thus builds up. With fivefold-taken (butter he offers),—the altar consists of five layers,—five seasons are a year, and the year is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great he thus builds him up. He offers raising (the spoon) upwards : he thus builds Agni upwards by means of the layers (of the altar).

#### FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. He then pours out jarfuls of water,—for the gods then said, ‘Meditate ye (*keta*y)!’ whereby they doubtless meant to say, ‘Seek ye a layer (*kita*m)!’ Whilst meditating they saw the rain to be a (suitable) layer, and put it on that (altar-site); and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) now put it thereon.

2. Jarfuls of water are (poured out); for rain is water : it is rain he thereby bestows on it. With an udumbara jar (he pours them on) : the significance of this has been told;—with a four-cornered one;—four quarters there are : from all quarters he thus bestows rain thereon.

3. Three jarfuls he pours out each time<sup>1</sup>,—threefold is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus bestows rain thereon.

4. Twelve jarfuls of water he pours on the ploughed ground,—twelve months are a year, and the year is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus bestows rain thereon.

---

<sup>1</sup> On every four of the sixteen furrows, in the order in which they have been ploughed, he is to empty three jarfuls of water, making altogether twelve jars of water.

5. On the ploughed ground he pours (water), whence it rains for (the benefit of) the ploughed land. Now were he only to pour it on the ploughed ground, and not on the unploughed, it would only rain for the ploughed land, not for the unploughed. And were he only to pour it on the unploughed ground, and not on the ploughed, it would only rain for the unploughed land, and not for the ploughed. He pours it both on the ploughed, and the unploughed, ground; whence it rains both for the ploughed, and the unploughed, ground.

6. Three (jarfuls)<sup>1</sup> he pours both on the ploughed, and on the unploughed, ground;—threefold is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus bestows rain thereon.

7. And, again, why he pours out jarfuls of water;—at that time the gods, being about to put him (Agni-Pragâpati) together, in the first place put water into him; and in like manner does this one now, being about to put him together, in the first place put water into him.

8. Three jarfuls he pours out each time,—threefold is Agni: as large as Agni is, as large as is his measure, by so much he thus puts water into him.

9. Twelve jarfuls he pours on the ploughed ground,—twelve months are a year, and the year is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus puts water into him.

10. On the ploughed ground he pours it: he thereby puts water into the vital airs. But were he to pour (water) only on the ploughed ground, and

---

<sup>1</sup> These are additional three jarfuls poured over the whole Agnikshetra, or site of the altar.

not on the unploughed, there would be water only in (the channels of) the vital airs, and not in the other (parts of the) body. And were he to pour (water) only on the unploughed ground, and not on the ploughed, there would be water only in (the other parts of) the body, and not in the vital airs. He pours it both on the ploughed, and the unploughed, ground, whence there is water here both in (the channels of) the vital airs and in the body.

11. Three (jarfuls) he pours both on the ploughed, and on the unploughed, ground ;—threefold is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus puts water into him.

12. Fifteen jarfuls of water he pours out,—fifteenfold is the thunderbolt : by that fifteenfold thunderbolt of his he thus drives away all evil.

13. He then sows all (kinds of) herb (-seed) ;—for the gods then said, ‘Meditate ye!’ whereby doubtless they meant to say, ‘Seek ye a layer!’ whilst meditating, they saw food to be a (suitable) layer, and put that on (or, into) him (Agni); and in like manner does this one now put it into him.

14. It is (seed) of all herbs,—all herbs means all food ; he thus puts all (kinds of) food into him. Let him omit one of those kinds of food, and not eat thereof as long as he lives. By means of the udumbara jar (he sows the seed): the significance of this has been explained ;—with a four-cornered one,—there are four quarters : from all quarters he thus puts food into him (Agni). He sows it with anushṭubh (verses),—the Anushṭubh (metre) is speech, and by means of speech (the mouth<sup>1</sup>) food is eaten.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 200, note 3.

15. With three verses he sows each time <sup>1</sup>,—three-fold is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus puts food into him.

16. With twelve verses he sows on the ploughed ground,—twelve months are a year, and the year is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus puts food into him.

17. On the ploughed ground he sows, whence food ripens on ploughed ground. Were he to sow only on the ploughed ground, and not on the unploughed, food would only ripen on ploughed ground, not on unploughed ; and were he to sow only on unploughed ground, and not on ploughed ground, food would only ripen on unploughed ground, and not on ploughed ground. He sows on both the ploughed, and the unploughed, ground : hence food ripens both on ploughed, and on unploughed, ground.

18. With three (verses) he sows both on the ploughed, and on the unploughed, ground,—three-fold is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus puts food into him.

19. And, again, why he sows all (kinds of) herb (-seed),—the gods at that time, being about to put him (Agni-Pragâpati) together, in the first place healed him by healing medicine ; and in like manner does this one now, being about to put him together, first heal him with healing medicine.

20. It is (seed) of all herbs ;—all herbs is the

---

<sup>1</sup> The sowing of the seed is done after the manner of the watering of the site, viz. so as to finish the sowing of every four furrows with the completion of the muttering of three verses (Vâg. S. XII, 75-86) ; whereupon the remaining seed is scattered over the whole site with additional three verses (87-89).

same as all (kinds of) medicine : by all (kinds of) healing medicine he thus heals him.

21. With three verses he sows each time,—three-fold is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus heals him.

22. With twelve verses he sows on the ploughed ground,—twelve months are a year, and the year is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus heals him.

23. On the ploughed ground he sows : he thereby heals the vital airs. And were he to sow only on the ploughed ground, and not on the unploughed, he would only heal the vital airs, and not the other (parts of the) body ; and were he to sow only on the unploughed, and not on the ploughed, ground, he would only heal the body, and not the vital airs : he sows both on the ploughed, and on the unploughed, ground ; and thus he heals both the vital airs and the body.

24. With three (verses) he sows both on the ploughed, and on the unploughed, ground,—three-fold is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus heals him.

25. Fifteen jarfuls of water he pours out, and with fifteen verses he sows,—that makes thirty,—the Virâg (metre) consists of thirty syllables, and the Virâg (the far-shining, or far-ruling) is the whole food : the whole food he thus puts into him.

26. [He sows, with Vâg. S. XII, 75 seq. ; Rîk S. X, 97] ‘The herbs first grown three ages before the gods<sup>1</sup>,’—the gods doubtless are the seasons,

---

<sup>1</sup> Thus the St. Petersburg dictionary ; while Professor Ludwig construes ‘triugam purâ’ together,—‘the herbs first come from

and from them those (herbs) used to grow thrice, in spring, in the rainy season, and in the autumn ;—‘of the brown ones will I ponder,’—the brown one, doubtless, is Soma, and the herbs are related to Soma, and the Purusha (Pragâpati) is related to herbs<sup>1</sup> ;—‘the hundred powers,’—inasmuch as he here lives a hundred (years), and has a hundred merits, and a hundred energies, there are in him those hundred powers ;—‘and seven,’—he thereby speaks of those seven vital airs in the head.

27. ‘Yours, O Mother, are a hundred powers, and yours a thousand growths,’—inasmuch as (the plants) here are shooting out a hundredfold, and a thousandfold ;—‘Ye of a hundred virtues, render ye free from sickness this one of mine!’ that is, him whom I am now healing.

28. These (verses)<sup>2</sup> have one and the same ex-

the gods before the three ages ;’—but is there any other example of ‘purâ’ with the accusative ? The author of the Brâhmana, on the other hand, takes ‘triyugam purâ’ as adverbs independent of each other,—‘formerly at three periods.’

<sup>1</sup> Or, consists of herbs.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the two verses just explained, as well as the remaining thirteen verses (Vâg. S. XII, 77 seq.; Rîk S. X, 97, 3 seq.), viz. :—

3. Rejoice ye at the plants, the full-budded, abounding in shoots : like victorious mares, the herbs are eager to win (or, to save).

4. As plants, O divine mothers, I call upon you : horse, and cow, and raiment would I win, and thine own self, O Purusha !

5. On the Asvattha tree is your abode, on the Parvâ dwelling is made for you : possessed of cattle shall ye be, when ye save the Purusha.

6. Wherein the herbs have met together, even as the nobles in the assembly, that priest is called physician, demon-killer, pain-remover.

7. The (herb) rich in horses, the one rich in Soma, the

planation with regard to this (Agni-Pragâpati),—how he may heal him, and preserve him. They are anushṭubh verses,—the Anushṭubh is speech, and speech is all healing medicine: by means of all healing medicine he thus heals him.

29. Now, then, regarding the defined and the undefined (ceremonies);—with prayer he yokes two oxen, silently the others; with prayer he ploughs four furrows, silently the others; silently he puts on the grass-bush, with prayer he makes a libation thereon; silently he pours out the jarfuls of water, with prayer he sows.

30. This Agni is Pragâpati, and Pragâpati is both the defined and the undefined, the limited and the

---

strengthening, most powerful,—all herbs have I found for healthfulness to him (the Purusha).

8. Forth rush the energies of the plants, like kine from the stable, eager to win wealth, eager to win wealth, O Purusha!

9. Strength-giving (ishkrîti) is the name of your mother, hence ye are healing powers (nishkrîti): winged furrows ye are; what ye make sick, ye heal.

10. All obstacles have they overcome, even as the thief the cowpen; the herbs have expelled whatever defect of the body there was.

11. When, to give strength, I take these herbs in my hand, the self of Yakshman (consumption) perishes, as from the clutches of the living (? i. e. from death, Ludw.).

12. Whose every limb, whose every joint ye, O herbs, flow through, from him ye chase away (the demon) Yakshman,—mighty (he is) and, as it were, abiding in the core.

13. Fly forth, O Yakshman; together with the garrulous jay; vanish with the gliding of the wind, with the whirlwind (?)!

14. May one of you help the other, may ye lend help to one another! Of one mind, help ye forward this word of mine!

15. Those bearing fruit, and those without fruit, the flowerless and the flowering, urged forward by Brîhaspati, may they preserve us from trouble!

The Vâg. S. also gives the remaining verses of the hymn, which are not, however, required on the present occasion.



unlimited. Now whatever he does with prayer thereby he restores that form of his which is defined, limited; and whatever he does silently, thereby he restores that form of his which is undefined, unlimited,—verily, whosoever, knowing this, performs thus, restores this whole and complete Pragâpati. The outer forms are defined, and the inner ones are undefined; and Agni is the same as an animal: hence the outer forms of the animal are defined, and the inner ones undefined.

### THIRD ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. Built is the Gârhapatya, unbuilt the Âhavantiya; he then buys the king (Soma): the Gârhapatya being this (terrestrial) world, the Âhavantiya the sky, and Soma he that blows yonder, he thus places him (Vâyu, the wind) between these two worlds; and hence he blows between these two worlds.

2. And as to why he buys the king when the Gârhapatya is built, and the Âhavantiya unbuilt,—Agni is the body, and Soma the vital air: he thus places the vital air in the middle of the body, and hence that vital air is in the middle of the body.

3. And, again, why he buys the king when the Gârhapatya is built, and the Âhavantiya unbuilt,—Agni is the body, and Soma is the life-sap: he thus supplies the body with life-sap, and hence this body (of ours) is supplied with life-sap from end to end.

4. Having bought the king, and driven him about, he then takes out the material for the guest-meal. With the Havishkṛit of that (ceremony) he releases speech. And in this way<sup>1</sup> he interlinks the per-

<sup>1</sup> That is, in performing the various rites of the Soma-sacrifice,

formance of the (Soma) sacrifice and the performance of the fire (altar) for the purpose of unity of performance, thinking, 'Uniform shall be this performance!'

5. And, again, why he interlinks them,—Agni (the fire-altar) is the body, and the (Soma) sacrifice is the vital air : he thus places the vital air in the midst of the body, and hence that vital air is in the middle of the body.

6. And, again, why he interlinks them,—Agni is the body, and the (Soma) sacrifice is the vital sap : he thus supplies the body with vital sap, and hence this body is supplied with vital sap from end to end. He then returns to the site of the Âhavanīya.

7. Now some sweep with the palāsa branch on both occasions<sup>1</sup>, saying, 'Surely, on both occasions he builds (an altar).' Let him, however, not do so ; for by (building) the Gârhapatya he settles, and by the Âhavanīya he rises upwards : therefore let him not do so.

8. And only on the Gârhapatya (site) he throws saline soil, not on the Âhavanīya ; for the Gârhapatya is this (terrestrial) world, and saline soil means cattle : he thus bestows cattle on this world, whence there are cattle in this world.

9. And only on the Âhavanīya (site) he places a lotus leaf, not on the Gârhapatya ; for the lotus leaf means water, and the Âhavanīya the sky : he thus places the waters (vapours) in the sky. On both he

---

and at the same time doing all that is necessary for the building of the fire-altar, on which the Soma-offering itself is ultimately to be performed.

<sup>1</sup> Viz. in consecrating the site of the Âhavanīya, as well as that of the Gârhapatya altar (see VII, 1, 1, 1).

scatters sand ; for sand means seed, and in both (fire-altars) fashioning (of Agni) takes place : ' May he be fashioned from out of that seed ! ' thus he thinks.

10. He scatters it with two different formulas ; for the Gârhapatya is the world of men, and the Âhavantiya is the world of the gods, and different indeed are the divine and the human. With the longer formula he scatters it on the Âhavantiya, and with the shorter one on the Gârhapatya, for longer is the life of the gods, and shorter the life of men. On the Gârhapatya he scatters the sand before (the setting up of) the enclosing-stones ; for sand is seed : ' May these be fashioned from out of that seed ! ' thus he thinks.

11. As to this they say, ' If the enclosing-stones are the womb, and the sand is seed, and the sand is strown on the Gârhapatya before (the setting up of) the enclosing-stones, how, then, is that seed of his not shed aside, (but) is received (by the womb) ? ' Well, the saline soil is the amnion, and inasmuch as he strews first the saline soil, that seed of his is not shed aside, but is received by that amnion. He now addresses the enclosing-stones on the Âhavantiya : the meaning of this has been explained <sup>1</sup>. He then scatters sand : sand being seed, that seed of his is not shed aside, but is received also by that womb.

12. And only on the Âhavantiya he strokes it (even) with two (verses) containing (the verb) ' to grow <sup>2</sup>, ' not on the Gârhapatya ; for the Gârhapatya is this (terrestrial) world, and the Âhavantiya is the heavenly world ; and this Sacrificer, being indeed

<sup>1</sup> VII, 1, 1, 14.

<sup>2</sup> See paragraphs 45, 46.

born in this world, is really intended to be born in the heavenly world: when he strokes (the sand) even on the Âhavantya with two (verses) containing (the verb) 'to grow,' and not on the Gârhapatya, he causes him to be born in the heavenly world.

13. He now puts clod-bricks thereon<sup>1</sup>,—that fire-altar is these worlds, and the clod-bricks are the regions: he thus places the regions into these worlds; whence there are those regions in these worlds.

14. He takes them from outside the (site of the) fire-altar; for those regions which are in these worlds are already possessed by him (Agni); and he now bestows on him those regions which are beyond these worlds.

15. From outside the Vedi (he takes them);—the Vedi being this (earth), and those regions which are on this (earth) being already possessed by him, he now bestows on him those regions which are beyond this (earth).

16. And, again, why he puts clod-bricks thereon,—when Pragâpati was disjointed, his vital sap flowed over all the regions (or, in all directions); and when the gods restored him<sup>2</sup> they, by means of these clod-bricks, put into him that vital sap; and in like manner does this one now put that vital sap into him.

17. He takes them from outside (the site of) the fire-altar; for the vital sap which is in these worlds is already possessed by him (Agni), and he now puts

---

<sup>1</sup> He places a clod of earth on each end of the two 'spines,' that is to say, in the middle of each of the four sides of the square constituting the 'body' of the altar-site.

<sup>2</sup> Or, when they put him together (by building the fire-altar).

into him that vital sap which flowed away beyond these worlds<sup>1</sup>.

18. From outside the Vedi (he takes them),—the Vedi being this (earth), and that vital sap which is in this (terrestrial) world being already possessed by him, he now puts into him the vital sap which flowed beyond this (earth).

19. He takes them with the sacrificial (wooden) sword,—the sword is a thunderbolt, and the thunderbolt means force, and this (earth) means wealth: by force he thus obtains wealth.

20. From the front side he brings one, with (Vâg. S. XII, 102), 'May he not injure me who is the begetter of the Earth!'—the begetter of the Earth doubtless is Pragâpati (the lord of creatures and generation): thus, 'May Pragâpati not injure me!'—'Or he of true ordinances who hath pervaded the sky,' that is, 'Or he of true ordinances who has created the sky;'—'Or he who first begat the shining waters,'—the shining waters doubtless are the men: thus, 'he who first created men;'—'To the god Ka (who?) let us do homage by offering!' Ka doubtless is Pragâpati, thus, 'To him let us do homage by offering!' Having brought it he puts it on the body (of the altar-site) inside the enclosing-stones: he thereby puts into him (Agni) what vital sap had flowed away from him in the eastern direction, and also the eastern region itself he bestows upon him.

21. Then (he fetches a clod) from the south, with (Vâg. S. XII, 103), 'Turn hither, O Earth, with

---

<sup>1</sup> Viz. when these worlds were plunged into the water, see VI, 1, 1, 12.

sacrifice, with milk !' as the text, so the meaning ; —'Agni, sent forth, hath mounted thy skin ;' whatsoever is on this (earth) that is her skin ; and that (skin) Agni mounts, when sent forth, when blazing forth. Having brought it he puts it on the body (of the altar) inside the junction of the (right) wing (and the body) : he thereby puts into him (Agni) what vital sap had flowed from him in the southern direction, and also the southern region itself he bestows upon him.

22. Then from behind (he fetches one, with Vâg. S. XII, 104), 'O Agni, what in thee is pure, what brilliant, what clean, what meet for sacrifice,'—Agni doubtless is this (earth) : of her he says this ;—'that do we bring to the gods,' that is, 'that we bring for this divine work.' Having brought it he puts it on the body (of the altar) inside the junction of the tail (and the body) : he thereby puts into him what vital sap had flowed away from him in the western direction, and also the western region itself he bestows upon him. Let him not take it exactly from the back (west) lest he should take the vital sap from the path of the sacrifice : he takes it from about there<sup>1</sup>.

23. Then from the north, with (Vâg. S. XII, 105), 'Sap and strength have I taken from here<sup>2</sup>,'—that is, 'Sap and strength I take from here ;'—'the womb of sacred law,' the sacred law doubtless is the truth : thus, 'the womb of the truth ;'—'the stream of the mighty,' the mighty (buffalo, or

<sup>1</sup> Viz. from some place towards north-west from the middle of the western side of the body of the altar.

<sup>2</sup> Mahîdhara takes 'âdam' here as the regular imperfect of 'ad,' I ate.

mahisha) doubtless is Agni, for he, being born here great (mahat), animated everything;—‘May it accrue to me in the cows, in the bodies,’—the body is the self: thus, ‘May it accrue to me both in the cows and in (my own) self;’—‘I leave behind decline, weakness, sickness!’ therewith he spreads the sand (by stroking): he thereby consigns to that (northern) region whatever decline, weakness, and sickness there is; whence hungry people (live) in that region. Having brought that (clod), he puts it on the body (of the altar) on the middle of the junction of the (left) wing (and the body): he thereby puts into him (Agni) what vital sap flowed away in the northerly direction; and also the northern region itself he bestows upon him.

24. These same (clods) are the regions; he places them on all sides: he thus places the regions on all sides; whence the regions are on every side. [He places the clods so] as to face each other from every side: he thereby places the regions to face each other from every side, and hence the regions face each other from every side. He places them separately, ‘settles<sup>1</sup>’ them separately, and separately pronounces the Sûdadohas upon them; for separate from each other are the regions. Standing he places them, for the regions, as it were, stand; and stronger, indeed, one is whilst standing.

25. These same (clods) are bricks having special prayers (yagushmatî<sup>2</sup>): on the body (of the altar) he places them, not on the wings and tail; for bricks having special prayers are placed on the body, not on the wings or tail.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 301, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 153, note 1.

26. As to this they say, 'How do these (clod-bricks) come to be put on as baked, as heated (burnt) ones?' Well, these (clods) are vital sap, and the vital sap (blood) is naturally-heated; and, moreover, whatever comes in contact with Agni Vaisvânara, even thereby comes to be put on as baked, as heated.

27. He then throws up the Uttara-vedi<sup>1</sup> (high-altar),—the Vedi is this (earth), the Uttara-vedi the sky, and the clod-bricks are the regions: thus when he puts on the clod-bricks between (the preparation of) the Vedi and (that of) the Uttara-vedi, he thereby places the regions between these two worlds; whence the regions are between these two worlds. He makes it either a yoke long on each side, or forty feet,—whichever way he pleases. He then throws sand thereon: the meaning of this has been explained.

28. He throws it on the Uttara-vedi;—the Uttara-vedi is the womb: he thus infuses seed into the womb; and the seed which is infused into the womb becomes generative. He covers the whole body (of the altar) with that (sand): he thus puts seed into the whole body<sup>2</sup>; whence the seed is produced from the whole body.

29. [He throws it on the high-altar, with Vâg. S. XII, 106-111; *Rîk* S. X, 140] 'Thine, O Agni, is glory and vigour,'—his glory (*śravas*) and vigour doubtless is the smoke, for that announces (*śrāvaya*) him in yonder world,—'mighty shine forth the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 325, note 6.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, he first throws down sand on the Uttara-vedi, and then covers with it the whole of the body of the altar, so as to make it even with the Uttara-vedi.



flames, O rich-beamed one!' that is, 'the flames of (thee), the mighty one, shine forth, O thou, abounding in wealth!'—'With might, O wide-rayed one (thou bestowest) strength, worthy of song,' might is power: thus, 'By (thy) power, O wide-rayed one, (thou givest) food worthy of song;'—'bestowest thou upon the worship, O sage!' worship doubtless is the Sacrificer: thus, 'Upon the worship thou bestowest, O sage!'

30. 'Pure-flamed, bright-flamed,' for pure-flamed and bright-flamed he (Agni) is; 'full-flamed, didst thou burst forth with light,' that is, 'full-flamed shonest thou forth with light;'—'running about as their son thou helpest the two mothers,' for as their son he does help the two mothers;—'thou fillest both spheres,' the two spheres doubtless are these two, heaven and earth, and these two he indeed fills,—with smoke yonder (sky), with rain this (earth).

31. 'Child of strength, knower of beings, in benedictions,' that is, 'child of strength, knower of beings, in praises,'—'delight thou, kindly in thoughts,' that is, 'shine thou, kindly in thoughts;'—'in thee have they brought together multi-form nourishments,' that is, 'in thee have they brought together many-formed nourishments;'—'of wondrous help are the fair-born,' as the text, so the meaning.

32. 'Ruling, O Agni, spread thou by beings'—the beings are men: thus, 'Shining, O Agni, spread thyself by men!'—'riches amongst us, O immortal!' that is, 'bestowing wealth upon us, O immortal!'—'Of beautiful form, shinest thou'—for he indeed shines, of beautiful form;—'thou

fillest (us with) profitable<sup>1</sup> wisdom;’ that is, ‘thou fillest (us with) perennial wisdom.’

33. ‘Him, the wise arranger of the cult,’—the cult is the sacrifice: thus, ‘him, the wise preparer of the sacrifice;’—‘ruling over great wealth,’ that is, ‘ruling in great wealth;’—‘the bestowal of good things,—prosperous, mighty (mah) nourishment,’—that is, ‘the bestowal of good things; prosperous, ample (mahat) nourishment,’—‘givest thou, and profitable substance,’ that is, ‘givest thou, and perennial substance.’

34. ‘[Thee,] the righteous,’ that is, ‘the truthful;’—‘the mighty,’ the mighty (or buffalo) doubtless is Agni;—‘the all-remarkable,’ for he (Agni) is indeed remarkable to all;—‘(thee), Agni, men have placed foremost for happiness,’ happiness doubtless is the sacrifice, and for the sacrifice they indeed place him foremost;—‘thee, the hearer, the far-ruling, divine one, with song the human tribes;’ that is, ‘thee who hearest, thee, the far-ruling god, we men invoke.’

35. Now this hymn of six verses is that same Agni Vaisvânara; and it is in order to make a beginning (in the building of the altar) that that sand is scattered,—he thereby pours into it Agni Vaisvânara as seed;—(he does so) with a six-versed hymn: six seasons are a year and the year is Vaisvânara (belonging to all men).

36. As to this they say, ‘If the seed is said to be seed what is its seed characteristic?’—Let him say, ‘white;’ for seed is white;—or ‘speckled,’ for seed is, as it were, speckled.

<sup>1</sup> The author connects ‘sânasi’ with ‘sanâtana’ (old, perpetual).

37. As to this they say, 'As seed is moist, and he scatters dry sand, how does it become moist for him, after the manner of seed?' Well, the metres are vital sap, and vital sap is moist; and inasmuch as he scatters that (sand) with metres, it is thus that it becomes moist for him, after the manner of seed.

38. As to this they say, 'How does it come to be put on for him by means of the day and the night?' Well, day and night are two, and there are two (kinds of) seed, the white and the black: as black and white it is thus put on for him by means of the day and the night.

39. As to this they say, 'How does that (sand), put on by the days and nights, become complete (or perfect) for him, neither deficient, nor superabundant?' Well, endless are the days and nights, and endless is the sand: it is thus that, put on by the days and nights, it becomes complete for him, neither deficient, nor superabundant. 'And wherefrom (is obtained) the oceanic (Samudriya<sup>1</sup>) metre?' The ocean is endless, and the sand is endless: that is the oceanic metre.

40. As to this they say, 'How is that (sand) of his put on separately with different prayers?' Well, prayer is thought; this thought, prayer, comes to be equal to the whole sand<sup>2</sup>: and thus that (sand) of his comes to be put on separately with different prayers.

41. As to this they say, 'How does that (sand) of his come to be put on by all the metres?'—Inasmuch as he scatters it with that hymn of six verses; for as many syllables as there are in the

<sup>1</sup> The exact purport of this term is not clear.

<sup>2</sup> Sikatāḥ, sand, is plural, consisting as it does of a multiplicity of sand-grains.

seven metres, so many syllables there are in that hymn of six verses<sup>1</sup>: thus that (sand) of his comes to be put on by all the metres.

42. And as to why he scatters sand,—that Agni (fire-altar) is Pragâpati, and Pragâpati is the whole Brahman. Now that sand is (put) in (the place of) the lost part of the Brahman; and that part of it which has not been lost is this fire-altar which is now being built: thus when he scatters sand he restores to him that lost part of the Brahman. That (sand which) he scatters is unnumbered, unlimited; for who knows how great is that lost part of the Brahman? And verily he who, knowing this, scatters sand, restores the whole, complete Pragâpati.

43. As to this they say, 'What is the number of these unnumbered sand grains?' Let him say, 'Two;' for there are two kinds of sand, the white and the black; or let him say, 'Seven hundred and twenty,' for so many days and nights there are in the year; or 'Two hundred and fifty-two,' for so many syllables there are in that hymn of six verses; or 'Twenty-five,' for seed is twenty-fivefold<sup>2</sup>.

44. This same (sand represents) bricks with special prayers: he places it on the body (of the altar), not

<sup>1</sup> This is a somewhat loose calculation. As a matter of fact, the seven principal metres, viz. Gâyatrî (24), Ushnih (28), Anushubh (32), Brihatî (36), Pañkti (40), Trishubh (44), Gagatî (48), contain together 252 syllables. The hymn recited in scattering the sand, on the other hand, consists of one Vishârapañkti (40), three Satobrîhatîs (3 × 40), the Uparishâggyotis (? 40), and one Trishubh (44), or together of 244 syllables. On similar cases of looseness in computing the syllables of metres, see p. 318, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. inasmuch as it emanates from the body (paragraph 28), and the body consists of twenty-five parts—the trunk, the four limbs, and twenty fingers and toes. Cf. VI, 2, 1, 23, where, however, the trunk is not taken into account.

on the wings and tail ; for bricks with special prayers are placed on the body, not on the wings and tail. He does not 'settle' it, lest he should stop the seed, and generation.

45. He then strokes it (the sand) even by means of two verses containing the verb 'to grow:' he thereby causes that infused seed to grow, whence the seed infused into the womb grows;—with two (verses) relating to Soma (he strokes the sand); for Soma is breath: he thus puts breath into the seed; whence the infused seed becomes possessed of breath. But, indeed, were it to come forth without breath it would become putrid; and this indeed is the *Sûdadohas*<sup>1</sup> in this case; for Soma is breath, and the *Sûdadohas* is breath.

46. [Vâg. S. XII, 112, 113; *Rîk* S. I, 91, 16, 18] 'Grow thou! let manly power gather in thee from all sides, O Soma!' manly power doubtless is seed: thus, 'Grow thou! let seed gather in thee from every side, O Soma!'—'Be thou in the gathering of strength!' in food doubtless is strength: thus, 'be thou in the gathering of food!'—'Let the drinks, let the forces gather in thee!'—drink doubtless means vital sap, and in food are forces: thus, 'let vital sap, let food gather itself in thee!'—'and manly powers in thee, the overcomer of enemies;' that is, 'and seed in thee, the overcomer of evil;'—'growing, O Soma, for the sake of immortality,' he thereby lays immortality into the generative power, whence generative power is immortal;—'gain thou the highest glory in the heavens!' his highest glory

<sup>1</sup> See p. 301, note 3.

in the heavens doubtless is the moon, for that one causes him to be celebrated in yonder world<sup>1</sup>. With two (verses) he makes him grow, a gāyatrī and a trishūbh one,—the significance of this has been explained.

47. Now then the (mystic) correspondence,—four clod-bricks he puts on; with a six-versed (hymn) he scatters (the sand); with two (verses) he makes (the seed) grow; that makes twelve,—twelve months are a year, and the year is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become.

## SECOND BRĀHMAṆA.

1. Having smoothed (the sand) down with the two verses containing (the verb) 'to grow,' and returned (to the hall) he proceeds with the guest offering. Having performed the guest offering, he proceeds with the Pravargya and the Upasad<sup>2</sup>. Having performed the Pravargya and the Upasad, they appease that (first) layer on the (red ox-)skin. And as to why on a skin: for the obtainment of the forms, the skin being outward form;—on the hairy side: for the obtainment of the forms, hair being outward form;—on a ruddy (skin): for the obtainment of all forms, all forms (colours being contained) in the ruddy;—on (the skin) of an ox: for the obtainment of Agni's forms, the ox being the same as Agni;—on (the skin spread) with the neck towards the east, for that (tends) godward.

<sup>1</sup> Sāyana remarks,—The high glory, in the heaven, of Soma growing in the form of a creeper is said to be the moon: in yonder heavenly world that moon indeed, when being drunk (by the gods) in the form (?) of ambrosia, causes him, Soma, to be celebrated.

<sup>2</sup> See part ii, p. 104.

2. He spreads it in front of the Gârhapatya, on the Vedi, with the hairy side upwards, and the neck towards the east : thereon they appease that layer. Now he sprinkles (the bricks);—when he sprinkles, he thereby makes it pure, sacrificially clean;—with clarified butter (he sprinkles), for that is pure, sacrificially clean; and also with the view of its being unsurpassed<sup>1</sup>, for no other sacrificial food is sprinkled with ghee;—silently (he sprinkles), for what is (done) silently is undefined, and the undefined is everything : by means of everything he thus makes it pure, and sacrificially clean; and also with the view of its being unsurpassed, for no other sacrificial food is sprinkled silently.

3. And, again, why he sprinkles,—this (layer of bricks) is sacrificial food, and as such he bastes it<sup>2</sup>; for whatever sacrificial food is buttered, and basted, that is palatable and sacrificially clean. With ghee (he bastes it), for sacrificial food is basted with ghee; silently (he does so), for silently sacrificial food is basted;—by means of stalks of Kusa grass, for these are pure, and sacrificially clean;—by means of the tops, for the top is sacred to the gods.

4. As to this they say, ‘When he sprinkles only the first layer, how does that whole fire-altar of his come to be sprinkled, how does it come to be led forward on the skin, and how led forward by the horse<sup>3</sup>?’ Inasmuch as in this (layer) he (symbolically)<sup>4</sup> sprinkles the bricks of all the layers; and

<sup>1</sup> Literally, for not surmounting.

<sup>2</sup> See part i, p. 192, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> On the leading forward of the fire, and laying it down on the foot-print of a horse, see II, 1, 4, 23 seq.

<sup>4</sup> According to Kâty. XVII, 3, 18–19 some ritualists would seem to put the (yagushmatî) bricks of all the layers on the skin. But

thus indeed that whole fire-altar of his comes to be sprinkled, and led forward on the skin, and led forward by the horse. They lift up this (first) layer<sup>1</sup>.

5. He (the Adhvaryu) then says (to the Hotri), 'Recite to the fires being led forward!' For at that time when the gods were setting out to spread the sacrifice, the Rakshas, the fiends, sought to smite them, saying, 'Ye shall not sacrifice! ye shall not spread the sacrifice!' Having made those fires, those bricks, to be sharp-edged thunderbolts, they hurled these at them, and laid them low thereby; and having laid them low, they spread that sacrifice in a place free from danger and devilry.

6. Now, what the gods did is done here,—even now those Rakshas are indeed smitten by the gods themselves; and when he nevertheless does this, it is because he thinks, 'I must do what the gods did.' And so, having made those fires, those bricks, to be sharp-edged thunderbolts, he hurls them at whatever Rakshas, whatever evildoers there may be, and lays them low thereby; and having laid them low, he spreads the sacrifice in a place free from danger and devilry.

7. And as to why (he recites) to the fires,—it is because there are here many fires, to wit, those layers; and as to (his reciting) to them being led forward (pra-har), it is because he hurls (pra-har) them forward (as thunderbolts).

---

perhaps this is merely a wrong interpretation of this passage of the Brāhmaṇa; though the three 'naturally-perforated' bricks are probably placed together.

<sup>1</sup> The Adhvaryu's attendants take up the ox-skin with the bricks for the first layer lying on it.



8. Now some recite (Vâg. S. XII, 50), 'The Agnis Purîshyas, together with those of the streams,'—a form of starting<sup>1</sup>. Let him not do so; let him recite gâyatrl verses addressed to Agni, and relating to (objects of) desire: (Vâg. S. XII, 115; Rîk S. VIII, 11, 7), 'Hither may Vatsa lead thy mind even from the highest seat, O Agni, with the song desirous of thee!'—(Vâg. S. XII, 116; Rîk S. VIII, 43, 18), 'To thee, O Agni, best of Ângiras, all good homesteads have laid themselves out for (the obtainment of) their desire.'—(Vâg. S. XII, 117), 'Agni, the one all-ruler, shineth in the beloved homes, the (object of) desire of all that is and shall be.'

9. Verses addressed to Agni he recites for the obtainment of Agni's forms;—and such as relate to desire, for the obtainment of his desires;—Gâyatrl ones,—Agni is Gâyatra: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus pours him forth as seed;—with three (verses),—Agni is threefold: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus pours him forth as seed. These (three), with the (first and last verses) recited thrice, amount to seven,—of seven layers consists the fire-altar<sup>2</sup>, seven seasons are a year, and the year is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great does this become. He recites in a low voice, for here in the sacrifice seed is (cast), and seed is cast silently. He (the Hotrî) marches reciting behind (the bricks carried by the attendants); he thus marches, defending the sacrifice by the metres from behind.

<sup>1</sup> See VII, 1, 1, 25.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 249, note 3.

10. And in front they lead a white horse. For at that time the gods were afraid lest the Rakshas, the fiends, should smite them here. They saw that thunderbolt, even yonder sun; for that horse is yonder sun: having driven off the Rakshas, the fiends, in front, by that thunderbolt, they obtained well-being in a place free from danger and devilry. They arrive at the (site of) the fire-altar; south of the tail (of the altar) they set down the layer (of bricks); from the north they make the horse step (on the site of the altar).

11. They lead it eastward on the left (north) side of the altar, inside the enclosing-stones, whereby they ward off evil from the eastern region; then southward, whereby they ward off evil from the south; then westward, whereby they ward off evil from the western region; then northward, whereby they ward off evil from the northern region. Having thus warded off the Rakshas, the fiends, from all the regions, he sets it (the horse) free towards north-east: the significance of this has been explained.

12. Whilst it goes westward he makes it smell (kiss) that layer (of bricks);—that horse is yonder sun, and those bricks are the same as all these creatures (on earth): thus even as he makes (the horse) smell, so yon sun kisses these creatures<sup>1</sup>. And hence, by Pragâpati's power, every one now thinks, 'I am!' And as to why he makes it smell while going westward, it is because, whilst going (from east) to west, that (sun) kisses all these creatures.

---

<sup>1</sup> According to Sâyana, it is by his rays (identified with the vital airs of living beings) that the sun kisses (or puts himself in contact with) the creatures (and animates them); so that every one feels that he is 'labdhâtma,' or has obtained 'a self,' or life and being.

13. And, again, why he makes it smell;—that horse is yonder sun, and those naturally-perforated (bricks) are these worlds; and even as he makes it smell, so yonder sun strings these worlds to himself on a thread<sup>1</sup>. And as to that thread, the significance of that (will be explained) further on.

14. And, again, why he makes it smell;—Agni went away from the gods; he entered the water. The gods said to Pragâpati, 'Go thou in search of him: to thee, his own father, he will reveal himself.' He became a white horse, and went in search of him. He found him on a lotus leaf, having crept forth from the water. He eyed him, and he (Agni) scorched him: hence the white horse has, as it were, a scorched mouth<sup>2</sup>, and indeed is apt to become weak-eyed. He (Agni) thought he had hit and hurt him, and said to him, 'I grant thee a boon!'

15. He (Pragâpati) said, 'Whoever shall seek thee in that form (of a white horse), shall find thee!' And, accordingly, he who seeks him (Agni) in that form, finds him; and having found him, he then builds him up.

16. It should be a white (horse), for that is a form of him (the sun) who burns yonder. If he cannot obtain a white one, one that is not white might do; but a horse it should be. If he cannot obtain a horse, even an ox might do, for the ox is of Agni's nature, and Agni is the repeller of all evils.

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, he passes a thread through them (as through pearls), fastened to himself. Regarding this Thread, or spiritual bond, holding together all sentient existences of the universe, see XIV, 6, 7, 2 seq.

<sup>2</sup> That is, according to Sâyana, a reddish mouth.

17. Now, then, as to the mounting<sup>1</sup> (of the altar). Now some mount it from the front (east) towards the back, or from the back towards the front : let him not do so ; for that Agni (the fire-altar) is an animal ; and if one mounts an animal (ox) from the front towards the back, it strikes him with its horns ; and if he mounts it from the back towards the front, it does so with its feet. Let him mount it only by the middle body<sup>2</sup> ; for the animal which people mount by the (middle) body, carries them forward, and does not hurt them. From the left (north) side (he should mount it), for any animal which people mount they mount from the left side. By mounting the (body of the) altar from the left side, and performing the work connected with the Uttara-vedi, he takes hold of Agni in the (middle) body (or, into himself) ; and having taken Agni into his own self, he sings the 'true hymn.' He puts a lotus-leaf on (the altar) : thereof further on.

18. Now that horse they lead about when evening is closing in ; for at that time the gods were afraid lest the Rakshas, the fiends, should there smite that (Agni, or altar) of theirs. They made that thunderbolt, to wit, yonder sun, his protector, for that horse is yonder sun ; and in like manner does this one now make that thunderbolt his (Agni's) protector.

19. He leads it about towards the setting of the sun ; for he (the sun) is manifestly his protector by day ; and the Rakshas are the associates of the

<sup>1</sup> That is, as to the way in which the priests and sacrificer are to step on the body of the altar-site, when coming from outside.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, from sideways as in getting on the saddle of a horse.

night : for the night he thus makes that thunderbolt his protector. He leads it about on every side : on every side he thus makes that thunderbolt his protector. Thrice he leads it about : he thus makes that thunderbolt his (Agni's) threefold protector. He then lets it loose towards north-west : the purport of this has been explained. It afterwards returns (to the sacrificial ground) : the purport of this (will be explained) further on.

### THE BUILDING OF THE ALTAR.

#### THE FIRST LAYER.

#### FOURTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. Being about to build Agni (the fire-altar), he takes him up into his own self; for from out of his own self he causes him to be born, and wherefrom one is born, suchlike he becomes. Now were he to build up Agni without taking him up into his own self, he would beget man from man, mortal from mortal, one not freed from sin from one not freed from sin; but when he builds up Agni after taking him up into his own self, he causes Agni to be born from Agni, the immortal from the immortal, the sinless from the sinless.

2. He takes him in (by muttering, Vâg. S. XIII, 1), 'Within me I first take Agni,' he thereby first takes Agni into his own self;—'for increase of wealth, for healthy progeny, for vigorous manhood!' and hereby he takes all blessings to himself;—'and may the deities stand by me!' and hereby he takes all the gods to himself; and thus he takes into his own self all that he is about to generate from his own self. Having taken Agni

into his own self whilst standing, he builds him up sitting;—Agni is an animal: hence the animal, having received the fœtus standing, gives birth after lying down.

3. He now sings the Satya Sâman<sup>1</sup> (true hymn). For the gods then said, 'Let us make the truth (satya) his mouth (or beginning): thus we shall become the truth, truth will turn unto us, and true will become that wish of ours for which we are about to perform this rite!'

4. They sang that 'true hymn' at the outset, and thus made the truth his (Agni's) mouth; and they became the truth; the truth turned unto them, and true became that wish of theirs for which they performed this rite.

5. And in like manner when the Sacrificer now, at the outset, sings the 'true hymn,' he thereby makes the truth his (Agni's) mouth; and he (himself) becomes the truth; and truth turns unto him; and true becomes that wish of his for which he performs this rite.

6. Now that truth is the same as the waters, for the waters are the truth. Hence they say, 'Whereby<sup>2</sup> the waters flow, that is a form of the truth.' It is the waters indeed that were made first of this universe: hence when the waters (rains) flow, then everything whatsoever exists is produced here.

7. He then puts down a lotus-leaf (in the centre of

<sup>1</sup> Probably Sâma-v. S. I, 99 (*Rik* S. I, 69, 4), 'O Agni, lord of bovine food, child of strength, grant unto us, O knower of beings, great glory!' See Weber, *Ind. Stud.* XII, p. 148, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> ?Or, in that (or because, yena) the waters flow,—that is to say, the flowing of the waters (rain, &c.) is a manifestation of eternal truth.

the altar-site);—the lotus-leaf is a womb: he hereby puts a womb to it (for Agni to be born from).

8. And, again, why he puts down a lotus-leaf;—the lotus means the waters, and this earth is a leaf thereof: even as the lotus-leaf here lies spread on the water, so this earth lies spread on the waters. Now this same earth is Agni's womb, for Agni (the fire-altar) is this earth, since thereof the whole Agni is built up: it is this earth he thus lays down. He lays it down so as not to be separated from the truth: he thereby establishes this earth on the truth;—hence this earth is established on the truth; and hence the truth is this earth, for this earth is the most certain of these worlds.

9. [He lays it down, with Vâg. S. XIII, 2] 'The waters' back thou art, the womb of Agni,' for this earth is indeed the back of the waters, and the womb of Agni;—'around the swelling ocean,' for the ocean indeed swells around this earth;—'growing great on the lotus,' that is, 'growing, flourish thou on the lotus;—'spread out with the extent, with the breadth, of the sky!' with this he strokes along (the leaf),—for this Agni is yonder sun, and no other extent but that of the sky is able to contain him: he thus says (to the leaf), 'Having become the sky, contain him!' He lays it down with a Svarâg verse, for self-rule (svârâgya) belongs to the waters. Having 'settled' it, he pronounces the Sûdadohas<sup>1</sup> upon it: the significance of this has been explained.

10. He then puts the gold plate<sup>2</sup> thereon. Now

<sup>1</sup> See p. 301, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. the one the Sacrificer wore round his neck during the initiation period. See VI, 7, 1, 1 seq.

this gold plate is yonder sun, for he shines over all the creatures here on earth ; and 'rokas' (shine) they mystically call 'rukma' (gold plate), for the gods love the mystic : he thus lays down yonder sun (on the altar). It is golden, and round, with one and twenty knobs,—the significance of this has been explained. He puts it down with the knobs pointing downward ; for the knobs are his (the sun's) rays, and his rays (shine) downwards.

11. He puts it down on the lotus-leaf ;—the lotus-leaf is a womb : in the womb he thus places him (Agni).

12. And, again, why he puts it on the lotus-leaf ;—the lotus-leaf is a foundation, for the lotus-leaf is this earth, and this earth is the foundation : he who is not settled on this earth, is unsettled even as one who is far away. Now by means of his rays that (sun) is settled on this earth : he thus settles him (Agni) on this earth, as his foundation.

13. And, again, why he puts it on the lotus-leaf. When Indra had smitten Vṛitra, he, thinking that he had not laid him low, entered the waters. He said to them, 'I am afraid : make ye a stronghold for me !' Now what essence of the waters there was that they gathered upwards (on the surface), and made it a stronghold for him ; and because they made (kar) a stronghold (pûḥ) for him, therefore it is 'pûshkara ;' 'pûshkara' being what is mystically called 'pushkara' (lotus-leaf), for the gods love the mystic. Now when he puts it (the gold plate) on the lotus-leaf, he then establishes him (Agni) in that essence which the waters gathered together for him (Indra), and in that stronghold which they made for him.

14. [He puts it down, with Vâg. S. XIII, 3]



'The Brahman first born in front;' the Brahman doubtless is yonder sun, and he is born day by day in front (in the east);—'from the summit<sup>1</sup> he, the longing, overspread the shining,' the summit doubtless is the middle, the shining ones are these worlds, and the longing one is yonder sun,—he is the longing one inasmuch as he longed to be born; and in rising he overspreads<sup>2</sup> these (worlds) from the summit, from the middle;—'he (overspread) the nighest extents of the deep,' his nighest extents of the deep doubtless are the regions, for he (the sun) does extend nigh to them;—'the womb of the existent and of the non-existent did he overspread!' the womb of the existent and of the non-existent doubtless are these worlds; for both what exists and what does not exist is born from these worlds. He puts it on with a trishūbh verse, for yonder (sun) is related to the Trishūbh<sup>3</sup>. Having 'settled' it, he pronounces the Sūdadohas<sup>4</sup> verse upon it: the significance of this has been explained.

15. He then lays the (gold) man thereon,—he is Pragâpati, he is Agni, he is the Sacrificer. He is made of gold, for gold is light, and fire is light; gold is immortality, and fire is immortality. It is a man (purusha), for Pragâpati is the Man.

<sup>1</sup> 'Sîmatah' would rather seem to mean 'from the boundary line,' but the author here takes 'sîman' in the sense of (sîmanta) 'hair-line, parting of the hair, crown of the head (Scheitel).'

<sup>2</sup> In the Sanskrit participial (or gerundial) construction, the relation between the primary and secondary notions is usually the reverse of ours,—thus 'he rises in overspreading.'

<sup>3</sup> It is usually with Indra that the Trishūbh metre is connected—see part i, introduction, p. xviii; Sat. Br. IX, 4, 3, 7 (cf. VIII, 5, 1, 10)—the Trishūbh being also the emblem of the nobility (III, 4, 1, 10).

<sup>4</sup> See p. 301, note 3.

16. And, again, why he lays down the man. When Pragâpati was relaxed, his pleasing form went out from within ; when it had gone out of him, the gods left him. When the gods restored him, they put that pleasing form into him, and the gods were pleased with that (form) of his ; and inasmuch as the gods were pleased (ram) with that pleasing (ramya) form of his, it is called 'hiramya ;' 'hiramya' being what is mystically called 'hiraṇya' (gold), for the gods love the mystic. And in like manner does this (Sacrificer) now put that pleasing form into him (Agni), and the gods are pleased with that (form) of his. But that pleasing form of his is the vital air : it is that vital air he thus puts into him.

17. He lays him on the gold plate, for the gold plate is yonder sun : that same man who is in that (sun's) disk, it is him he now lays down (on the altar).

18. He lays him down on his back<sup>1</sup> ;—for the gods at that time said, 'If we lay down these two<sup>2</sup> both looking hitherwards, they will burn up everything here ; and if (we lay) both so as to be turned away from here, they will give warmth only in the opposite direction ; and if facing each other, then there will be light only between those two, and they will injure each other.' They laid down the one so as to look hitherwards, and the other so as to look away from here : that one (the sun), the gold disk, looking downwards, gives warmth by his rays, and

<sup>1</sup> Professor Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, p. 249, takes 'uttānam' in the sense of 'standing erect,' with his face towards the east ; but this surely must be a mistake.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. both the gold plate (the sun), which was laid down with the embossed or front side downwards, and the gold man.

that man (tends) upward by his vital airs<sup>1</sup>. He lays him down (with the head) towards the east, for (with the head) towards the east this Agni (the fire-altar) is built up.

19. [He lays him down, with Vâg. S. XIII, 4; *Rik* S. X, 121, 1] 'Hiraṇyagarbha came first into existence,' for that golden child did come first into existence;—'born he was the one lord of being;' for he indeed was born as the one lord of all this being;—'he upholdeth this earth and the sky,' for he (the sun) does uphold both the sky and the earth;—'to the god Ka let us do homage by offering!' Ka (Who?) is Pragâpati: thus, 'let us do homage to Him by offering!'

20. [Vâg. S. XIII, 5; *Rik* S. X, 17, 11] 'The drop leaped along the earth and sky;' the drop is yonder sun, and he leaps both to the sky and to the earth—thus (in rising) to that (sky), and thus (in setting) to this (earth);—'along this seat, and that which was afore;' that is, to this world, and to that one; or this (Âhavanîya altar) which is now being built, and that (Gârhapatya altar) which yonder was built before;—'the drop moving along the common seat;' for he (the sun) moves along that common seat;—'the drop I offer along the seven hotrâs;' the drop is yonder sun; and the seven hotrâs are the regions: he thus establishes yonder sun in the regions.

21. With two (verses) he lays him down;—two-footed is the Sacrificer, and the Sacrificer is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus lays him down;—with two trish/ubh

<sup>1</sup> Cf. VI, 7, 1, 11, where it is said that the immortal part of the vital air of man streams out by upward breathings. Cf. p. 359, n. 1.

verses, for he (the sun) is related to the Trishṭubh. Having 'settled' him, he pronounces the Sûdadohas on him : the significance of this has been explained.

22. He then sings a Sâman. For the gods, having laid down that man, then saw him (looking) even suchlike as yonder dry plank.

23. They said, 'Think ye upon this, how we may put vigour into this man !' They said, 'Meditate ye (ġetay)!' whereby, doubtless, they meant to say, 'Seek ye to build up (ġitim ish) ! seek ye how we shall put vigour into this man !'

24. Whilst meditating, they saw this Sâman, and sang it, and thereby put vigour into him ; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) thereby put it into him : he sings on the man, he puts vigour into the man ;— he sings on the bright one<sup>1</sup>, for Agni is all bright things. After he has laid him down, let him not walk round him in front, lest that Agni should injure him.

25. He (the Sacrificer) then stands by (the gold man) worshipping him with the Sarpanâma (serpent-named) formulas. The serpents doubtless are these worlds, for these glide along (sarp) with everything here whatsoever there is ; and Agni is no other than the self (body) of all the gods. They, the gods, having laid down (on the altar) that self of theirs, were afraid lest these worlds should glide away with that self of theirs.

26. They saw those Sarpanâma and worshipped with them ; by these (verses) they stopped these worlds for him, and caused them to bend themselves ; and because they caused them to bend (nam) them-

<sup>1</sup> That is, he sings the Kîtra-sâman, Sâma-v. I, 169 (Vâg. S. XXVII, 39), 'With what favour will the bright one, the ever-growing friend, be with us ; with what mightiest host ?'

selves, therefore (the formulas are called) Sarpanâma. And in like manner does the Sacrificer, when he stands by worshipping with the Sarpanâma formulas, stop these worlds for him, and cause these worlds to bend themselves ; and so they do not glide away with that self of his.

27. And, again, why he stands by worshipping with the Sarpanâma formulas ;—the serpents are these worlds, for whatever creeps (sarp), creeps in these worlds. Now when he worships with the Sarpanâma formulas—whatever fiend there is in these worlds, whatever devourer, whatever ogress,—all that he thereby appeases.

28. [Vâg. S. XIII, 6-8] 'Homage be to the serpents, whichever are on earth, and they that are in the air, and they that are in the sky, to those serpents be homage!' whatever serpents there are in these three worlds to them he thereby does homage.

29. 'They that are the darts of demons,' for some (of the serpents), sent by demons, bite ;— 'and those on the trees, and those which lie in holes, to those serpents be homage!' he thereby does homage to the serpents that lie both in trees, and in holes.

30. 'Or those that are in the luminous sphere of the sky ; or those in the rays of the sun ; those by which abode is made in the waters, to those serpents be homage!' he hereby does homage to them wheresoever they are. He does so by 'homage, homage,' for homage is sacrifice (worship) : by sacrifice, by homage, he thus worships them. Let him therefore not say 'homage be to thee,' to one not worthy of sacrifice, for it

would be just as if he said 'sacrifice (or, worship) be to thee!'

31. With three (formulas) he worships,—three are these worlds, and threefold, also, is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus stops these worlds (from moving); and by so much does he appease everything here. Standing he worships, for these worlds stand, as it were; and besides, while standing one is stronger.

32. Thereupon, having sat down he offers on (the gold man) with fivefold-taken ghee,—the significance of this has been explained. On each side (of the fire he offers), moving round : he thus gratifies him (Agni) with food from all quarters.

33. And, again, why he offers thereon. The gods, having laid down that body of theirs, now were afraid lest the Rakshas, the fiends, should smite that (body) of theirs. They saw those Rakshas-killing counter-charms<sup>1</sup>,—(Vāg. S. XIII, 9-13; Rik S. IV,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 53, note 2. In the present instance, the sacrificial formulas themselves constitute these charms. The five verses, only the first pāda of the first of which is given in the text, are as follows:—

1. Put forth thy power as (if it were) a broad host (or, net); go forth, like a mighty king with his following, following up the swift host! An archer thou art : pierce the Rakshas with thy fieriest (darts).

2. Swiftly fly thy whirling (darts): fiercely burning attack thou boldly! Unfettered, O Agni, with thy tongue pour forth on all sides winged flames and firebrands.

3. Thou, the most rapid, send forth thy spies : be thou an undaunted protector to this people (from him) who planneth evil against us from afar or from near by; O Agni, let none dare to attack us without thy cognizance.

4. Rise, O Agni, spread thyself out, and burn down the foes, O sharp-darted : whosoever hath done us injury, burn him down, O flaming one, like dry brushwood.

4, 1-5), 'Put forth thy power, like a broad army!' slayers of Rakshas are the counter-charms : having, by means of these counter-charms, repelled the Rakshas, the fiends, in every quarter, they (the gods) restored that body in a place free from danger and devilry; and in like manner this Sacrificer, having, by means of these counter-charms, repelled the Rakshas, the fiends, in every quarter, now restores that body (of Agni) in a place free from danger and devilry.

34. He offers with ghee ; for the ghee is a thunderbolt : by the thunderbolt he thus repels the Rakshas, the fiends ;—with fivefold-taken (ghee),—of five layers consists the fire-altar ; five seasons are a year, and the year is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus repels the Rakshas, the fiends ;—with (five) verses addressed to Agni, for the Rakshas-killing light is Agni : by Agni he thus repels the Rakshas, the fiends ;—with trishṭubh verses,—the Trishṭubh is a thunderbolt : by the thunderbolt he thus repels the Rakshas, the fiends. On each side (he offers) moving round : in every quarter he thus repels the Rakshas, the fiends.

35. Behind the altar (he offers) while seated with his face towards the east ; then on the left (north) side (looking) to the south ; then in front (looking) to the west ; then going round behind, (he offers) on the right (south) side while sitting with his face towards the north. Thus (he moves) to the right, for

---

5. Stand up, O Agni ; strike out for our sake, and manifest thy divine powers ! unstring the strong (arrows, or bows) of the goblins : crush the enemies, be they kindred or strangers !

that (leads) to the gods. Thereupon, going back, (he offers) while sitting behind, with his face towards the east; and in this way that performance of his takes place towards the east<sup>1</sup>.

36. He then lays down two offering-spoons,—the offering-spoons are arms<sup>2</sup>: it is his arms he thus restores to him (Agni). And as to why offering-spoons (are laid down), it is because the arms are offering-spoons,—that bowl and the handle are two, for there are two of these arms. He lays them down at the (left and right) sides, for these arms (of ours) are at the sides.

37. On the right (south) side he lays down one of kârshmarya (gmelina arborea) wood. For at that time the gods were afraid lest the Rakshas, the fiends, should destroy their sacrifice from the south. They saw that Rakshas-killing tree, the Kârshmarya: having by that tree repelled the Rakshas, the fiends, on the south, they spread that sacrifice in a place free from danger and devilry. And in like manner the Sacrificer, having by that tree repelled the Rakshas, the fiends, on the south, now spreads that sacrifice in a place free from danger and devilry. It (the spoon) is filled with ghee;—the ghee is a thunderbolt: it is by the thunderbolt he thus repels the Rakshas, the fiends, on the south.

38. On the left (north) side he then lays down one of udumbara (ficus glomerata) wood; for the Udumbara means strength, life-sap: strength, life-sap he thus puts into him. It is filled with sour

<sup>1</sup> The order in which he offers would thus be,—west, north, east, (then going back along the north and west sides) south, west.

<sup>2</sup> They are indeed of an arm's length, with bowls of the shape and size of the hand, see part i, p. 67, note 2.



curds,—sour curds are life-sap : it is life-sap he thus puts into him.

39. And, again, why he lays down two offering-spoons. When Pragâpati was relaxed, Agni took his (Pragâpati's) fiery spirit, and carried it off to the south, and there stopped ; and because after carrying (karsh) it off he stopped (ud-ram), therefore the Kârshmarya (sprang up). And Indra took his (Pragâpati's) vigour and went away to the north : it became the Udumbara tree.

40. He (Pragâpati) said to those two, 'Come ye to me, and put back into me that (substance) of mine wherewith ye have gone off !'—'Well then, bestow thou all food here on us two !' they said.—'Well then, join me, becoming these two arms of mine !'—'So be it !' He bestowed all food on them, and they joined him, becoming those two arms of his : hence it is by the arms that food is made, and by means of the arms that it is eaten, for he (Pragâpati) bestowed all food on the two arms.

41. The kârshmarya one he lays down on the right side, with (Vâg. S. XIII, 13), 'By Agni's fiery spirit I settle thee !'—that fiery spirit of his (Pragâpati's) which Agni then took and carried off to the south, he now puts back into him.—'Agni, the head, the summit of the sky, he, the lord of the earth, animates the seeds of the waters,' for Agni indeed is this (spoon). With a Gâyatri verse (he performs),—Agni is Gâyatra : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus lays down that (spoon). It is filled with ghee, for ghee belongs to Agni : with his own share, with his own life-sap he thus gratifies him.

42. He then lays down the udumbara one on the

left (north) side, with (Vâg. S. XIII, 14), 'By Indra's vigour I settle thee!' that vigour of his (Pragâpati's) which Indra then took and went away to the north, he now puts back into him.—(Vâg. S. XIII, 15; Rîk S. X, 8, 6), 'Thou hast become the leader of the sacrifice, and of the sphere to which thou tendest with propitious teams; the light-giving head hast thou lifted to the sky; thy tongue, O Agni, hast thou made the bearer of the offering;'—Indra indeed is this (spoon). And as to its being a verse addressed to Agni, it is because it is the performance of Agni (the fire-altar);—and a trish/ubh one, because Indra is connected with the Trish/ubh; and Agni includes Indra and Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus lays it down. Moreover, all the gods are Indra and Agni, and Agni belongs to all the deities: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus lays it down. It is filled with sour curds, for sour curds belong to Indra: with his own share, with his own life-sap he thus gratifies him.

43. Indra and Agni indeed are those two arms of his (Pragâpati's): they join him with fiery spirit and vigour. Where he (the Sacrificer) touches (the ground with his arms), whilst viewing intently the gold man with his breast close to him<sup>1</sup>, there he

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be considerable difference of opinion between Kâtyâyana and Sâyana regarding this point of the ceremonial. The gold man lies stretched out on his back with his head towards the east. According to Kâtyâyana, XVII, 4, 10, he (the Sacrificer) is to lie down so as to cover the gold man, but without actually touching him with his breast, and at the extreme end of where the arms touch (the ground) he is to make two marks, where the spoons are then to be laid down with the bowl towards the east. Sâyana,

(the Adhvaryu) makes a mark and lays down those (spoons); for that is the place of those two (arms).

44. Now some lay them down sideways (from south to north), saying, 'Sideways run these two arms (of ours).' Let him not do so, but let him lay them with the bowl towards the front (east), for this Agni (altar) is built with the head towards the front; and, besides, in this way the arms are stronger. Separately he lays them down, separately he 'settles' them, and separately he pronounces the Sûdadohas verse on them; for separate are these two arms.

45. As to this they say, 'Let him make no arms to this (gold) man<sup>1</sup>, lest he should cause him to be redundant; for these two spoons are (in lieu of) his arms.' Let him nevertheless make (him with arms), for those two spoons are (merely) after the manner of the two arms. Moreover, those two (arms of Agni) are wings; and whatever forms, whatever stomas, whatever *prishthas*, whatever metres he will be applying to that fire-altar, that will be the perfection, that will be the growth of those two: let him therefore make arms to that (gold) man.

on the other hand, explains—'Let the Adhvaryu lay down the two spoons close to the breast of the laid-down gold man. Having beheld (i.e. recognised)—or, whilst beholding (?)—that man, wherever the laid-down pair of spoons reaches his breast there, having made a mark, let him lay down the two spoons: that part of the breast doubtless is the place of those two (spoons, or gods?) extolled as the arms.' Perhaps the text of this comment is somewhat corrupt. The ceremony is apparently intended to symbolise the identification of the Sacrificer with the sacrificial man, or the sacrifice itself. The Sacrificer lies down so as to rest on his fore-arms; the spoons being afterwards laid down on the marks left by the fore-arms (and naturally running in an easterly direction).—For Professor Weber's view, see p. 367, note 1.

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, Let it be a gold statuette without arms.

SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. He puts a Svayam-âtrinnâ (naturally-perforated brick) on (the gold man) ;—the (first) naturally-perforated one being this earth, he thus puts this earth thereon. He puts it on so as not to be separate from the man ; for the naturally-perforated one means food, and the naturally-perforated one means this earth, and this earth is food, since it is on her that all food ripens : he thus places food close to him (the man, Agni). Upon (the man he puts it) : he thus places the food upon him <sup>1</sup>.

2. And, again, why he puts on a naturally-perforated one ;—the naturally-perforated (brick) is the breath (or vital air), for the breath thus bores itself (svayam âtrintte) through the body : it is breath he thus bestows on it. He puts it so as not to be separate from the man ; for the naturally-perforated one is the breath, and the naturally-perforated one is this earth, and this earth is the breath, since this earth bears everything that breathes : he thus puts the breath so as not to be separate from him. Upon (the man he places the brick) : he thus puts the breath upon him <sup>1</sup>.

3. And, again, why he puts thereon the naturally-perforated one. The deities, taking up the disjointed Pragâpati, separated ; and, having obtained a resting-place in them, thus separated, he settled down.

4. Now that Pragâpati who became disjointed is this very Agni (fire-altar) that is now being built up ; and that resting-place (or, foundation) is this first

---

? Viz. inasmuch as the food is introduced into the body from above. It might also mean, he makes the food superior to the body, inasmuch as the body cannot exist without it. Similarly as regards the breath in the next paragraph.

naturally-perforated (brick) ;—thus when he now puts it on, he thereby puts upon this (altar-site) that (foundation<sup>1</sup>) which there was for his body : that is why he now puts it on.

5. He puts it on by means of Pragâpati, for Pragâpati thereby took back to himself (that foundation) of his body. [Vâg. S. XIII, 16] ‘Steady thou art,’ that is, ‘Firm thou art, or established thou art ;’—‘supporting,’ for that which supports is a foundation ;—‘laid down by Visvakarman ;’ Visvakarman is Pragâpati, thus, ‘laid down by that one ;’—‘May the ocean, may the bird not injure thee !’ the ocean doubtless is the gold plate, and the bird is the man : thus, ‘May those two not injure thee !’—‘Not shaking, steady thou the earth !’ as the text, so the meaning.

6. [Vâg. S. XIII, 17] ‘May Pragâpati settle thee’—for Pragâpati saw this first layer<sup>2</sup> ;—‘on the back of the waters, on the way of the ocean,’ the back of the waters doubtless is this earth, and the way of the ocean is this earth ;—‘thee, the wide, the broad one !’ for this earth is both wide and broad ;—‘broaden thou : thou art the broad one !’ that is, ‘broaden thou, and thou art the broad (earth, *prithivî*).’

7. [Vâg. S. XIII, 18] ‘Thou art the earth (*bhû*),’ for this is the earth ;—‘thou art the ground (*bhûmi*),’ for this is the ground ;—‘Thou art Aditi,’—Aditi is this earth, for this earth gives (*dad*)

<sup>1</sup> The ‘*pratishthâ*’ (basis) of the bird-shaped Agni includes the parts on which the bird stands or sits, viz. the feet, and the hind-part of the body. *Sâyana*, on the other hand, takes it to mean the ‘*pumlinga*,’ which seems very improbable.

<sup>2</sup> See VI, 2, 3, 1.

everything here;—‘the all-containing,’ for on this earth everything is contained;—‘supporter of all the world,’ that is, supporter of the whole world;—‘sustain the earth, steady the earth, injure not the earth!’ that is, sustain thyself, steady thyself, injure not thyself!

8. [Vāg. S. XIII, 19] ‘For all breathing, out-breathing, through-breathing, and up-breathing;’ for the naturally-perforated (brick) is the breath, and the breath serves for all that;—‘for a resting-place, for a moving-place;’ the naturally-perforated (bricks) are these worlds<sup>1</sup>, and these worlds are the resting-place, the moving-place;—‘May Agni guard thee’—that is, may Agni protect thee!—‘with mighty well-being!’ that is, with great well-being;—‘with the safest roof,’ that is, with whatever roof (abode) is the safest. Having ‘settled’ it<sup>2</sup>, he pronounces the Sûdadohas<sup>3</sup> on it: the meaning of this has been explained. He then sings a Sâman: the meaning of this (will be explained) further on.

9. Here now they say, ‘How is it that that (gold) man is not held (weighed) down by the naturally-perforated (brick)<sup>4</sup>?’ Well, the naturally-perforated (brick) is food and breath; and man is not held down either by food or by his breath.

10. He then lays the Dûrvâ-brick<sup>5</sup> thereon;—the Dûrvâ-brick being cattle; it is with cattle he

<sup>1</sup> See p. 155, note 8.

<sup>2</sup> That is, by adding the formula, ‘By that deity, Aṅgiras-like, lie thou steady!’

<sup>3</sup> See p. 301, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> That is to say, How will he (the Sacrificer) be able to rise upwards to heaven, when that brick is lying on him?

<sup>5</sup> See p. 187, note 3.

thus endows it : these are the same cattle together with which Agni on that former occasion approached<sup>1</sup>; it is them he now puts thereon. He lays it down immediately on the naturally-perforated (brick); the naturally-perforated (brick) being this earth, he thus places the cattle immediately on this earth. Upon (the brick he places it) : upon this earth he thereby places cattle.

11. And, again, why he lays down the Dûrvâ-brick. The hair of Pragâpati which were lying on the ground when he was disjointed became these herbs. The vital air then went out from within him, and, that having gone out, he fell down.

12. He said, 'Verily, this (vital air) has undone me!' and because he said, 'it has undone (dhûrv) me,' hence (the name) 'dhûrvâ'; 'dhûrvâ' doubtless being what is mystically called 'dûrvâ,' for the gods love the mystic. That (dûrvâ grass) is the ruling power (Kshatra), for it is this vital sap, the breath; and the other plants are the hair: in laying down that (dûrvâ plant) he lays down all (kinds of) plants.

13. When the gods restored him, they put that life-sap, the breath, inside him; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) now put it into him. He lays it down immediately on the naturally-perforated (brick); the naturally-perforated one being this earth, he thus places the plants immediately on this earth. Upon (the brick he lays it) : upon this earth he thus places the plants. It should be with root and top, for completeness' sake. Let him lay it on in such manner that while lying on the naturally-perforated (brick) it touches the ground (with its

<sup>1</sup> See VI, 2, 3, 2.

tops)<sup>1</sup>, for on this earth those (plants) spring up, and along her they grow.

14. He lays it on, with (Vâg. S. XIII, 20-21), 'Growing up joint by joint, knot by knot;' for joint by joint, and knot by knot that (grass) does grow up;—'so do thou prolong us, O Dûrvâ (plant), by a thousand, and a hundred (descendants)!' as the text, so its meaning.

15. 'Thou that spreadest by a hundred, and branchest out by a thousand (shoots);' for by a hundred (shoots) it spreads, and by a thousand it branches out;—'to thee, O divine brick, we will do homage by offering;' as the text, so the meaning. With two (verses) he puts it on: the meaning of this has been explained. Having 'settled' it, he pronounces the Sûdadohas upon it: the meaning of this has been explained.

16. He then puts down a Dviyagus<sup>2</sup> (brick). Indra and Agni desired, 'May we go to the heavenly world!' They saw that dviyagus brick, even this earth, and laid it down; and having laid it down, they went to the heavenly world from that foundation. In like manner when this Sacrificer lays down a dviyagus (brick), (he does so) thinking, 'I want to go to the heavenly world by the same means (rûpa), by performing the same rite by which Indra and Agni went to the heavenly world!' And as to its being called 'dviyagus,' it is because two deities saw it. And as to why he lays down a dviyagus one: the dviyagus doubtless is the Sacrificer.

<sup>1</sup> The root is to lie on the brick from which (as representing the earth) it is supposed to have sprung; the tops then spreading along the ground.

<sup>2</sup> This brick is placed close beside the *svayamâtrinnâ* (naturally-perforated one) in front (east) of it, on the 'anûka' or spine.



17. Here now they say, 'If (the dviyagus) is that same Sacrificer who is that gold man, which then is that (real) form of his?' Well, that (gold man) is his divine body, and this (brick) is his human one. As to that gold man, that is his immortal form, his divine form; gold being immortal. And as to this (brick) being made of clay, it is because this is his human form.

18. Now were he only to lay down that (golden man), and not to let this dviyagus (brick) remain<sup>1</sup>, the Sacrificer surely would quickly pass away from this world; but now that he allows this (brick) to remain, he thereby leaves to him this human form of his; and so he attains with this body the full (measure of) life.

19. And were he not to put it on after (the gold man), he assuredly would not afterwards find out that divine body<sup>2</sup>; but now that he puts it on thereafter, he does so afterwards find out that divine body. He lays it down close to the dūrvā-brick: the dūrvā-brick being cattle, he thus establishes the Sacrificer in (the possession of) cattle.

20. Here now they say, 'How do those two bodies of his come to be connected together by the breath, and not severed?' Well, the naturally-perforated (brick) is the breath, and the dūrvā-brick is the breath, and the dviyagus (-brick) is the Sacri-

<sup>1</sup> The verb 'apa-jish' is taken similarly by Sâyaṇa (avareshayet); whilst the St. Petersburg dictionary assigns to it the meaning 'to omit, leave out' (weglassen), which can hardly be correct (? misprint for übriglassen). It might, however, possibly be taken in the sense of 'vi-jish,' to specify, to single out.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say,—he would not, after quitting his mortal body, know or find out that divine body with which he wishes to invest himself.

ficer : and inasmuch as he lays down the dûrvâ-brick close to the naturally-perforated one, he thereby connects and joins breath with breath ; and inasmuch as he lays down the dviyagus one close to the dûrvâ-brick—the dûrvâ-brick being the breath, and the dviyagus the Sacrificer—those two bodies of his (the human one and the divine one) thus become connected together by the breath, and not severed.

21. [He lays down the dviyagus brick, with Vâg. S. XIII, 22, 23] ‘O Agni, what lights of thine in the sun overspread the sky by their beams, with all those help us to light and to people! —O ye gods, what lights of yours are in the sun, and what lights are in kine and horses, O Indra and Agni, with all those bestow light upon us, O Bṛihaspati!’ for ‘light’ he prays each time : light being immortality, it is immortality he thus bestows on him (Agni, and the Sacrificer). With two (verses) he lays it down : the significance of this has been explained. And, moreover, it is because that material form (of the brick) is a two-fold one, (consisting as it does of) clay and water. Having ‘settled’ it, he pronounces the Sûdadahas upon it : the significance of this has been explained.

22. He then lays down two Retaḥsik (seed-shedding bricks) ;—the seed-shedders doubtless are these two worlds, for these two worlds do shed seed ;—this (terrestrial world) sheds seed upwards from here (in the form of) smoke ; it becomes rain in yonder world, and that rain yonder world (sheds) from above : hence (creatures) are born within these two worlds, and therefore these two worlds are seed-shedders.

23. [He lays them down, with Vâg. S. XIII, 24]

'The wide-ruling one contained the light;' the wide-ruling one<sup>1</sup> doubtless is this (terrestrial) world: it contains this fire, the light.—'The self-ruling one contained the light,' the self-ruling<sup>1</sup> one doubtless is yonder world: it contains yonder sun, the light. And the wide-ruling one and the self-ruling one being these two worlds, he lays them down separately, for separate are these two worlds. He 'settles' them once: he thereby makes them one and the same (or, joined together), whence the ends of these two worlds meet.

24. And, again, why he lays down two seed-shedders; the seed-shedders are the testicles, for only he who has testicles sheds seed. 'The wide-ruling one contained the light;—the self-ruling one contained the light,' he says; for the wide-ruling and the self-ruling ones are the testicles: they contain that light, the seed, Pragâpati. He lays them down separately, for separate are these testicles. He 'settles' them once: he thereby makes them one and the same, whence they have a common connecting-part. He lays them down close to the dviyagus (brick)<sup>2</sup>: the dviyagus being the Sacrificer, he thus puts the testicles together with the Sacrificer.

25. He then lays down a Visvagyotis (all-light brick)<sup>3</sup>;—the first 'all-light' (brick)<sup>4</sup> is Agni, for Agni

<sup>1</sup> Or, the wide-shining . . . the self-shining one.

<sup>2</sup> The two *Retaḥsiḥ* bricks are laid down immediately in front (east) of the Dviyagus one, one on each side of the 'spine,' which thus coincides with their line of separation.

<sup>3</sup> See VI, 5, 3, 3.

<sup>4</sup> As in the case of the *Svayamâtrinnâs* (naturally-perforated bricks, see pp. 155, note 8; 187, note 2), so there are three Visvagyotis or 'all-light' bricks, placed in the first, third, and fifth layers

is all the light in this (terrestrial) world : it is Agni he thus lays down. He lays it down close to the seed-shedding ones,—the seed-shedding ones being these two worlds, he thus places Agni together with these two worlds. He lays it down between (the two *Retaṣiḥ*<sup>1</sup>), for Agni (the fire) is within these two worlds.

26. And, again, why he lays down an 'all-light' (brick);—the 'all-light' (brick) is progeny, for progeny is all the light : he thus lays generative power (into Agni). He lays it down so as not to be separated from the seed-shedding (bricks),—the seed-shedders being the testicles, he thus makes the generative power inseparable from the testicles. He lays it down between (those two), for within the testicles progeny is produced.

27. [He lays it down, with *Vâg. S. XIII, 24*] 'May *Pragâpati* settle thee'—for *Pragâpati* saw this first layer<sup>2</sup>;—'on the back of the earth, thee the brilliant one!' for on the back of the earth this brilliant Agni indeed is.

28. 'For all breathing, out-breathing, through-breathing,'—the all-light (brick) is breath, and breath is (necessary) for this entire universe;—'give all the light!' that is, 'give the whole light';—'Agni is thine over-lord,' he thus makes Agni the over-lord of this earth. Having 'settled' it<sup>3</sup>, he

---

of the altar, and representing the light (or ruling deity) of the respective world represented by the *svayamâtṛinnâ* of the same layer.

<sup>1</sup> In reality the *Visvagyotis* brick is not placed between the two *Retaṣiḥ*, but in front of the line separating them from each other.

<sup>2</sup> He 'saw' the first naturally-perforated brick, which, as the central brick of the first layer, represents the latter, as well as the lowest of the three worlds, the earth. See VI, 2, 3, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Viz. by adding, 'by that deity, *Âṅgiras*-like, lie thou steady!'

pronounces the Sûdadohas upon it: the significance of this has been explained.

29. He then lays down two *Ritavya* (seasonal bricks);—the two seasonal (bricks) being the same as the seasons, it is the seasons he thus lays down. [Vâg. S. XIII, 25] ‘Madhu and Mâdhava, the two spring seasons,’—these are the names of those two: it is thus by their names that he lays them down. There are two (such) bricks, for two months are a season. He ‘settles’ them once<sup>1</sup>: he thereby makes (the two months) one season.

30. And as to why he now lays down these two;—this Agni (fire-altar) is the year, and the year is these worlds; the first layer is this (terrestrial) world thereof, and the spring season also is this world thereof; and when he now lays down those two (bricks), he thereby puts back into him (Agni-Pragâpati) what those two (the first layer and the spring) are to that body of his<sup>2</sup>: this is why he now lays down those two (bricks).

31. And, again, why he now lays down these two;—this Agni is Pragâpati, and Pragâpati is the year; the first layer is his foundation, and the spring season also is his foundation;—thus when he now lays down these two (bricks), he thereby puts back into him what those two are to that body of his: this is why he now lays down those two (bricks). He lays them down close to the ‘all-light’ brick: the ‘all-light’ brick being progeny, he thus lays progeny close together with the seasons; whence progeny is produced in accordance with the seasons, for by seasons people compute (the age of man)

<sup>1</sup> That is, he pronounces the sâdana-formula once only.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. its foundation.

whilst in the state of embryo, and by seasons when he is born.

32. He then lays down the *Ashâdhâ* (invincible brick)<sup>1</sup>,—the 'invincible one' being this earth, it is this earth he thus lays down. He puts it on the fore-part (of the altar-site), for this earth was created first.

33. And as to its being called *Ashâdhâ*. The gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Pragâpati, strove together. The gods saw this invincible brick, even this earth; they put it on (the altar); and having put it on, they conquered (and drove) the Asuras, the enemies, the rivals, from this universe; and inasmuch as (thereby) they conquered (*asahanta*), it is called *Ashâdhâ*. In like manner the Sacrificer, after putting on that (brick), conquers (and drives) his spiteful rival from this universe (or, from everything here).

34. And, again, why he lays down the *Ashâdhâ*. The *Ashâdhâ* is speech, and by speech<sup>2</sup> the gods then indeed conquered (and drove) the Asuras, the enemies, the rivals, from this universe; and in like manner the Sacrificer, by means of speech, conquers (and drives) his spiteful rival from this universe: it was speech the gods then laid down (or bestowed on Agni), and in like manner the Sacrificer now lays down speech.

35. This earth is the bearer of what is desirable; for—the desirable being the vital airs—this earth bears everything that breathes, and for that reason this earth is the bearer of what is desirable. But

<sup>1</sup> See VI, 5, 3, 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. by threats, vituperation, &c., Sây.

speech (the mouth) also indeed is the bearer of what is desirable ; for the desirable is the vital airs, and for the (channels of) the vital airs food is put into the mouth : therefore speech is the bearer of what is desirable.

36. Now the *Ashâdhâ* is the same as those vital airs ; he lays it down in the fore-part (of the altar) : he thus bestows (on Agni the organs of) the vital airs in front ; whence there are here (organs of) the vital airs in front (of the body). Let him not in this layer enclose this (*Ashâdhâ*) in front by any other brick which has a special prayer of its own, lest he close up (the organs of) the vital airs.

37. And as to why he lays down in front five *Apasyâs*<sup>1</sup>,—water (ap) is food, and by food (the organs of) the vital airs are not closed up. He lays down (the *Ashâdhâ*) close to the two seasonal ones : he thereby establishes speech in the seasons, and hence speech (the mouth) speaks here, firmly established in the seasons.

38. Here now they say, 'If the *Visvagyotis* (brick) is progeny, and the *Ashâdhâ* speech, why does he put the two seasonal ones between them?' Well, the seasonal ones being the year, he thus separates speech from progeny by the year, and hence children utter speech at the time (or age) of a year.

39. [He lays down the *Ashâdhâ*, with *Vâg. S. XIII, 26*] 'Thou art *Ashâdhâ*, the conquering,' for the gods thereby conquered the *Asuras*,—'conquer the enemies! conquer the hostile!' as the text, so the meaning ;—'thou hast a thousand energies: do thou speed me!' a thousand means

<sup>1</sup> See VII, 5, 2, 40 seq.

all: thus, 'thou hast all energies, do thou speed me!' When he has 'settled' it, he pronounces the Sûdadohas on it: the significance of this has been explained.

40. Here now they say, 'Why are those other bricks placed in front of the naturally-perforated one?' Let him say, There are two wombs (birth-places)—the one being the womb of the gods, the other the womb of men: the gods have their birth-place in the east, and men in the west; and when he lays down those (bricks) in front, he thereby causes the Sacrificer to be born from the womb of the gods.

#### FIFTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. He then puts down a (living) tortoise;—the tortoise means life-sap: it is life-sap (blood) he thus bestows on (Agni). This tortoise is that life-sap of these worlds which flowed away from them when plunged into the waters<sup>1</sup>: that (life-sap) he now bestows on (Agni). As far as the life-sap extends, so far the body extends: that (tortoise) thus is these worlds.

2. That lower shell of it is this (terrestrial) world; it is, as it were, fixed; for fixed, as it were, is this (earth-)world. And that upper shell of it is yonder sky; it has its ends, as it were, bent down; for yonder sky has its ends, as it were, bent down. And what is between (the shells) is the air;—that (tortoise) thus is these worlds: it is these worlds he thus lays down (to form part of the altar).

3. He anoints it with sour curds, honey, and ghee,—sour curds doubtless are a form of this (earth-)

<sup>1</sup> See VI, 1, 1, 12.



world, ghee of the air, and honey of yonder sky: he thus supplies it (the tortoise) with its own form. Or, sour curds are the life-sap of this (earth-)world, ghee that of the air, and honey that of yonder sky: he thus supplies it with its own life-sap.

4. [He anoints it, with Vâg. S. XIII, 27-29; *Rîk* S. I, 90, 6-8] 'Honey the winds pour forth for the righteous, honey the rivers; full of honey may the plants be for us!—Honey by night and morn, rich in honey may the region of the earth be for us, honey the father Heaven!—rich in honey may the tree be for us, rich in honey the sun, full of honey the kine!' To whatever deity a *Rîk*-verse, and to whatever (deity) a Yagus formula applies, that very deity the verse is, and that very deity the sacrificial formula is<sup>1</sup>. This triplet then is honey (madhu); and honey being life-sap, it is life-sap he thus puts into him (Agni). With three Gâyatrî verses (he performs): the significance of this has been explained.

5. And as to its being called 'kûrma' (tortoise);—Pragâpati, having assumed that form, created living beings. Now what he created, he made; and inasmuch as he made (kar), he is (called) 'kûrma'; and 'kûrma' being (the same as) 'kasyapa' (a tortoise), therefore all creatures are said to be descended from Kasyapa.

6. Now this tortoise is the same as yonder sun: it is yonder sun he thus lays down (on the altar). He lays it down in front with the head towards the back (west): he thus places yonder sun in the east

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, each Vedic text is identical with the deity to which it is addressed. Cf. VI, 5, 1, 2.

looking thitherwards (or moving westward); and hence yonder sun is placed in the east looking thitherwards. On the right (south) of the *Ashâd/hâ* (he places it), for the tortoise (*kûrma*, masc.) is a male, and the *Ashâd/hâ* a female, and the male lies on the right side of the female;—at a cubit's distance<sup>1</sup>, for at a cubit's distance the male lies by the female. That *Ashâd/hâ* is the consecrated queen (*mahisî*) of all the bricks, hence being on the right (south) side of her, it (the tortoise) is on the right side of all the bricks.

7. And, again, why he puts down a tortoise;—the tortoise (*kûrma*) is the breath, for the breath makes (*kar*) all these creatures: it is breath he thus puts into him (*Agni*). He puts it down in front looking towards the back: he thus puts in the breath in front tending towards the back; whence the breath is taken in from the front backwards. [He puts it down so as to be] turned towards the (gold) man: he thus puts breath into the Sacrificer. South of the *Ashâd/hâ* (he puts it), for the tortoise is breath, and the *Ashâd/hâ* speech; and the breath (*prâna*, masc.) is the male, the mate, of speech (*vâç*, fem.).

8. [He sets it down, with *Vâç*. S. XIII, 30-32] 'Seat thee in the depth of the waters!' for that indeed is the deepest (place) of the (heavenly) waters where yonder (sun) burns;—'lest the sun, lest *Agni Vaisvânara* should scorch thee!' that is, lest the Sun, lest *Agni Vaisvânara* injure thee;—'Overlook the creatures with unbroken wings,' that is, overlook all these uninjured, unharmed creatures, that is, these bricks;—'may

<sup>1</sup> While the bricks generally measure a *pâda* or foot square, the cubit measures about two feet.

heaven's rain favour thee!' this he says in order that the rain of heaven may favour him.

9. He then makes it move<sup>1</sup>, with, 'Over the heaven-reaching three oceans he crept,' the three heaven-reaching oceans doubtless are these worlds, and over them he crept in the shape of a tortoise;—'the lord of waters, the bull of the bricks,' for he (the tortoise) indeed is the lord of waters, and the bull of the bricks;—'induing the covering of him, the well-made, in the world,' the covering (purîsha) means the cattle: thus, entering the (form of the) cattle of the well-made (Agni) in the world;—'go thither whither the former have passed away!' that is, go thither whither by this performance former (tortoises) went.

10. 'The mighty sky and the earth,' that is, the great sky and the earth;—'shall mix (prepare) this our sacrifice!' that is, shall favour this sacrifice;—'they shall fill us with nourishments!' that is, they shall nourish us with nourishments! With the last (verse) relating to heaven and earth he puts it down, for the tortoise represents heaven and earth.

11. With three (formulas) he puts it on (the altar);—three are these worlds, and threefold is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus puts it on. With three (formulas) he anoints it; that makes six: the significance of this (number) has been explained. There are avakâ-plants<sup>2</sup> below and avakâ-plants above (the

<sup>1</sup> He sets the tortoise down with three verses; and in muttering the second verse he makes it move while he still holds it in his hand.

<sup>2</sup> Blyxa octandra, a grassy plant growing in marshy land ('lotus-flower,' Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, p. 250).

tortoise),—the avakâ-plant means water: he thus places it in the midst of water. Having ‘settled’ it, he pronounces the Sûdadohas upon it: the significance of this has been explained.

12. He then puts down a mortar and pestle. Vishṇu desired, ‘May I be an eater of food!’ He saw these two bricks, the mortar and pestle. He placed them on (the altar); and by placing them thereon, he became an eater of food. In like manner, when the Sacrificer now places a mortar and pestle thereon, (he does so) thinking, ‘I want to be an eater of food by the same means (rûpa), by performing the same rite by which Vishṇu became an eater of food.’ Now the mortar and pestle mean all (kinds of) food; for by the mortar and pestle food is prepared, and by means of them it is eaten.

13. He puts them down at the distance of the two *retahsik*<sup>1</sup>,—the *retahsik* being the ribs, and the ribs being the middle: he thus puts food into the middle of him (Agni);—on the north (upper) side (of the central brick): he thus puts the food upon him;—at the distance of a cubit, for from a cubit’s distance food is (taken by the hand and) eaten.

14. They measure a span, for Vishṇu, when an embryo, was a span long; and these (mortar and pestle) being food, he thus puts food into him (Agni-Vishṇu) proportionate to his body. And indeed the food which is proportionate to the body satisfies,

---

<sup>1</sup> The mortar and pestle are to be placed as far north of the central (naturally-perforated) brick, as the two *retahsik* lie in front (towards the east) of it. This distance is ascertained by means of a cord stretched across the bricks hitherto laid down (from the Svayamâttrinâ to the Ashâdhâ), and knots made in the cord over the centre of the respective bricks.

and does no harm ; but that which is excessive does harm ; and that which is too little does not satisfy.

15. They are made of Udumbara wood ;—the Udumbara (*ficus glomerata*) being strength, life-sap, he thus puts strength, life-sap into him. And, again, the Udumbara being all the trees, by putting on those two, he puts all trees on (the altar). At the distance of the two *retaksik* (bricks, he places the mortar and pestle),—the ‘seed-shedders’ being these two (worlds<sup>1</sup>), he thus puts the trees in these two (worlds), and hence there are trees in these two (worlds). It (the mortar) is four-cornered,—there being four quarters, he thus places trees in all the quarters ; whence there are trees in all the quarters. It is contracted in the middle, to give it the form of a (real) mortar.

16. And, again, why he places a mortar and pestle thereon. From *Pragâpati*, when relaxed, the breath wanted to go out from within. He kept it back by means of food : hence the breath is kept back by food, for he who eats food, breathes.

17. The breath being kept back, the food wanted to go out of him. He kept it back by means of the breath : hence food is kept back by the breath, for he who breathes, eats food.

18. Those two being kept back, strength wanted to go out of him. He kept it back by those two : hence strength is kept back by those two ; for he who eats food, breathes ; and to him it gives strength.

19. Strength being kept back, those two wanted

---

<sup>1</sup> I do not see what else could here be referred to than the heaven and the earth (cf. VII, 4, 2, 22), though in that case one might rather expect ‘*imau (lokau)*’ instead of ‘*ime.*’ Possibly, however, the earth and atmosphere may be intended.

to go out of him. He kept them back by means of strength : hence those two are kept back by strength ; for he to whom one gives strength, breathes and eats food.

20. Those (energies) thus were kept back by one another. Having kept them back by one another, he (Pragâpati) caused them to enter his own self ; and that food having entered, all the gods entered along with it ; for everything here lives on food.

21. It is thereto that this verse applies,—‘ Then, indeed, he became that breath,’—for that breath he then indeed became ;—‘ having become the great Pragâpati,’—for great he indeed then became, when those gods entered him ;—‘ having obtained the benefits, the beneficial,’—the benefits doubtless are the vital airs (breaths), and the beneficial are the food : thus, having obtained all that ; —‘ when he breathed the breaths in the stronghold ; ’—the stronghold doubtless is the self (body), and inasmuch as he breathed the breaths, the gods are the breaths ; and inasmuch as Pragâpati breathed, the breath also is Pragâpati ; and verily he who is that breath, he is that Gâyatri ;—and as to that food, that is Vishṇu, the deity ; and as to that strength, that is the Udumbara (tree).

22. He said, ‘ Verily this one has lifted me from out of all evil ; ’ and because he said ‘ he has lifted me out (udabhârshît), ’ hence (the name) ‘ udumbhara ; ’—‘ udumbhara ’ doubtless being what is mystically called Udumbara, for the gods love the mystic. ‘ Wide space (uru) shall it make (karat) for me ! ’ he said, hence ‘ urukara ; ’ ‘ urukara ’ doubtless being what is mystically called ‘ ulûkhala ’ (the mortar) ; for the gods love the mystic. Now that mortar is

the birth-place of all breaths ; and the birth-place of the breaths being the head—

23. It (the mortar) is of the measure of a span, for the head is, as it were, of the measure of a span ;—four-cornered, for the head is, as it were, four-cornered ;—contracted in the middle, for the head is, as it were, contracted in the middle.

24. Now when the gods restored him (Pragâpati-Agni), they put all that inside him—breath, food, strength ; and in like manner this (Sacrificer) now puts that into him. At the distance of the two *retahsik* (he places it),—the *retahsik* being the ribs, and the ribs the middle, it is thus in the middle of (or, inside) him that he puts all that.

25. [He sets them down<sup>1</sup>, with Vâg. S. XIII, 33 ; *Rik* S. I, 22, 19] ‘See ye the deeds of Vishnu’—deed doubtless means power : thus, see ye the powers of Vishnu ;—‘whereby he beheld the sacred ordinances,’—ordinance means food : thus, whereby he did behold the food ;—‘Indra’s allied friend,’ for he is indeed Indra’s allied friend. With a (verse) relating to two deities he sets them down, for the mortar and pestle are two. Once he ‘settles’ them : he thereby makes them one and the same ; for one and the same is that food. Having ‘settled’ it, he pronounces the *Sûdadohas* on it : the significance of this has been explained.

26. He then places the fire-pan thereon,—the fire-pan is a womb : a womb (birth-place) he thus gives to him (Agni). He places it on the mortar,—the mortar is the air, and everything that is above this

<sup>1</sup> The mortar, according to the commentaries to Kâty., is partly dug into the ground, with the open part upwards ; the pestle being then placed to the right (south) of it.

earth is air; and the air is the middle: he thus places the womb in the middle; whence the womb of all beings, even of trees<sup>1</sup>, is in the middle.

27. And, again, why he places the fire-pan thereon;—that same Pragâpati who became disjointed doubtless is this same fire-pan, for the fire-pan is these worlds, and Pragâpati is these worlds. He places it on the mortar: he thereby establishes him (Pragâpati) in all that—breath, food, strength; and thus he places him so as not to be separated from all that.

28. Thereupon, having pounded the remainder (of the clay), and having put the fire-pan in its place, he throws (the pounded clay) in front of the fire-pan; for this is the place of that (remainder<sup>2</sup>), and thus that (remainder) is not separated therefrom<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Viz., according to Sâyana, because they spring from the germ in the centre of the fruit.

<sup>2</sup> ? Or, of it (the fire-pan). There is some uncertainty regarding this item of the ceremonial. Kâtyâyana's rule (XVII, 5, 4)—'Having placed the Ukhâ (pan) on the mortar, pounded the remainder of clay, and thrown it down in front, with the text "Dhruvâ asi," (of) the Ukhâ'—is evidently intentionally vague. Mahîdhara (on Vâg. S. XIII, 34) gives the following interpretation of it,—'Having first silently placed the Ukhâ on the mortar, then pounded the remaining clay, and thrown it down on the ground in front of the Ukhâ, let him place the Ukhâ thereon with two formulas.' According to this, the Ukhâ would only temporarily be placed on the mortar, its proper and permanent place (loka) being on the powdered clay in front (to the east) of the mortar. The text of the Brâhmaṇa, as it stands, however, cannot possibly be construed so as to accord with Mahîdhara's interpretation. This would require some such reading as,—athoparâyâm pish/vâ, purastâd ukhâyâ upanivapya lokabhâgam ukhâm karoti. See, however, paragraph 38 below, which evidently applies to the permanent position of the pan.

<sup>3</sup> For the genitive 'asya' (viz. lokasya) with 'antarita'—instead



29. Here now they say, 'How does that (remainder) of his come to be put on as cooked, as baked?'—In that it is prepared with a sacrificial formula; and, moreover, whatever comes in contact with Agni Vaisvânara even thereby comes to be put on as something cooked, as baked.

30. [He sets the fire-pan down, with Vâg. S. XIII, 34-35] 'Steady thou art, supporting,' the meaning of this has been explained<sup>1</sup>;—'from here he was at first born, from these wombs, the knower of beings;' for from these wombs the knower of beings (Agni) was indeed born at first;—'by the Gâyatri, the Trishvubh, and the Anushvubh, may he, the knowing, bear the offering to the gods!'—by means of these metres he, the knowing, indeed bears the offering to the gods.

31. 'For sap, for wealth, do thou rest, for might in glory, for strength, for offspring!' that is, for all that do thou rest!—'all-ruling thou art, self-ruling thou art!' for both all-ruling and self-ruling he (Agni) indeed is;—'may the two Sârasvata wells cheer thee!' Sarasvat (m.) is the Mind, and Sarasvati (f.) Speech,—these two are the Sârasvata wells: thus, may these two cheer thee! With two (formulas) he sets it down: the significance of this has been explained; and, moreover, twofold is that form, (consisting as it does of) clay and water. Having 'settled' it, he pronounces the Sûdadohas on it: the significance of this has been explained.

32. He then offers upon it;—now seed was poured into it before, (in the shape of) sand<sup>2</sup>; that he now

---

of the more usual ablative—see VI, 2, 2, 38, 'prâṇasya tad antariyât.'

<sup>1</sup> VII, 4, 2, 5.

<sup>2</sup> See VII, 1, 1, 41.

fashions<sup>1</sup>, whence the seed injected into the womb is fashioned. He offers with the dipping-spoon, with 'Hail!' with two Gâyatri verses relating to Agni: the significance of this has been explained.

33. [Vag. S. XIII, 36-37; *Rîk* S. VI, 16, 43; VIII, 75, 1] 'O Agni, harness those good steeds of thine: they draw equal to thy mettle!—Like a chariot-fighter, harness thou the steeds, the best callers of the gods, O Agni! take thy seat as the old *Hotri!*' with two (verses) containing the (verb) 'yug' (to harness, fasten),—he thus settles that seed injected into the womb, whence the seed settled in the womb does not escape.

34. If (the fire in the pan) has been carried about for a year<sup>2</sup>, in that case he should now offer; for (the fire) which has been carried about for a year is everything, and that also whereon he offers is everything. But if it has not been carried about for a year, let him only stand by (worshipping) it; for (the fire) which has not been carried about for a year is not everything; and that by which he stands (worshipping) is not everything. Let him nevertheless offer thereon.

35. Now that Agni is an animal, and even now he is (being) made up whole and complete: the naturally-perforated (brick) is his lower vital air, the

<sup>1</sup> The verb 'abhi-kri' is here taken in the sense of 'vi-kri' (he gives form to it); and in that sense I would now take it at II, 3, 1, 4, 'he fashions (gives human shape to) that embryo,' instead of 'he benefits that embryo.' The St. Petersburg dictionary proposes the meaning, 'to do something with reference to (or, for the benefit of).' The proper German meaning would rather seem to be 'bearbeiten.' The preposition 'abhi' is probably used here with reference to the 'abhi-guhoti.'

<sup>2</sup> See p. 269, note 3.

dviyagus the hip, the two *retasik* the ribs, the *visvagyotis* the breast-bone, the two seasonal ones the back, the *ashâdhâ* the neck, the tortoise the head, and the vital airs in the tortoise are those vital airs in the head.

36. Now that (Agni) he builds upwards from here (as flying) towards the east, and that Agni being yonder sun, he thereby places yonder sun upwards from here in the east; whence yonder sun is placed upwards from here in the east.

37. He then turns him towards the right<sup>1</sup>,—he thereby turns yonder sun towards the right, whence yonder sun moves round these worlds (from left) to right.

38. The fire-pan is the belly, the mortar the womb;—the fire-pan is above, and the mortar below; for the belly is above, and the womb below. The pestle is the *sisna*; it is round-like, for the *sisna* is round-like. He places it to the right (south of the mortar), for the male lies on the right side of the female. And what food there is for the consecrated animal, that is the *dûrvâ*-brick. The left (north) side of that (Agni or altar) is more raised,—that Agni is an animal, and hence the left side of the belly of a well-filled beast is more raised (than the right side).

#### SECOND BRĀHMAṆA.

1. He puts the heads of the victims in (the fire-pan),—the heads of the victims being animals (or cattle), it is animals he thus puts thereon. He puts them in the fire-pan;—the pan being these worlds, and the heads of the victims being beasts, he thus

<sup>1</sup> ? Viz. by filling up the vacant spaces of the altar from left to right.

puts animals in these worlds ; whence there are animals in these worlds.

2. And as to why (he puts the heads) in the fire-pan ;—the fire-pan being a womb, and the heads of the victims being animals, he thus establishes the animals in the womb : hence animals, though being eaten and cooked, do not diminish, for he establishes them in the womb.

3. And, again, why he puts the heads of the victims therein ;—what (animal) perfections (sṛt)<sup>1</sup> there were, they are these victims' heads ; and what rumps there were, they are those five layers (of the altar). Now those five layers are these worlds, and these worlds are this very fire-pan : thus, when he puts the heads of the victims in the fire-pan, he thereby unites those rumps with those heads.

4. He puts them in the fore-part, so as to look towards the back (west). For when, on that (former) occasion, Pragâpati wanted to slaughter these animals, they, being about to be slaughtered, wanted to run away. He seized them by (the organs of) the vital airs<sup>2</sup> ; and having seized them by the vital airs, he took them into himself from the front (mouth) towards the back (inside).

5. Now the same thing which the gods did is done here. The animals do not, indeed, want to run away from him ; but when he does this, it is because he wants to do what the gods did : having thus seized them by (the outlets of) the vital airs, he takes them into himself from the front towards the back.

<sup>1</sup> See VI, 1, 1, 4 ; 2, 1, 7.

<sup>2</sup> That is, by the head, according to Sâyana.

6. And, again, why he puts the heads of the victims thereon. Pragâpati alone was here at first<sup>1</sup>. He desired, 'May I create food, may I be reproduced!' He fashioned animals from his vital airs, a man from his soul (mind), a horse from his eye, a cow from his breath, a sheep from his ear, and a goat from his voice; and inasmuch as he created them from the vital airs, people say that 'Animals are vital airs.' The soul is the first of the vital airs; and inasmuch as he fashioned man from his soul, they say that 'Man is the first, and strongest of animals.' The soul is all the vital airs, for in the soul all the vital airs are established. And inasmuch as he fashioned man from his soul, they say that 'Man is all animals,' for they all belong to man.

7. Having created that food, he took it into himself from the front towards the back; and hence whosoever prepares for himself food, takes it into himself from the front towards the back (inside). That (animal food being put) in the fire-pan, and the fire-pan being the belly, he thus puts the food into the belly.

8. He now (in the first place<sup>2</sup>) thrusts gold chips into each of them,—gold is vital air, and the vital airs go out of these animals when slaughtered: thus, when he thrusts gold chips into each of them, he puts the vital airs into them.

9. Seven (chips) he thrusts into each,—seven vital airs there are in the head: these he thereby puts into it. And if there are five victims, let him thrust in five times seven (chips); for those five victims he puts on (the fire-pan), and there are seven vital

<sup>1</sup> See J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V, p. 391.

<sup>2</sup> That is, before putting the heads in the fire-pan.

airs in each victim : he thus puts the vital airs into all of them.

10. Now, even if there is only one victim<sup>1</sup>, some people thrust five times seven (into that one head), thinking, 'Those five victims he puts down (symbolically), and there are seven vital airs in each victim : thus we put the vital airs into all of them.' Let him not do so, for in this animal the form of all animals is contained<sup>2</sup>; and when he thrusts (seven chips) into this one, he thereby puts the vital airs into all of them.

11. The first (chip) he thrusts into the mouth, with (Vâg. S. XIII, 38; Rîk S. IV, 58, 6, 5), 'Fitly flow the draughts of milk like rivers,'—draughts of milk are food, and that indeed flows fitly into this mouth;—'purified within by the heart, by the mind,'—for the food is indeed purified by the heart and mind within him who is righteous;—'the streams of ghee I behold,' he thereby means the libations he is about to offer on that fire;—'the golden reed (is) in the middle of Agni,' he thereby means that gold man.

12. With (Vâg. S. XIII, 39), 'For praise thee!' (he thrusts one in) here (into the right nostril); praise (or splendour) means breath, for with breath one praises;—with, 'For sheen thee!' here (into the left nostril); sheen means breath, for by breath one shines; and also because everything here shines for breath;—with, 'For brightness thee!' here (into the right eye);—with, 'For lustre thee!' here

<sup>1</sup> Viz. a he-goat, as the animal sacrifice to either Pragâpati, or (Vâyu) Niyutvat; see pp. 178, 184.

<sup>2</sup> See VI, 2, 2, 15.

(into the left eye), for bright and lustrous these two eyes indeed are ;—with, ‘This hath become the fiery spirit of all the world, and of Agni Vaisvânara,’ here (into the right ear) ;—with (Vâg. S. XIII, 40), ‘Agni, bright with brightness, the golden disk, lustrous with lustre,’ here (into the left ear),—thus with two (formulas) containing ‘all<sup>1</sup>,’ for the ear is all.

13. He then lifts up the human head—he thereby exalts it—with, ‘Giver of a thousand thou art : for a thousand thee!’ a thousand means everything : thus, ‘the giver of everything, for everything (I bestow) thee!’

14. He then puts them (the heads) in (the fire-pan), first (that of) the man—having taken possession of the man by strength he sets him up ;—the man in the middle ; on both sides the other victims : he thus sets the man, as the eater, in the midst of cattle ; whence man is the eater in the midst of cattle.

15. The horse and ram on the left (north) side : he thereby puts those two (kinds of) cattle in that region ; whence those two (kinds of) cattle are most plentiful in that region.

16. The bull and he-goat on the right (south) side : he thereby puts those two (kinds of) cattle in that region ; whence those two (kinds of) cattle are most plentiful in that region.

17. The (head of the) man he places on the milk<sup>2</sup>,—milk means cattle : he thus establishes the Sacrificer among cattle,—with (Vâg. S. XIII, 41), ‘With

<sup>1</sup> Only the first of the two formulas, however, contains the word ‘*virva*,’ all.

<sup>2</sup> The pan was partly filled with sand and milk, see VII, 1, 1, 41. 44.

milk anoint thou Āditya, the unborn child! that unborn child, the man, is indeed the sun: thus, Him anoint thou with milk!—‘the all-shaped maker of a thousand,’ the maker<sup>1</sup> of a thousand is man, for to him belong a thousand;—‘spare him with thy heat, harbour not evil thoughts against him!’ that is, spare him with thy fire, do not hurt him!—‘make him live a hundred years, while thou art built!’ he thereby makes man the one among animals (capable of) living a hundred years; whence man, among animals, lives up to a hundred years.

18. Then on the left side (he puts the head of) the horse, with (Vâg. S. XIII, 42), ‘The speed of the wind,’—this one, the horse, is indeed the speed of the wind;—‘Varuna’s navel’—for the horse is Varuna;—‘the horse, born in the midst of the flood;’ the flood is the water, and the horse is indeed the water-born;—‘the tawny, rock-founded child of rivers;’ rock means mountain, and the waters are indeed founded on the mountains;—‘harm him not, Agni, in the highest region!’ the highest region means these worlds: thus, do not harm him in these worlds!

19. Then on the right side (the head of) the bull, with (Vâg. S. XIII, 43), ‘The imperishable, red drop,’ the drop doubtless is Soma; and that bull is the same as the imperishable Soma;—‘the eager one (bhuranyu),’ that is, the bearer (bhartṛi);—‘Agni, the forward-striving, I glorify with homages;’ for

<sup>1</sup> ‘Pratimâ’ is perhaps taken here by the dogmatic expositor in the sense of ‘likeness, counterpart;’ in which case one would have to translate, ‘the counterpart of a thousand, the all-shaped one.’



the bull is sacred to Agni ; and 'the forward-striving,' he says, because forward (towards the east) they hold up Agni<sup>1</sup>, and towards the front<sup>2</sup> they attend upon him ;—'duly fitting thyself by limbs,' when he is built up, then he does indeed duly fit himself limb by limb ;—'harm not the inexhaustible, wide-ruling cow<sup>3</sup>,' the cow is indeed wide-ruling (*virâg*), and the wide-ruling is food, and accordingly the cow is food.

20. Then on the left side (he puts the head of) the ram, with (*Vâg*. S. XIII, 44), 'The defender of *Tvashtri*, the navel of *Varuna*,' for the ewe is sacred both to *Varuna* and to *Tvashtri* ;—'the ewe born from the highest sphere ;' the highest sphere doubtless is the ear, and the ear is the regions, —(thus<sup>4</sup>) the highest sphere is the regions ;—'the mighty, thousandfold artifice of the *Asura*,' that is, the great, thousandfold artifice of the *Asura*<sup>5</sup> ;—'O Agni, harm it not in the highest

<sup>1</sup> See VI, 4, 3, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Or, 'they attend upon him (Agni, the fire-altar) who tends towards the front (east) ;' inasmuch as the altar is built in the shape of a bird flying eastwards.

<sup>3</sup> Or, harm not the cow, the wide-ruling (or wide-shining) *Aditi* !

<sup>4</sup> After the two premises (with 'vai') the inference seems here to be introduced without any particle. Similarly in paragraph 24 ; while in paragraph 19 the particle 'u' is used to perform that office. Cf. however VII, 4, 2, 1, where a third parallel clause (which logically might have been the inference) is introduced by 'u vai.'

<sup>5</sup> *Sâyana* refers to the legend in *Taitt. S.* II, 1, 2, 2, here alluded to :—*Svarbhânû*, the *Âsura*, struck the sun with darkness. The gods sought an expiation for that (darkness): the first darkness of his which they dispelled became a black ewe, the second a red one, the third a white one ; and what they cut off from the surface of the bone (?) that became a barren sheep, &c.

region!' the highest region are these worlds: thus, do not harm him (the ram) in these worlds!

21. Then on the right side (he puts the head of) the he-goat, with (Vāg. S. XIII, 45), 'The Agni who was born from Agni,' for that Agni was indeed born from Agni<sup>1</sup>;—'from the pain of the earth or also of the sky;' for what was born from the pain (or heat) of Pragâpati, that was born from the pain of the sky and the earth;—'whereby Visvakarman begat living beings,'—the he-goat (or, the unborn one) is Vāk (Speech)<sup>2</sup>, and from Vāk Visvakarman<sup>3</sup> begat living beings;—'him, O Agni, may thy wrath spare!' as the text, so the meaning.

22. These are the victims; separately he puts them down, separately he 'settles' them, and separately he pronounces the Sûdadohas on them; for separate from one another are those animals.

23. He then offers on the human head,—sacrifice is offering: he thus makes man the one among animals fit to sacrifice; whence man alone among animals performs sacrifice.

24. And, again, why he offers thereon:—he thereby lays vigour into the head. He offers with ghee,—ghee is a thunderbolt, and the thunderbolt means vigour: he thus lays vigour into it. With 'Hail' (he offers),—the 'Hail' (svâhâkâra, m.) is a male, and the male means vigour: he thus lays vigour into it. With a trishûbh verse (he offers);—the Trishûbh is a thunderbolt, and the thunderbolt

<sup>1</sup> Viz. inasmuch as the fire to be ultimately deposited on the fire-altar was taken from the original (hall-door) fire.

<sup>2</sup> See VI, 1, 1, 9.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Pragâpati, the lord of procreation; see VI, 1, 2, 6 seq.

means vigour ; the Trishṭubh is vigour : with vigour he thus lays vigour into it.

25. Having run through <sup>1</sup> the (first) half-verse, he pronounces the Svâhâ ;—the *rik* (verse) is a bone : having cleft asunder that skull-bone which is here inside the head, he there lays vigour into it.

26. Having then run through the (second) half-verse, he pronounces the Svâhâ,—having joined together that skull-bone which is here on the top of the head, he there lays vigour into it.

27. [Vâg. S. XIII, 46 ; *Rik* S. I, 115, 1] ‘The brilliant front of the gods hath risen,’ for that man is yonder sun, and he indeed rises as the brilliant front (face) of the gods ;—‘the eye of Mitra, Varuṇa, and Agni,’ for that (sun) is the eye of both gods and men ;—‘he hath filled heaven, and earth, and the air,’ for when he rises he indeed fills these worlds ;—‘Sûrya, the soul of the movable and immovable ;’ for that (sun) is indeed the soul of everything here that moves and stands.

28. He then stands by (the heads, revering them) with the Utsargas <sup>2</sup>. For at that time when Pragâpati wanted to slaughter the victims, they, being about to be slaughtered, were distressed (or pained) ; and by these Utsargas he drove out their distress <sup>3</sup>, their evil. In like manner does this one, by these Utsargas, now drive out their distress, their evil.

29. Now some remove the distress of whichever (head of a) victim they put down, thinking lest they might put distress, evil, thereon ; but it is they that

<sup>1</sup> That is, having rapidly muttered it.

<sup>2</sup> That is, (means of) deliverance or removal, a term applied to the next five mantras.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. their burning heat (*śuk*) ; cf. par. 32 seq.

put distress, evil, thereon; for the distress they remove from the preceding one, they put on (the altar) with the succeeding one.

30. And some revere (the heads) whilst moving round them, thinking, 'we remove distress upwards;' but these indeed follow the distress, the evil, upwards; for upwards he (the Sacrificer) goes by this performance<sup>1</sup>, and upwards they remove the distress.

31. Let him remove it outside the fire (-altar); that fire (-altar) being these worlds, he thus puts distress outside these worlds;—outside the Veda; the Veda being this earth, he thus puts distress outside this earth;—(he does so) standing with his face towards the north; for in that region those animals are, and he thus puts distress into them in the region in which they are.

32. He first removes that of the man—for him he puts down first—with (Vâg. S. XIII, 47), 'Harm not this two-footed animal!' the two-footed animal doubtless is the same as man: thus, 'do not harm that one!'—'(thou) the thousand-eyed, being built for pith;'—the thousand-eyed he (Agni) is on account of the chips of gold; 'for pith,' that is, 'for food.'—'Graciously accept thou, O Agni, the sham-man, the victim, as pith!' a sham-man is a kim-purusha (mock-man)<sup>2</sup>: thus, 'accept graciously the kim-purusha, O Agni!'—'Building up therewith thy forms, get thee settled!' the form is the self: thus, 'Building up

<sup>1</sup> The Sacrificer builds the fire-altar with a view to his securing for himself a place in heaven.

<sup>2</sup> It is doubtful what is meant here by this term, unless it be a monkey, or a counterfeit human head; cf. p. 197, note 4.

therewith, perfect thyself<sup>1</sup>!—‘Let thy burning heat reach the sham-man! let thy burning heat reach him whom we hate!’ he thereby lays burning heat into the sham-man, and into him whom he hates.

33. Then that of the horse, with (Vâg. S. XIII, 48), ‘Harm not this one-hoofed animal!’ the one-hoofed animal doubtless is the same as the horse: thus, do not harm that one!—‘the racer neighing among the racers;’ for neighing indeed he is, and a racer among racers;—‘The wild fallow (beast) do I assign unto thee,’ he thereby assigns to him the wild fallow (beast)<sup>2</sup>;—‘building up therewith thy forms, get thee settled!’ that is, ‘building up therewith, perfect thyself!’—‘Let thy burning heat reach the fallow beast! let thy burning heat reach him whom we hate!’ he thereby lays burning heat into the fallow beast, and into him whom he hates.

34. Then that of the bull, with (Vâg. S. XIII, 49), ‘This thousandfold, hundred-streamed well—,’ for a thousandfold, hundred-streamed well he, the bull (cow), indeed is;—‘extended in the middle of the flood,’ the flood doubtless are these worlds: thus, subsisted upon in these worlds;—‘the inexhaustible, milking ghee for man,’—for ghee this inexhaustible (cow) indeed milks for man;—

<sup>1</sup> This paraphrase does not make it clear how the author construes and interprets this part of the formula; especially in what sense he takes ‘nishîda.’

<sup>2</sup> Thus Mahîdhara (*gauravarnam mrigam*). In the St. Petersburg dictionary ‘gaura’ is taken here in the sense of ‘buffalo, *bos gavæus*.’ The parallelism in the next two formulas might indeed seem to point to that meaning.

‘harm not, O Agni, in the highest region!’ the highest region doubtless are these worlds : thus, do not harm it in these worlds!—‘The wild buffalo do I assign unto thee,’ he thereby assigns to him the wild buffalo (gavaya);—‘building up therewith thy forms, get thee settled!’ that is, ‘building up therewith, perfect thyself!’—‘Let thy burning heat reach the buffalo! let thy burning heat reach him whom we hate!’ he thereby lays burning heat into the buffalo, and into him whom he hates.

35. Then that of the sheep, with (Vâg. S. XIII, 50), ‘This woollen—,’ that is, ‘this woolly,’—‘navel of Varuṇa,’ for the sheep is sacred to Varuṇa;—‘the skin of animals, two-footed and four-footed,’ for that (sheep) indeed is the skin of both kinds of animals<sup>1</sup>, two-footed and four-footed;—‘the first birth-place of Tvashtri’s creatures,’ for Tvashtri indeed fashioned this as the first form;—‘harm not, O Agni, in the highest region!’ the highest region is these worlds : thus, ‘do not harm him in these worlds!’—‘The wild buffalo do I assign unto thee,’ he thereby assigns the wild buffalo (ushtra) to him;—‘building up therewith thy forms, get thee settled!’ that is, ‘building up therewith, perfect thyself!’—‘Let thy burning heat reach the buffalo! let thy burning heat reach him whom we hate!’ he thereby lays burning heat into the buffalo, and into him whom he hates.

36. Then that of the he-goat, with (Vâg. S. XIII, 51), ‘Verily, the he-goat was produced from Agni’s heat;’—that which was produced from

<sup>1</sup> Viz. inasmuch as its wool serves as a cover for man and beast.

Pragâpati's heat, was indeed produced from Agni's heat;—'he saw the progenitor at first,' the progenitor doubtless is Pragâpati: thus, 'he saw Pragâpati at first;—'thereby the gods at first (agre) went to the godhead;' the he-goat<sup>1</sup> doubtless is speech, and from speech the gods doubtless first went to the godhead, to the summit (agram);—'thereby they went to the height, the wise;' the height doubtless is the heavenly world: thus, 'thereby they went to the heavenly world, the wise;'—'The wild sarabha do I assign unto thee,'—he thereby assigns the wild sarabha<sup>2</sup> to him;—'building up therewith thy forms, get thee settled!' that is, 'building up therewith, perfect thyself!'—'Let thy burning heat reach the sarabha! let thy burning heat reach him whom we hate!' he thereby lays burning heat into the sarabha, and into him whom he hates.

37. As to this they say,—The pain (heat), the evil of these animals, which Pragâpati drove out, became these five animals; they, with their pith (sacrificial essence) gone out of them, are pithless, unfit for sacrifice; a Brâhmaṇa should not eat of them: he consigns them to that region; whence Parganya does not rain in that region where these are.

38. He returns (to the offering-fire) and stands thereby worshipping it;—for when he goes outside the Vedi, whilst Agni (the fire-altar) is only half built up, he does what is improper; he now makes amends to him to prevent his doing injury. With

<sup>1</sup> 'Aga,' he-goat, is here again taken in the sense of 'a-ga,' unborn. As to the gods having sprung from Vâk, see VI, 1, 2, 6 seq.

<sup>2</sup> A fabulous animal with eight legs.

a verse to Agni (he worships): it is to Agni he thereby makes amends;—with an undefined one; the undefined means everything: by means of everything he thus makes amends to him;—with (a verse) containing the word ‘youngest:’ this indeed, to wit, the youngest, is his favourite form;—inasmuch as when born he took possession (yu) of everything here, he is the youngest (*yavishtha*).

39. [Vâg. S. XIII, 52; *Rîk* S. VIII, 84, 3] ‘Shield thou, O youngest, the men of the liberal worshipper!’ the liberal worshipper is the Sacrificer, and the men are the people;—‘hear thou the songs!’ that is, hear this hymn of praise!—‘protect thou kin and self!’ the kin (race) means offspring: thus, ‘protect both (the Sacrificer’s) offspring and himself.’

40. Having stepped on the altar and walked round behind the naturally-perforated (brick), he lays down the Apasyâḥ (water-bricks);—now the Apasyâḥ are the same as water, and the water has gone out of these victims: he thus puts water into these victims, when he lays down the Apasyâḥ (bricks). He lays them down close to the (heads of the) animals: he thereby puts the water together with the animals. He lays down five (bricks) in each quarter, for five are those victims. He lays them down in every (quarter): everywhere he thus puts water into them.

41. Now the first fifteen are the Apasyâḥ,—water is a thunderbolt, and the thunderbolt is fifteenfold;—hence wherever the waters flow, there they destroy evil; and verily the thunderbolt destroys the evil of this place: hence, when it rains one should go about uncovered, thinking, ‘May that thunderbolt remove evil from me!’



42. And the last five are the *Khandasyâh* (the metres' bricks);—the metres are cattle, and cattle is food; or rather the flesh of cattle is food, and the flesh has departed from these victims: he therefore puts flesh on those cattle when he lays down the *Khandasyâh*. He places them close to the victims: he thereby puts the flesh close to the (bones of the) cattle. The *Apasyâh* are inside, the *Khandasyâh* outside; for the water is inside, and the flesh outside.

43. As to this they say, 'If there are that water and that flesh, where then is the skin, and where the hair?' Well, the skin of cattle is food, and the hair of cattle is food; and when he lays down the *Khandasyâh*, that is the skin of the victims, that is their hair. Or, again, those goats' hair which are in the fire-pan<sup>1</sup>, they are hair. The fire-pan is outside, and the victims' heads are inside, for outside is the hair, and inside is the body. 'Whether in the one way, or whether in the other,' so Sândilya was wont to say, 'in any case we make up the victims wholly and completely.'

44. And, again, why he lays down the *Apasyâh*. When *Pragâpati* was disjointed the water went from him; that being gone, he sank down; and because he sank down (*vis*), therefore there are twenty (*vim-sati*, viz. such bricks). It flowed from his fingers,—the fingers being the end, it (the water) went from him in the end.

45. Now the *Pragâpati* who became disjointed is this very *Agni* who is now being built up; and the water (*âpah*) which went from him is these very

<sup>1</sup> See VI, 4, 4, 22; 5, 1, 4.

Apasyâh;—hence when he lays them down, he thereby puts back into him that very water which went from him: therefore he now lays these down.

46. [Vâg. S. XIII, 43] 'In the way of the waters I settle thee!' the way of the waters is the wind; for when he blows hither and thither then the waters flow: in the wind he 'settles' this (first brick).

47. 'In the swell of the waters I settle thee!' the swell of the waters is the plants, for wherever the waters keep swelling there plants grow: in the plants he settles this (brick).

48. 'In the ashes of the waters I settle thee!' the ashes of the waters are the foam: in foam he settles this one.

49. 'In the light of the waters I settle thee!' the light of the waters is the lightning: in the lightning he settles this one.

50. 'In the path of the waters I settle thee!' the path of the waters is this earth, for on the earth the waters flow: on this earth he settles this one. Whatever water flowed from those (five) forms of his, that water he now (by these five formulas) puts back into him; and those forms themselves he thereby restores to him.

51. 'In the flood, the seat, I settle thee!' the flood is the breath: in the breath he settles this one.

52. 'In the ocean, the seat, I settle thee!' the sea is the mind; from the mind-ocean, with speech for a shovel, the gods dug out the triple science. Thereto this verse applies,—'May the true god know this day where the gods placed that offering, they who dug it out from the ocean with

sharp shovels ;'—the ocean is the mind, the sharp shovel is speech, the offering is the triple science : it is thereto this verse applies. In the mind he settles this (brick).

53. 'In the stream, the seat, I settle thee!' the stream is speech : in speech he settles this one.

54. 'In the abode of the waters I settle thee!' the abode of the waters is the eye, for there water always abides : in the eye he settles this one.

55. 'In the goal of the waters I settle thee!' the goal of the waters is the ear : in the ear he settles this one. Whatever water flowed from those (five) forms of his, that water he now (by these five formulas) puts back into him ; and those forms themselves he thereby restores to him.

56. 'In the seat of the waters I settle thee!' the seat of the waters is the sky, for in the sky the waters are seated : in the sky he settles this one.

57. 'In the home of the waters I settle thee!' the home of the waters is the air : in the air he settles this one.

58. 'In the womb of the waters I settle thee!' the womb of the waters is the sea : in the sea he settles this one.

59. 'In the sediment of the waters I settle thee!' the sediment (purtsha) of the waters is sand : in the sand he settles this one.

60. 'In the resort of the waters I settle thee!' the resort of the waters is food : in food he settles this one. Whatever water flowed from those (five) forms of his, that water he now (by these five formulas) puts back into him ; and those forms themselves he thereby restores to him.

61. 'By the Gâyatrî metre I settle thee!—

By the Trishṭubh metre I settle thee!—By the Gagati metre I settle thee!—By the Anu-  
shṭubh metre I settle thee!—By the Paṅkti  
metre I settle thee!’ Whatever water flowed  
from those metres of his, that he now (by these  
formulas) puts back into him; and those metres  
themselves he thereby restores to him.

62. These (bricks) are fingers (and toes): he puts  
them on all sides<sup>1</sup>, for these fingers (and toes) are  
on all sides; he puts them at the ends, for these  
fingers (and toes) are at the ends; in four sets he  
puts them on, for these fingers (and toes) are in  
four sets; five he puts on each time, for there are  
five fingers (or toes) at each (limb); separately he  
puts them on, for separate are these fingers (and  
toes); only once he ‘settles’ each (set): he thereby  
makes (each set) one and the same, whence they  
have a common connecting-link.

---

<sup>1</sup> The four sets of bricks are placed in the middle of the four  
sides of the square ‘body’ of the altar-site, or at the ends of the  
two ‘spines’ intersecting each other.

## CORRECTIONS.

Introduction, page xii, line 33. Read,—the day preceding the Soma-day, the animal offering to Agni-Soma being indeed a constant feature of that day's proceedings at every Soma-sacrifice; whilst the slaughter of the special victim, or victims, of the respective sacrifice takes place during the morning service, &c.

P. 5, last line of text. Read,—therefor.

P. 6, note 2, l. 3. *Prishthya shadaha*, see Introduction, p. xxi.

P. 8, last line of notes. For 'II, 665' read 'II, 663, in a different tune again.'

P. 9, l. 5 of notes. Read,—II, 720-22.

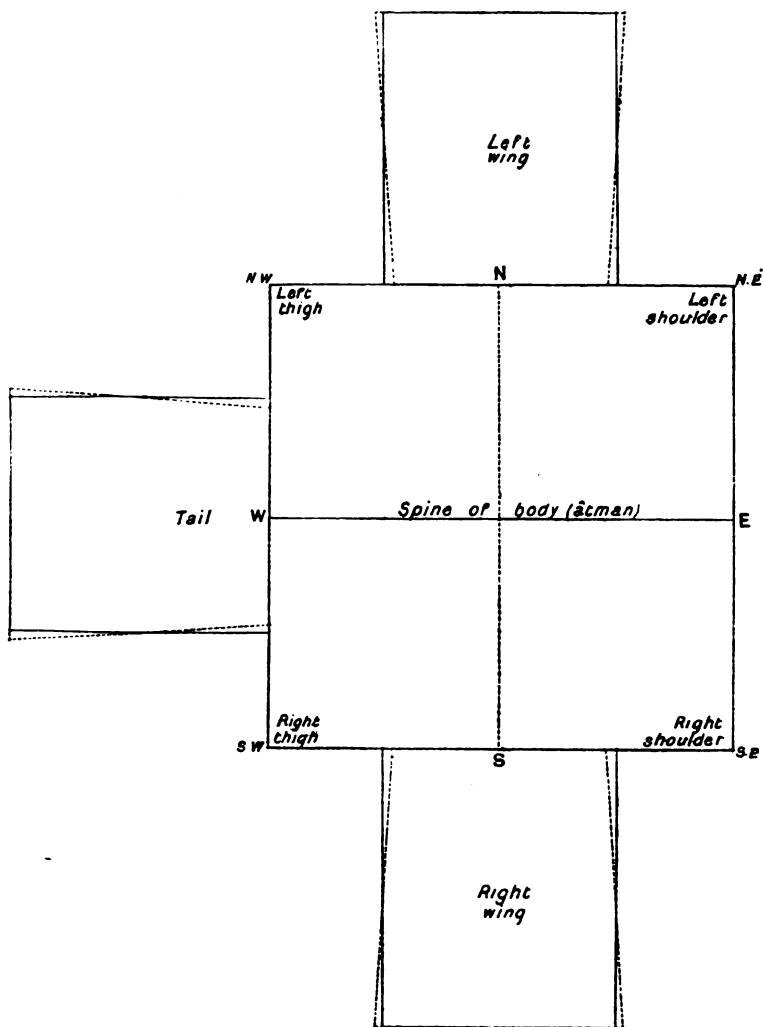
P. 34, l. 21. Read,—*Br̥haspati* consecration.

P. 41, l. 14. For 'offering' read 'offspring.'

P. 104, l. 2. For 'truth' read 'law;' (cf. VI, 7, 3, 11.)

P. 146, l. 23. For 'become' read 'became.'

PLAN OF FIRE-ALTAR (AGNIKSHETRA)





**TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS  
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.**

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis . . . . .	k	.	.	क	𐬕	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	k	
2 " aspirata . . . . .	kh	.	.	ख	𐬕𐬌	𐬑𐬌	𐬑𐬌	𐬑𐬌	𐬑𐬌	kh	
3 Media . . . . .	g	.	.	ग	𐬕	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	.	
4 " aspirata . . . . .	gh	.	.	घ	𐬕𐬌	𐬑𐬌	𐬑𐬌	𐬑𐬌	𐬑𐬌	.	
5 Gutturo-labialis . . . . .	q	.	.	.	.	.	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	.	
6 Nasalis . . . . .	ñ (ng)	.	.	ङ	{ 𐬕 (ng) 𐬕 (N) 𐬕 (hv)	.	.	.	.	h, hs	
7 Spiritus asper . . . . .	h	.	.	ह	.	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	.	
8 " lenis . . . . .	,	.	.	.	.	.	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	.	
9 " asper faucalis . . . . .	'h	.	.	.	.	.	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	.	
10 " lenis faucalis . . . . .	"h	.	.	.	.	.	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	.	
11 " asper fricatus . . . . .	.	'h	.	.	.	.	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	.	
12 " lenis fricatus . . . . .	.	'h	.	.	.	.	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	.	
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis . . . . .	.	k	.	च	𐬕	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	k	
14 " aspirata . . . . .	.	kh	.	छ	𐬕𐬌	𐬑𐬌	𐬑𐬌	𐬑𐬌	𐬑𐬌	kh	
15 Media . . . . .	.	g	.	ज	𐬕	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	.	
16 " aspirata . . . . .	.	gh	.	झ	𐬕𐬌	𐬑𐬌	𐬑𐬌	𐬑𐬌	𐬑𐬌	.	
17 " Nasalis . . . . .	.	ñ	.	ञ	𐬕	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	.	



CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis . . . . .	y	. . .	. . .	य	𐬨 𐬨𐬀 𐬨𐬀	𐬨	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper . . . . .	. . .	(y)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
20 " lenis . . . . .	. . .	(y)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
21 " asper asibilatus . . . . .	. . .	s	. . .	श	𐬨𐬀	𐬨𐬀	ش	ش	. . .	. . .
22 " lenis asibilatus . . . . .	. . .	s	. . .	. . .	𐬨𐬀	𐬨𐬀	. . .	. . .	. . .	s
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis . . . . .	t	. . .	. . .	त	𐬥	𐬥	ت	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata . . . . .	th	. . .	. . .	थ	𐬥𐬀	𐬥𐬀	. . .	. . .	ת	th
25 " asibilata . . . . .	d	. . .	TH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
26 Media . . . . .	dh	. . .	. . .	द	𐬥𐬀	𐬥𐬀	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
27 " aspirata . . . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
28 " asibilata . . . . .	. . .	. . .	DH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis . . . . .	n	. . .	. . .	न	𐬥	𐬥	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis . . . . .	l	. . .	. . .	ल	𐬥𐬀	𐬥𐬀	ل	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1 . . . . .	. . .	l	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
32 " mollis 2 . . . . .	. . .	. . .	L	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1 . . . . .	s	. . .	. . .	स	𐬥	𐬥	س	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2 . . . . .	. . .	. . .	s (S)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
35 " lenis . . . . .	z	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ز	ز	ז	z
36 " asperimus 1 . . . . .	. . .	. . .	z (z)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
37 " asperimus 2 . . . . .	. . .	. . .	z (z)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	z, zh

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 " diacritica	z
46 Spiritus asper	sh
47 " lenis	zh
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 Visarga	h

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
	0									
1 Neutralis . . . . .	0									ā
2 Laryngo-palatalis . . . . .	ē									ā
3 " labialis . . . . .	ō									ā
4 Gutturalis brevis . . . . .	a			अ	𐬀	𐬀	ا	ا	א	ā
5 " longa . . . . .	ā	(a)		आ	𐬁	𐬁	آ	آ	א	ā
6 Palatalis brevis . . . . .	i			इ	𐬂	𐬂	ی	ی	י	i
7 " longa . . . . .	ī	(i)		ई	𐬃	𐬃	ی	ی	י	ī
8 Dentalis brevis . . . . .	u			उ			و	و		u
9 " longa . . . . .	ū			ऊ			و	و		ū
10 Lingualis brevis . . . . .	ri			रि			ر	ر		ri
11 " longa . . . . .	ṛ			ऋ			ر	ر		ṛ
12 Labialis brevis . . . . .	u			उ			و	و		u
13 " longa . . . . .	ū	(u)		ऊ			و	و		ū
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis . . . . .	e			ए	𐬄	𐬄	ه	ه		e
15 " longa . . . . .	é (ai)	(e)		ऐ	𐬅	𐬅	ه	ه		é
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis . . . . .	āi	(āi)		आइ	𐬆	𐬆	ه	ه		āi
17 " " . . . . .	ei (ēi)			ई	𐬇	𐬇	ه	ه		ei
18 " " . . . . .	oi (ōu)			औ	𐬈	𐬈	ه	ه		oi
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis . . . . .	o			ओ	𐬉	𐬉	و	و		o
20 " longa . . . . .	ō (au)	(o)		औ	𐬊	𐬊	و	و		ō
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis . . . . .	āu	(au)		आउ	𐬋	𐬋	و	و		āu
22 " " . . . . .	eu (ēu)			एउ	𐬌	𐬌	و	و		eu
23 " " . . . . .	ou (ōu)			औ	𐬍	𐬍	و	و		ou
24 Gutturalis fracta . . . . .	ā			अ						ā
25 Palatalis fracta . . . . .	i			इ						i
26 Labialis fracta . . . . .	ū			उ						ū
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta . . . . .	ō			ओ						ō



# SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED BY

VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

*\*\* This Series is published with the sanction and co-operation of the Secretary of State for India in Council.*

---

**REPORT** presented to the **ACADÉMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS**, May 11, 1883, by **M. ERNEST RENAN**.

‘M. Renan présente trois nouveaux volumes de la grande collection des “Livres sacrés de l’Orient” (Sacred Books of the East), que dirige à Oxford, avec une si vaste érudition et une critique si sûre, le savant associé de l’Académie des Inscriptions, M. Max Müller. . . La première série de ce beau recueil, composée de 24 volumes, est presque achevée. M. Max Müller se propose d’en publier

une seconde, dont l’intérêt historique et religieux ne sera pas moindre. M. Max Müller a su se procurer la collaboration des savans les plus éminens d’Europe et d’Asie. L’Université d’Oxford, que cette grande publication honore au plus haut degré, doit tenir à continuer dans les plus larges proportions une œuvre aussi philosophiquement conçue que savamment exécutée.’

## **EXTRACT from the QUARTERLY REVIEW.**

‘We rejoice to notice that a second series of these translations has been announced and has actually begun to appear. The stones, at least, out of which a stately edifice may hereafter arise, are here being brought together. Prof. Max Müller has deserved well of scientific history. Not a few minds owe to his enticing words their first attraction to this branch of study. But no work of his, not even the

great edition of the Rig-Veda, can compare in importance or in usefulness with this English translation of the Sacred Books of the East, which has been devised by his foresight, successfully brought so far by his persuasive and organising power, and will, we trust, by the assistance of the distinguished scholars he has gathered round him, be carried in due time to a happy completion.’

**Professor H. HARDY**, Inaugural Lecture in the University of Freiburg, 1887.

‘Die allgemeine vergleichende Religionswissenschaft datirt von jenem grossartigen, in seiner Art einzig dastehenden Unternehmen, zu welchem auf Anregung Max Müllers im Jahre 1874 auf dem

internationalen Orientalistencongress in London der Grundstein gelegt worden war, die Übersetzung der heiligen Bücher des Ostens’ (*the Sacred Books of the East*).

**The Hon. ALBERT S. G. CANNING**, ‘Words on Existing Religions.’

‘The recent publication of the “Sacred Works of the East” in English is surely

a great event in the annals of theological literature.’

---

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

LONDON: HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AMEN CORNER, E.C.

## FIRST SERIES.

### VOL. I. The Upanishads.

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part I. The *Khândogya-upanishad*, The *Talavakâra-upanishad*, The *Aitareya-âranyaka*, The *Kaushîtaki-brâhmana-upanishad*, and The *Vâgasaneyi-samhitâ-upanishad*. 8vo, cloth, 1os. 6d.

*The Upanishads contain the philosophy of the Veda. They have become the foundation of the later Vedânta doctrines, and indirectly of Buddhism. Schopenhauer, speaking of the Upanishads, says: 'In the whole world there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanishads. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death.'*

[See also Vol. XV.]

### VOL. II. The Sacred Laws of the Âryas,

As taught in the Schools of Âpastamba, Gautama, Vâsishtha, and Baudhâyana. Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. Part I. Âpastamba and Gautama. 8vo, cloth, 1os. 6d.

*The Sacred Laws of the Âryas contain the original treatises on which the Laws of Manu and other lawgivers were founded.*

[See also Vol. XIV.]

### VOL. III. The Sacred Books of China.

The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Part I. The *Shû King*, The Religious Portions of the *Shih King*, and The *Hsiâo King*. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

*Confucius was a collector of ancient traditions, not the founder of a new religion. As he lived in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. his works are of unique interest for the study of Ethology.*

[See also Vols. XVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXIX, and XL.]

### VOL. IV. The Zend-Avesta.

Translated by JAMES DARMESTETER. Part I. The *Vendîdâd*. 8vo, cloth, 1os. 6d.

*The Zend-Avesta contains the relics of what was the religion of Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes, and, but for the battle of Marathon,*

*might have become the religion of Europe. It forms to the present day the sacred book of the Parsis, the so-called fire-worshippers. Two more volumes will complete the translation of all that is left us of Zoroaster's religion.*

[See also Vols. XXIII and XXXI.]

**VOL. V. Pahlavi Texts.**

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part I. The Bundahis, Bahman Yast, and Shâyast lâ-shâyast. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

*The Pahlavi Texts comprise the theological literature of the revival of Zoroaster's religion, beginning with the Sassanian dynasty. They are important for a study of Gnosticism.*

**VOLS. VI AND IX. The Qur'ân.**

Parts I and II. Translated by E. H. PALMER. 8vo, cloth, 21s.

*This translation, carried out according to his own peculiar views of the origin of the Qur'ân, was the last great work of E. H. Palmer, before he was murdered in Egypt.*

**VOL. VII. The Institutes of Vishnu.**

Translated by JULIUS JOLLY. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*A collection of legal aphorisms, closely connected with one of the oldest Vedic schools, the Kathas, but considerably added to in later time. Of importance for a critical study of the Laws of Manu.*

**VOL. VIII. The Bhagavadgîtâ, with The Sanatsugâtîya, and The Anugîtâ.**

Translated by KÂSHINÂTH TRIMBAK TELANG. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The earliest philosophical and religious poem of India. It has been paraphrased in Arnold's 'Song Celestial.'*

**VOL. X. The Dhammapada,**

Translated from Pâli by F. MAX MÜLLER; and

**The Sutta-Nipâta,**

Translated from Pâli by V. FAUSBÖLL; being Canonical Books of the Buddhists. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The Dhammapada contains the quintessence of Buddhist morality. The Sutta-Nipâta gives the authentic teaching of Buddha on some of the fundamental principles of religion.*

**VOL. XI. Buddhist Suttas.**

Translated from Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. 1. The Mahā-parinibbāna Suttanta; 2. The Dhamma-ṭakka-ppavattana Sutta. 3. The Teviggā Suttanta; 4. The Ākaṅkheyya Sutta; 5. The Ketokhila Sutta; 6. The Mahā-sudassana Suttanta; 7. The Sabbāsava Sutta. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*A collection of the most important religious, moral, and philosophical discourses taken from the sacred canon of the Buddhists.*

**VOL. XII. The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa, according to the Text of the Mādhyandina School.**

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part I. Books I and II. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

*A minute account of the sacrificial ceremonies of the Vedic age. It contains the earliest account of the Deluge in India.*

[See also Vols. XXVI, XLI.]

**VOL. XIII. Vinaya Texts.**

Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part I. The Pātimokkha. The Mahāvagga, I-IV. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The Vinaya Texts give for the first time a translation of the moral code of the Buddhist religion as settled in the third century B.C.*

[See also Vols. XVII and XX.]

**VOL. XIV. The Sacred Laws of the Āryas,**

As taught in the Schools of Āpastamba, Gautama, Vāsishṭha, and Baudhāyana. Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. Part II. Vāsishṭha and Baudhāyana. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

**VOL. XV. The Upanishads.**

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part II. The Kaṭha-upanishad, The Mundaka-upanishad, The Taittirīyaka-upanishad, The Brhadāraṇyaka-upanishad, The Svetāsvatara-upanishad, The Prasṇa-upanishad, and The Maitrāyaṇa-brāhmaṇa-upanishad. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

**VOL. XVI. The Sacred Books of China.**

The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Part II. The Yî King. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

[See also Vols. XXVII, XXVIII.]

**VOL. XVII. Vinaya Texts.**

Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part II. The Mahāvagga V-X. The Kullavagga, I-III. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

**VOL. XVIII.** Pahlavi Texts.

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part II. The Dâdîstân-î Dînîk and The Epistles of Mânûskîhar. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

**VOL. XIX.** The Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king.

A Life of Buddha by Arsvaghosha Bodhisattva, translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Dharmaraksha, A.D. 420, and from Chinese into English by SAMUEL BEAL. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*This life of Buddha was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese, A.D. 420. It contains many legends, some of which show a certain similarity to the Evangelium infantiae, &c.*

**VOL. XX.** Vinaya Texts.

Translated from the Pâli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part III. The Kullavagga, IV-XII. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

**VOL. XXI.** The Saddharma-pundarikâ ; or, The Lotus of the True Law.

Translated by H. KERN. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

*'The Lotus of the true Law,' a canonical book of the Northern Buddhists, translated from Sanskrit. There is a Chinese translation of this book which was finished as early as the year 286 A.D.*

**VOL. XXII.** Gaina-Sûtras.

Translated from Prâkrit by HERMANN JACOBI. Part I. The Âkârânga-Sûtra and The Kalpa-Sûtra. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The religion of the Gainas was founded by a contemporary of Buddha. It still counts numerous adherents in India, while there are no Buddhists left in India proper.*

Part II, in preparation.

**VOL. XXIII.** The Zend-Avesta.

Translated by JAMES DARMESTETER. Part II. The Strôzahs, Yasts, and Nyâyis. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

**VOL. XXIV.** Pahlavi Texts.

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part III. Dînâ-î Mainôg-Khirad, Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr, and Sad Dar. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.



## SECOND SERIES.

### **VOL. XXV. Manu.**

Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. 8vo, cloth, 21s.

This translation is founded on that of Sir William Jones, which has been carefully revised and corrected with the help of seven native Commentaries. An Appendix contains all the quotations from Manu which are found in the Hindu Law-books, translated for the use of the Law Courts in India. Another Appendix gives a synopsis of parallel passages from the six Dharma-sûtras, the other Smritis, the Upanishads, the Mahâbhârata, &c.

### **VOL. XXVI. The Satapatha-Brâhmaṇa.**

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part II. Books III and IV. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

### **VOLS. XXVII AND XXVIII. The Sacred Books of China.**

The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Parts III and IV. The *Lî K'î*, or Collection of Treatises on the Rules of Propriety, or Ceremonial Usages. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d. each.

### **VOL. XXIX. The Grihya-Sûtras, Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies.**

Part I. Sâṅkhâyana, Âsvalâyana, Pâraskara, Khâdira. Translated by HERMANN OLDENBERG. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

These rules of Domestic Ceremonies describe the home life of the ancient Âryas with a completeness and accuracy unmatched in any other literature. Some of these rules have been incorporated in the ancient Law-books.

### **VOL. XXX. The Grihya-Sûtras, Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies.**

Part II. Gobhila, Hiranyakesin, Âpastamba. Translated by HERMANN OLDENBERG. Âpastamba; *Yagña-paribhâṣâ-sûtras*. Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

### **VOL. XXXI. The Zend-Avesta.**

Part III. The Yasna, Visparad, Âfrînagân, Gâhs, and Miscellaneous Fragments. Translated by L. H. MILLS. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

### **VOL. XXXII. Vedic Hymns.**

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part I. 8vo, cloth, 18s. 6d.

- VOL. XXXIII.** The Minor Law-books.  
Translated by JULIUS JOLLY. Part I. Nārada, Br̥haspati.  
8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.
- VOL. XXXIV.** The Vedānta-Sūtras, with the Com-  
mentary by Saṅkarācārya. Part I.  
Translated by G. THIBAUT. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.
- VOL. XXXV.** The Questions of King Milinda. Part I.  
Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.  
8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.
- VOL. XXXVI.** The Questions of King Milinda. Part II.  
[*In the Press.*]
- VOL. XXXVII.** The Contents of the Nasks, as stated  
in the Eighth and Ninth Books of the Dīnkaṛd.  
Part I. Translated by E. W. WEST. 8vo, cloth, 15s.
- VOL. XXXVIII.** The Vedānta-Sūtras. Part II. [*In  
the Press.*]
- VOLS. XXXIX AND XL.** The Sacred Books of China.  
The Texts of Tāoism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. 8vo,  
cloth, 21s.
- VOL. XLI.** The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa. Part III. Trans-  
lated by JULIUS EGGELING. [*In the Press.*]
- VOL. XLII.** The Buddha-karita. Translated by  
E. B. COWELL. The Sukhāvati-vyūha. Translated by F.  
MAX MÜLLER. [*In the Press.*]
- VOLS. XLIII AND XLIV.** The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa.  
Parts IV and V. [*In preparation.*]
- VOL. XLV.** The Gaiṇa-Sūtras. Part II. [*In prepar-  
ation.*]
- VOL. XLVI.** The Vedānta-Sūtras. Part III. [*In  
preparation.*]
- VOL. XLVII.** The Contents of the Nasks. Part II.  
[*In preparation.*]
- VOL. XLVIII.** Vedic Hymns. Part II. [*In preparation.*]

## Anecdota Oxoniensia.

### ARYAN SERIES.

*Buddhist Texts from Japan. I. Vagrakkhedikā ; The Diamond-Cutter.*

Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A. Small 4to, 3s. 6d.

One of the most famous metaphysical treatises of the Mahāyāna Buddhists.

*Buddhist Texts from Japan. II. Sukhāvati-Vyūha : Description of Sukhāvati, the Land of Bliss.*

Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A., and BUNYIU NANJIO. With two Appendices : (1) Text and Translation of Saṅghavarman's Chinese Version of the Poetical Portions of the Sukhāvati-Vyūha ; (2) Sanskrit Text of the Smaller Sukhāvati-Vyūha. Small 4to, 7s. 6d.

The *editio princeps* of the Sacred Book of one of the largest and most influential sects of Buddhism, numbering more than ten millions of followers in Japan alone.

*Buddhist Texts from Japan. III. The Ancient Palm-Leaves containing the Praṇā-Pāramitā-Hridaya-Sūtra and the Uśnīṣa-Vigaya-Dhāraṇī.*

Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A., and BUNYIU NANJIO, M.A. With an Appendix by G. BÜHLER, C.I.E. With many Plates. Small 4to, 10s.

Contains facsimiles of the oldest Sanskrit MS. at present known.

*Dharma-Saṃgraha, an Ancient Collection of Buddhist Technical Terms.*

Prepared for publication by KENJIU KASAWARA, a Buddhist Priest from Japan, and, after his death, edited by F. MAX MÜLLER and H. WENZEL. Small 4to, 7s. 6d.

*Kāṭāyana's Sarvānukramant of the Rigveda.*

With Extracts from Śaṅgurusishya's Commentary entitled Vedārthadīpikā. Edited by A. A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D. 16s.

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

LONDON : HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AMEN CORNER, E.C.

J







This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>









**THE**  
**SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST**

**London**

**HENRY FROWDE**

**OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE  
AMEN CORNER, E.C.**



**New York**

**THE MACMILLAN CO., 66 FIFTH AVENUE**

THE  
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XLII

Oxford  
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS  
1897

[*All rights reserved*]

REFSE

**Oxford**

**PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS**

**BY HORACE HART**

**PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY**

M 946  
v. 42

# HYMNS OF THE ATHARVA-VEDA

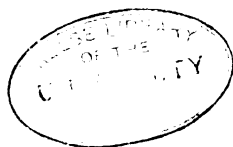
TOGETHER WITH

EXTRACTS FROM THE RITUAL BOOKS

AND THE COMMENTARIES

TRANSLATED BY

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD



Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1897

[*All rights reserved*]



685  
M946  
v. 42

## CONTENTS.

### INTRODUCTION :—

	PAGES
I. The names of the Atharva-veda and their meanings	xvii
II. The position of the Atharva-veda in Hindu Literature in general . . . . .	xxviii
III. The Atharva-veda in the view of its Ritualistic Literature . . . . .	lvii
Prefatory remarks . . . . .	lxxi

### HYMNS, TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY :—

#### I. Charms to cure diseases and possession by demons of disease (bhaishagyâni).

Book v, 22. Charm against takman (fever) and related diseases . . . . .	I, 441
vi, 20. Charm against takman (fever) . . . . .	3, 468
i, 25. Charm against takman (fever) . . . . .	3, 270
vii, 116. Charm against takman (fever) . . . . .	4, 565
v, 4. Prayer to the kush/ka-plant to destroy takman (fever) . . . . .	4, 414
xix, 39. Prayer to the kush/ka-plant to destroy takman (fever) and other ailments . . . . .	5, 676
i, 12. Prayer to lightning, conceived as the cause of fever, headache, and cough . . . . .	7, 246
i, 22. Charm against jaundice and related diseases . . . . .	7, 263
vi, 14. Charm against the disease balâsa . . . . .	8, 463
vi, 105. Charm against cough . . . . .	8, 513
i, 2. Charm against excessive discharges from the body . . . . .	8, 233
ii, 3. Charm against excessive discharges from the body, undertaken with spring-water . . . . .	9, 277



BOOK	PAGES
vi, 44. Charm against excessive discharges from the body . . . . .	10, 481
i, 3. Charm against constipation and retention of urine . . . . .	10, 235
vi, 90. Charm against internal pain (colic), due to the missiles of Rudra . . . . .	11, 506
i, 10. Charm against dropsy . . . . .	11, 241
vii, 83. Charm against dropsy . . . . .	12, 562
vi, 24. Dropsy, heart-disease, and kindred maladies cured by flowing water . . . . .	12, 471
vi, 80. An oblation to the sun, conceived as one of the two heavenly dogs, as a cure for paralysis . . . . .	13, 500
ii, 8. Charm against kshetriya, hereditary disease . . . . .	13, 286
ii, 10. Charm against kshetriya, hereditary disease . . . . .	14, 292
iii, 7. Charm against kshetriya, hereditary disease . . . . .	15, 336
i, 23. Leprosy cured by a dark plant . . . . .	16, 266
i, 24. Leprosy cured by a dark plant . . . . .	16, 268
vi, 83. Charm for curing scrofulous sores called <i>apaṭit</i> . . . . .	17, 503
vii, 76. A. Charm for curing scrofulous sores called <i>apaṭit</i> . . . . .	17, 559
B. Charm for curing tumours called <i>gâyānya</i> . . . . .	17, 560
C. Stanza sung at the mid-day pressure of the soma . . . . .	18, 562
vii, 74. A. Charm for curing scrofulous sores called <i>apaṭit</i> . . . . .	18, 557
B. Charm to appease jealousy . . . . .	18, 559
C. Prayer to Agni, the lord of vows . . . . .	18, 559
vi, 25. Charm against scrofulous sores upon neck and shoulders . . . . .	19, 472
vi, 57. Urine ( <i>gālāsha</i> ) as a cure for scrofulous sores . . . . .	19, 488
iv, 12. Charm with the plant <i>arundhatī</i> ( <i>lākshā</i> ) for the cure of fractures . . . . .	19, 384
v, 5. Charm with the plant <i>silāṭī</i> ( <i>lākshā</i> , <i>arundhatī</i> ) for the cure of wounds . . . . .	20, 419
vi, 109. The pepper-corn as a cure for wounds . . . . .	21, 516
i, 17. Charm to stop the flow of blood . . . . .	22, 257
ii, 31. Charm against worms . . . . .	22, 313
ii, 32. Charm against worms in cattle . . . . .	23, 317

BOOK	PAGES
v, 23. Charm against worms in children . . . .	23, 452
iv, 6. Charm against poison . . . . .	25, 373
iv, 7. Charm against poison . . . . .	26, 376
vi, 100. Ants as an antidote against poison . . . .	27, 511
v, 13. Charm against snake-poison . . . . .	27, 425
vi, 12. Charm against snake-poison . . . . .	28, 461
vii, 56. Charm against the poison of serpents, scor- pions, and insects . . . . .	29, 552
vi, 16. Charm against ophthalmia . . . . .	30, 464
vi, 21. Charm to promote the growth of hair . . . .	30, 470
vi, 136. Charm with the plant <i>nitatnī</i> to promote the growth of hair . . . . .	31, 536
vi, 137. Charm to promote the growth of hair . . . .	31, 537
iv, 4. Charm to promote virility . . . . .	31, 369
vi, 111. Charm against mania . . . . .	32, 518
iv, 37. Charm with the plant <i>agastīngī</i> to drive out Rakshas, Apsaras, and Gandharvas . . . . .	33, 408
ii, 9. Possession by demons of disease, cured by an amulet of ten kinds of wood . . . . .	34, 290
iv, 36. Charm against demons ( <i>pisāka</i> ) conceived as the cause of disease . . . . .	35, 407
ii, 25. Charm with the plant <i>prīsniparnī</i> against the demon of disease called <i>karva</i> . . . . .	36, 302
vi, 32. Charm for driving away demons (Rakshas and <i>Pisākas</i> ) . . . . .	36, 475
ii, 4. Charm with an amulet derived from the <i>gāṅgīda</i> -tree, against diseases and demons . . . .	37, 280
xix, 34. Charm with an amulet derived from the <i>gāṅgīda</i> -tree, against diseases and demons . . . .	38, 669
xix, 35. Charm with an amulet derived from the <i>gāṅgīda</i> -tree, against diseases and demons . . . .	39, 674
vi, 85. Exorcism of disease by means of an amulet from the <i>varāṇa</i> -tree . . . . .	39, 505
vi, 127. The <i>āpudru</i> -tree as a panacea . . . . .	40, 530
xix, 38. The healing properties of bdellium . . . .	40, 675
vi, 91. Barley and water as universal remedies . . . .	40, 507
viii, 7. Hymn to all magic and medicinal plants, used as a universal remedy . . . . .	41, 578
vi, 96. Plants as a panacea . . . . .	44, 509
ii, 33. Charm to secure perfect health . . . . .	44, 321

BOOK	PAGES
ix, 8. Charm to procure immunity from all diseases	45, 600
ii, 29. Charm for obtaining long life and prosperity by transmission of disease . . . . .	47, 308
II. Prayers for long life and health ( <i>âyushyâmi</i> ).	
iii, 11. Prayer for health and long life . . . . .	49, 341
ii, 28. Prayer for long life pronounced over a boy .	50, 306
iii, 31. Prayer for health and long life . . . . .	51, 364
vii, 53. Prayer for long life . . . . .	52, 551
viii, 1. Prayer for exemption from the dangers of death . . . . .	53, 569
viii, 2. Prayer for exemption from the dangers of death . . . . .	55, 573
v, 30. Prayer for exemption from disease and death	59, 455
iv, 9. Salve ( <i>âṅgana</i> ) as a protector of life and limb	61, 381
iv, 10. The pearl and its shell as an amulet bestow- ing long life and prosperity . . . . .	62, 383
xix, 26. Gold as an amulet for long life . . . . .	63, 668
III. Imprecations against demons, sorcerers, and ene- mies ( <i>âbhiṭārikâni</i> and <i>kr̥tyâpratiharāṇāni</i> ).	
i, 7. Against sorcerers and demons . . . . .	64, 237
i, 8. Against sorcerers and demons . . . . .	65, 239
i, 16. Charm with lead, against demons and sor- cerers . . . . .	65, 256
vi, 2. The soma-oblation directed against demons ( <i>rakshas</i> ) . . . . .	66, 458
ii, 14. Charm against a variety of female demons, conceived as hostile to men, cattle, and home	66, 298
iii, 9. Against <i>vishkandha</i> and <i>kâbava</i> (hostile demons) . . . . .	67, 339
iv, 20. Charm with a certain plant ( <i>sadampushpâ</i> ) which exposes demons and enemies . . . . .	68, 398
iv, 17. Charm with the <i>apâmârga</i> -plant, against sorcery, demons, and enemies . . . . .	69, 393
iv, 18. Charm with the <i>apâmârga</i> -plant, against sorcery, demons, and enemies . . . . .	70, 396
iv, 19. Mystic power of the <i>apâmârga</i> -plant, against demons and sorcerers . . . . .	71, 397

BOOK	PAGES
vii, 65. Charm with the apāmārga-plant, against curses, and the consequence of sinful deeds . . .	72, 556
x, 1. Charm to repel sorceries or spells . . .	72, 602
v, 31. Charm to repel sorceries or spells . . .	76, 456
v, 14. Charm to repel sorceries or spells . . .	77, 429
viii, 5. Prayer for protection addressed to a talis- man made from the wood of the sraktya-tree . . .	79, 575
x, 3. Praise of the virtues of an amulet derived from the varāṇa-tree . . . . .	81, 605
x, 6. Praise of the virtues of an amulet of khadira- wood in the shape of a ploughshare . . .	84, 608
iv, 16. Prayer to Varuṇa for protection against treacherous designs . . . . .	88, 389
ii, 12. Imprecation against enemies thwarting holy work . . . . .	89, 294
vii, 70. Frustration of the sacrifice of an enemy . . .	90, 557
ii, 7. Charm against curses and hostile plots, under- taken with a certain plant . . . . .	91, 285
iii, 6. The arvattha-tree as a destroyer of enemies . . .	91, 334
vi, 75. Oblation for the suppression of enemies (nairbādhyaṃ haviḥ) . . . . .	92, 495
vi, 37. Curse against one that practises hostile charms . . . . .	93, 475
vii, 13. Charm to deprive enemies of their strength . . .	93, 544
IV. Charms pertaining to women (strīkarmāṇi).	
ii, 36. Charm to obtain a husband . . . . .	94, 322
vi, 60. Charm to obtain a husband . . . . .	95, 491
vi, 82. Charm for obtaining a wife . . . . .	95, 502
vi, 78. Blessing for a married couple . . . . .	96, 498
vii, 36. Love-charm spoken by a bridal couple . . .	96, 546
vii, 37. Charm pronounced by the bride over the bridegroom . . . . .	96, 546
vi, 81. A bracelet as an amulet to ensure concep- tion . . . . .	96, 501
iii, 23. Charm for obtaining a son (pumsavanam) . . .	97, 356
vi, 11. Charm for obtaining a son (pumsavanam) . . .	97, 460
vii, 35. An incantation to make a woman sterile . . .	98, 545
vi, 17. Charm to prevent miscarriage . . . . .	98, 467
i, 11. Charm for easy parturition . . . . .	99, 242

BOOK	PAGES
i, 34. Charm with licorice, to secure the love of a woman . . . . .	99, 274
ii, 30. Charm to secure the love of a woman . . . . .	100, 311
vi, 8. Charm to secure the love of a woman . . . . .	100, 459
vi, 9. Charm to secure the love of a woman . . . . .	101, 459
vi, 102. Charm to secure the love of a woman . . . . .	101, 512
iii, 25. Charm to arouse the passionate love of a woman . . . . .	102, 358
vi, 139. Charm to arouse the passionate love of a woman . . . . .	102, 539
vii, 38. Charm to secure the love of a man . . . . .	103, 546
vi, 130. Charm to arouse the passionate love of a man . . . . .	104, 534
vi, 131. Charm to arouse the passionate love of a man . . . . .	104, 535
vi, 132. Charm to arouse the passionate love of a man . . . . .	104, 535
iv, 5. Charm at an assignation . . . . .	105, 371
vi, 77. Charm to cause the return of a truant woman . . . . .	106, 496
vi, 18. Charm to allay jealousy . . . . .	106, 467
vii, 45. Charm to allay jealousy . . . . .	107, 547
i, 14. A woman's incantation against her rival . . . . .	107, 252
iii, 18. Charm of a woman against a rival or co-wife . . . . .	107, 354
vi, 138. Charm for depriving a man of his virility . . . . .	108, 537
i, 18. Charm to remove evil bodily characteristics from a woman . . . . .	109, 260
vi, 110. Expiatory charm for a child born under an unlucky star . . . . .	109, 517
vi, 140. Expiation for the irregular appearance of the first pair of teeth . . . . .	110, 540
V. Charms pertaining to royalty (râgakarmâni).	
iv, 8. Prayer at the consecration of a king . . . . .	111, 378
iii, 3. Charm for the restoration of an exiled king . . . . .	112, 327
iii, 4. Prayer at the election of a king . . . . .	113, 330
iii, 5. Praise of an amulet derived from the parma-tree, designed to strengthen royal power . . . . .	114, 331
iv, 22. Charm to secure the superiority of a king . . . . .	115, 404
i, 9. Prayer for earthly and heavenly success . . . . .	116, 239

BOOK	PAGES
vi, 38. Prayer for lustre and power . . . . .	116, 477
vi, 39. Prayer for glory (yāras) . . . . .	117, 478
viii, 8. Battle-charm . . . . .	117, 582
i, 19. Battle-charm against arrow-wounds . . . . .	120, 262
iii, 1. Battle-charm for confusing the enemy . . . . .	121, 325
iii, 2. Battle-charm for confusing the enemy . . . . .	121, 327
vi, 97. Battle-charm of a king upon the eve of battle . . . . .	122, 510
vi, 99. Battle-charm of a king upon the eve of battle . . . . .	123, 510
xi, 9. Prayer to Arbudi and Nyarbudi for help in battle . . . . .	123, 631
xi, 10. Prayer to Trisham̐dhi for help in battle . . . . .	126, 637
v, 20. Hymn to the battle-drum . . . . .	130, 436
v, 21. Hymn to the battle-drum, the terror of the enemy . . . . .	131, 439
VI. Charms to secure harmony, influence in the assem- bly, and the like (sāmmanasyāni, &c.).	
iii, 30. Charm to secure harmony . . . . .	134, 361
vi, 73. Charm to allay discord . . . . .	135, 494
vi, 74. Charm to allay discord . . . . .	135, 495
vii, 52. Charm against strife and bloodshed . . . . .	136, 550
vi, 64. Charm to allay discord . . . . .	136, 492
vi, 42. Charm to appease anger . . . . .	136, 479
vi, 43. Charm to appease anger . . . . .	137, 480
ii, 27. Charm against opponents in debate, under- taken with the pāñā-plant . . . . .	137, 304
vii, 12. Charm to procure influence in the assembly . . . . .	138, 543
vi, 94. Charm to bring about submission to one's will . . . . .	138, 508
VII. Charms to secure prosperity in house, field, cattle, business, gambling, and kindred matters.	
iii, 12. Prayer at the building of a house . . . . .	140, 343
vi, 142. Blessing during the sowing of seed . . . . .	141, 541
vi, 79. Charm for procuring increase of grain . . . . .	141, 499
vi, 50. Exorcism of vermin infesting grain in the field . . . . .	142, 485
vii, 11. Charm to protect grain from lightning . . . . .	142, 543

BOOK	PAGES
ii, 26. Charm for the prosperity of cattle . . .	142, 303
iii, 14. Charm for the prosperity of cattle . . .	143, 351
vi, 59. Prayer to the plant arundhati for protection to cattle . . . . .	144, 490
vi, 70. Charm to secure the attachment of a cow to her calf . . . . .	144, 493
iii, 28. Formula in expiation of the birth of twin- calves . . . . .	145, 359
vi, 92. Charm to endow a horse with swiftness . .	145, 507
iii, 13. Charm for conducting a river into a new channel . . . . .	146, 348
vi, 106. Charm to ward off danger from fire . .	147, 514
iv, 3. Shepherd's charm against wild beasts and robbers . . . . .	147, 366
iii, 15. A merchant's prayer . . . . .	148, 352
iv, 38. A. Prayer for success in gambling . . .	149, 412
B. Prayer to secure the return of calves that have strayed to a distance . . . . .	150, 413
vii, 50. Prayer for success at dice . . . . .	150, 548
vi, 56. Exorcism of serpents from the premises .	151, 487
x, 4. Charm against serpents, invoking the horse of Pedu that slays serpents . . . . .	152, 605
xi, 2. Prayer to Bhava and Sarva for protection from dangers . . . . .	155, 618
iv, 28. Prayer to Bhava and Sarva for protection from dangers . . . . .	158, 406
vii, 9. Charm for finding lost property . . . .	159, 542
vi, 128. Propitiation of the weather-prophet . .	160, 532
xi, 6. Prayer for deliverance from calamity, ad- dressed to the entire pantheon . . . . .	160, 628
VIII. Charms in expiation of sin and defilement.	
vi, 45. Prayer against mental delinquency . . .	163, 483
vi, 26. Charm to avert evil . . . . .	163, 473
vi, 114. Expiatory formula for imperfections in the sacrifice . . . . .	164, 528
vi, 115. Expiatory formulas for sins . . . . .	164, 529
vi, 112. Expiation for the precedence of a younger brother over an older . . . . .	164, 521
vi, 113. Expiation for certain heinous crimes .	165, 527

BOOK	PAGES
vi, 120. Prayer for heaven after remission of sins .	165, 529
vi, 27. Charm against pigeons regarded as ominous birds . . . . .	166, 474
vi, 29. Charm against ominous pigeons and owls .	166, 475
vii, 64. Expiation when one is defiled by a black bird of omen . . . . .	167, 555
vi, 46. Exorcism of evil dreams . . . . .	167, 485
vii, 115. Charm for the removal of evil character- istics, and the acquisition of auspicious ones .	168, 564

### IX. Prayers and imprecations in the interest of the Brahmins.

v, 18. Imprecation against the oppressors of Brah- mins . . . . .	169, 430
v, 19. Imprecation against the oppressors of Brah- mins . . . . .	171, 433
v, 7. Prayer to appease Arâti, the demon of grudge and avarice . . . . .	172, 423
xii, 4. The necessity of giving away sterile cows to the Brahmins . . . . .	174, 656
xi, 1. The preparation of the brahmaudana, the porridge given as a fee to the Brahmins .	179, 610
xii, 3. The preparation of the brahmaudana, the porridge given as a fee to the Brahmins .	185, 645
ix, 3. Removal of a house that has been presented to a priest as sacrificial reward . . . . .	193, 595
vi, 71. Brahmanical prayer at the receipt of gifts .	196, 494
xx, 127. A kuntâpa-hymn . . . . .	197, 688

### X. Cosmogonic and theosophic hymns.

xii, 1. Hymn to goddess Earth . . . . .	199, 639
xiii, 1. Prayer for sovereign power addressed to the god Rohita and his female Rohini . . . . .	207, 661
xi, 5. Glorification of the sun, or the primeval prin- ciple, as a Brahman disciple . . . . .	214, 626
xi, 4. Prâna, life or breath, personified as the supreme spirit . . . . .	218, 622
ix, 2. Prayer to Kâma (love), personified as a pri- mordial power . . . . .	220, 591



BOOK	PAGES
xix, 53. Prayer to Kâla (time), personified as a primordial principle . . . . .	224, 681
xix, 54. Prayer to Kâla (time), personified as a primordial principle . . . . .	225, 687
xi, 7. Apotheosis of the <i>uktishâ</i> , the leavings of the sacrifice . . . . .	226, 629
ix, 1. Hymn to the honey-lash of the Asvins . . . . .	229, 587

## INDEXES :—

I. Index of Subjects . . . . .	693
II. Index of Hymns in the order of the Atharva-veda . . . . .	709
Additions and Corrections . . . . .	711

---

Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the Translations of the Sacred Books of the East . . . . .	713
---	-----

## INTRODUCTION.

### I. THE NAMES OF THE ATHARVA-VEDA AND THEIR MEANINGS.

THE fourth Veda is known in Hindu literature by an unusually large number of appellations. Of these the dvandva plural atharvângirásāḥ is old, occurring AV. X, 7, 20; it is the name found at the head of the Atharvan MSS. themselves. The appearance of this name in a given text has not unfrequently been made the basis—partly or entirely—for estimating the relative chronology of that text. But this criterion can claim only negative value, since the designation occurs in a text as late as the *Ausanasa-smṛiti*, III, 44<sup>1</sup>. It is found in a great variety of texts of the Vedic literature, as may be seen in the subsequent account of the attitude of Hindu literature towards the fourth Veda (p. xxviii ff.), but at no period does it positively exclude other designations.

The locative singular of this same compound occurs in a passage not altogether textually certain, *Mahābh.* III, 305, 20 = 17066, where the Bombay edition has atharvângirasi *śrutam*, but the Calcutta, atharvasirasi *śrutam*. The locative singular (apparently neuter) of the stem atharvângirasa occurs rarely, *Yāgñav.* I, 312 (*kusalam atharvângirase*). A specimen of a derivative adjective from the compound may be seen at *Manu* XI, 33, atharvângirasiḥ *śrutiḥ*; cf. *Mahābh.* VIII, 40, 33 = 1848, *krītyām atharvângirasīm*.

<sup>1</sup> See Givānanda's *Dharmaśāstrasaṃgraha*, vol. i, p. 514.

The name átharvan, with a great variety of derivatives, is employed growingly as the designation of the Veda; the name áṅgiras by itself is so rare as to arrest attention when it is met.

Meaning of  
each of the  
terms atharvan  
and āṅgiras.

At TS. VII, 5, 11, 2 = Kāṭhaka Asvamedha-grantha, V, 2, occurs the formula āṅgirobhyaḥ svāhā, preceded by *riḡbhyaḥ*, &c. svāhā: it is, as far as is known, the solitary occurrence of this designation of the Atharva-veda in a Vedic text<sup>1</sup>. Quite frequently, however, the members of the compound atharvāṅgirasaḥ are separated so that each is mentioned by itself, but always in more or less close conjunction with one another. This shows that the compound is not a congealed formula, but that the texts are conscious of the fact that each has a distinct individuality, and a right to separate existence. In other words, the AV. actually consists of atharvan and āṅgiras matter, and the question arises what elements in the make-up of this Veda these terms refer to. The answer, I believe, may now be given with a considerable degree of certainty: the term atharvan refers to the auspicious practices of the Veda, the bheshagāni (AV. XI, 6, 14), those parts of the Veda which are recognised by the Atharvan ritual and the orthodox Brahmanical writings, as *sānta*, 'holy,' and *paushāika*, 'conferring prosperity'; the term āṅgiras refers to the hostile sorcery practices of the Veda, the *yātu* (Sat. Br. X, 5, 2, 20), or *abhiḥāra*<sup>2</sup>, which is terrible (*ghora*).

In an article entitled, 'On the position of the Vaitāna-sūtra in the literature of the Atharva-veda,' Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XI, 387 ff., I pointed out that the above-mentioned distinction is clearly made at Vait. Sū. 5, 10, where two lists of plants are differentiated, one as *ātharvanyaḥ*, the other as *āṅgirasyaḥ*. The same distinction is maintained at Gop. Br. I, 2, 18. The former refers to the list of plants

<sup>1</sup> In texts not Vedic the term *āṅgirasaḥ* occurs occasionally as an abbreviated form of *atharvāṅgirasaḥ*. Thus in the first superscription of the AV. *Prātisākhya*, the *Saunakīya Katurādhyāyika*, and in *Pāṇini* V, 2, 37. Cf. also Gop. Br. I, 1, 8.

<sup>2</sup> For the distinction between *sānta* and *ābhiḥārika* see Kaus. 3, 19, and note 5 on p. 11 of our edition.

catalogued at Kaus. 8, 16, and there distinctly described as *śāntāḥ*, 'holy'; the second list is stated at Vait. Sū. 5, 10 itself to be *āṅgīrasa*, in the obscure terms, *kapurvīparvā-roḍākāvṛikkāvatināḍānirdahantibhir āṅgīrasibhiḥ*. These names are in general unknown, the text is not quite certain, but the designation of the last, *nirdahanti*, shows that the list is designed for unholy sorcery practices (*ābhikārika*)<sup>1</sup>. The adjective *āṅgīrasa* is in general in the ritualist texts of the AV. equivalent to *ābhikārika*. Thus *sambhara āṅgīrasaḥ*, Kaus. 47, 2, means 'utensils for sorcery'<sup>2</sup>; *danda āṅgīrasaḥ*, Kaus. 47, 12, means 'staff for sorcery'; *agnir āṅgīrasaḥ*, Kaus. 14, 30, means 'sorcery-fire'<sup>3</sup>. The fifth kalpa of the AV., usually known as *Āṅgīrasa-kalpa*, bears also the names *Abhikāra-kalpa*, and *Vidhāna-kalpa*, 'text-book of sorcery'; see *ibid.* XI, 376 ff.

It is worth while to follow out this specific use of the term *āṅgīrasa* in non-Atharvan texts, lest it be suspected of being an Atharvanic refinement. The Rig-vidhāna IV, 6, 4, has the following sloka: 'He against whom those that are skilled in the *Āṅgīrasakalpas* practice sorcery repels them all with the *Pratyāṅgīrasakalpa*'<sup>4</sup>. The term *pratyāṅgīrasa* is the exact equivalent of *pratyabhikāraṇa*, 'counter-witchcraft'<sup>5</sup> (AV. II, 11, 2), and the *krītyāpratiharaṇāni*, Ath. Paris. 32, 2 (cf. Kaus. 39, 7, note). The texts of the sort called *ātharvanapratyaṅgirākālpam* (I see Ind. Stud. I, 469) deal with the same theme, as does the *Yagur-vidhāna* (*Agni-purāṇa*, 259, 10) in the expression *pratyāṅgīreshu* (sc. *karmasu*). Cf. also the titles of works, *pratyāṅgirātātva*, *pratyāṅgirāpañikāṅga*, and *pratyāṅgirāsūkta*, mentioned in Böhtlingk's *Lexicon*, as probably dealing with the same theme. We may connect with this pejorative use of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AV. III, 2, 5; VII, 108, 2; IX, 2, 4; 5, 31; XIV, 2, 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Dārila*, *ghoradravyāni*.

<sup>3</sup> *Keśava*, *āṅgīraso = gniḥ kāṇḍālāgniḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> *yam āṅgīrasakalpais tu tadvido = bhikaranti sa pratyāṅgīrasakalpena sarvāms tāt pratiśādhate*. Cf. also the following slokas, and IV, 8, 3; Ath. Paris. 3, 1; and see Rudolf Meyer's preface to his edition of the Rig-vidhāna, p. xxxi.

<sup>5</sup> *Sāyana*, *nivāryate parakṛitābhikāraṇatā krītyā anena iti pratyabhikāraṇaḥ*.

word *āṅgīrasa* the fact that the *Vishṇu-purāṇa* (Wilson's translation, V, 383) and the *Bhaviṣhya-purāṇa* count the *Āṅgīrasa* as one of the four Vedas of the Parsis (Maga), the other three, *Vada*, *Viśvavada*, and *Vidut*, also conveying thinly veiled disparagement of the religious books of an exotic religion; cf. Wilson in Reinaud's *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 394; *Ind. Stud.* I, 292, note; Weber, *Ind. Lit.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 164, note.

We may then regard it as certain that the words *āṅgīras* and *āṅgīrasa* are reflected by the ceremonial literature in the sense of *abhiḥāra* and *ābhikārika*. Far more important is the evidence of certain texts of greater antiquity, and higher dignity, which have occasion to mention the Atharvan incidentally, and enunciate clearly this twofold character of the Veda. They make the very same distinction between atharvan and *āṅgīras* that appeared above in the ritualistic passage, *Vait. Sū.* 5, 10 (*Gop. Br.* I, 2, 18). At *Sāṅkh. Sr.* XVI, 2, 1 ff., on the occasion of the horse-sacrifice, recitations are made from the ordinary Vedic classes of literature, the *ṛikāḥ*, *yagūmshī*, *sāmāni*, and also the remoter literary categories which the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sūtras* report, with great unanimity and considerable variety, as having been in existence in their time: the *itihāsa* (*ākhyāna*), *purāṇa*, *sarpavidyā*, &c.<sup>1</sup> The Atharvan figures immediately after the *Ṛik* and *Sāman*, and that too twice, in its double character as Atharvan and *Āṅgīras*, and, what is more important, *bheshagam*, i.e. remedial charms, are recited from the Atharvan; *ghoram*, i.e. sorcery, *ābhikārikam*, from the *Āṅgīras*<sup>2</sup>. The commentator regards *bheshagam* and *ghoram* as distinct works, *bheshagagranthasyā'tharvaṇi-kānām . . . ghoram ātharvaṇo granthāḥ*. The same subject is treated in almost identical terms in *Āsv. Sr.* X, 7, 1 ff.: again *ātharvaṇo vedaḥ* and *āṅgīraso vedaḥ* are treated individually, and again the former is correlated with *bheshagam*, the latter with *ghoram*<sup>3</sup>. Once more this theme is handled

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 40 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *atharvavedo vedaḥ so'yam iti bheshagam nigadet . . . āṅgīraso vedaḥ so'yam iti ghoram nigadet.*

<sup>3</sup> Scholiast, *ghoram iti abhiḥārādipratipādakam ity arthaḥ*. Cf. *RV.* X, 34, 14, *mā no ghorēna karatā'bhī dhṛishnú*.

by the Sat. Br. XIII, 4, 3, 3 ff.: here also atharvan and āṅgiras are recognised individually; the correlation with bheshagam and ghoram is wanting, but the individuality of the two categories is clearly implied in the behest to recite on the third and fourth days respectively one section each of the Atharvans and the Āṅgiras, each of which are distinctly said to be a Veda<sup>1</sup>.

Indirect, yet significant testimony that this double character of the AV. was clearly established in Brahmanical times may be derived from the formation of the names of two apocryphal teachers. One is Bhishag Ātharvana, *Kāth. S. XVI, 3* (*Ind. Stud. III, 459*); the other is Ghora Āṅgirasa, *Kaush. Br. XXX, 6*; *Āsv. Sr. XII, 13, 1*; *Khând. Up. III, 17, 6* (cf. *Ind. Stud. I, 190, 293*). The formation Bhishag Ātharvana is illustrated further by *Pañk. Br. XII, 9, 10*, bheshagam vā ātharvanāni; and *XVI, 10, 10*, bheshagam vai devānām atharvāno bheshagyāyai vā rishīyai<sup>2</sup>; cf. also the expressions *samyu ātharvana*, personified as a sage, *Gop. Br. I, 2, 18*, and *atharvabhiḥ sântaḥ*, *Kaus. 125, 2*<sup>3</sup>. These names never, as far as is known, occur in inverted order: there is no Bhishag Āṅgirasa, and no Ghora Ātharvana; they reflect perfectly the individual character and the individual function of the two members of the compound atharvāṅgirasaḥ.

It seems now, further, that the texts of the Atharva-saṃhitā mark this same distinction with no uncertain touch. At AV. XI, 6, 14, four Vedic mantra-categories are indicated by the expressions, *ṛkaḥ*, *sāmāni*, *bheshagā(ni)*, and *yāgūmshi*. The choice of the word *bheshagā* is certainly eclectic and one-sided. The passage appeals to the auspi-

The term  
āṅgiras in  
the Atharva-  
saṃhitā.

<sup>1</sup> *atharvāno vedaḥ ... atharvanām ekam parva vyātakshānaḥ*; *āṅgirasō vedaḥ ... āṅgirasām ekam parva vyātakshānaḥ*. Elsewhere, aside from the Atharvan texts, the component parts of the dvandva *atharvāṅgiras* are drawn asunder, but without accessory statements; thus *Tait. Br. III, 12, 9, 1*; *Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpani Up. 5, 9*.

<sup>2</sup> A converse statement like *bheshagam vā āṅgirasāni*, is, if we judge the matter aright, a counter-sense, and unheard of anywhere in Hindu literature.

<sup>3</sup> So also *Sānti*, as the wife of Atharvan; see Wilson's translation of the *Vishṇu-purāṇa*, I, 110, 200; *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* III, 24, 24.

cious side of the holy texts, and naturally chooses the auspicious aspect of the Atharvan also. Its precise complement is Sat. Br. X, 5, 2, 20. Here, after correlating the adhvaryu-priests with the *yaguh*, the *khandoga*-priests with the *sāman*, the *bahvrikas* with the *uktha* (*rik*), the author presents *yātu*, 'sorcery,' and the *yātuvida*, 'those skilled in sorcery,' as representatives of the fourth Veda. The *bheshagā* of the Atharvan passage, and the *yātu* of the present passage, make up together what is embraced in the name *atharvāṅgirasah* (AV. X, 7, 20). Moreover, the *Samhitā* exhibits a decided predilection, bordering on rigorous distinction, for associating the term *āṅgirasa* with aggressive witchcraft, or the practice of spells (*krityā*). Thus VIII, 5, 9, *krityā āṅgirasā*; X, 1, 6, *pratikṣīna āṅgirasā* . . . *pratikṣī krityā ākrityā-mūn krityākṛto gahi*; XII, 5, 52, *ādādānam āṅgirasī brahmagyām ūpa dāsaya*; cf. also VI, 45, 3=RV. X, 164, 4. In XI, 4, 16 (cf. also VIII, 7, 17) the distinction between Atharvanic and *Āṅgirasī* plants appears again, not, however, in any connection which conveys of necessity the contrast between 'holy' and 'witchcraft' plants. But it may do so. This, it will be remembered, is made in Vait. Sū. 5, 10; it formed the starting point for the present enquiry, and the chain of evidence extending through the Atharvanic and Brahmanical literature seems thus to be linked. We may add finally that the late *Parisishṭa* hymns, AV. XIX, 22 and 23, which are repeated in the tract entitled *Vedavratasyā-desanavidhi*, Ath. Paris. 46, 9 and 10, deal with and state subdivisions of *āṅgirasa* and *ātharvana*-texts, each separately<sup>1</sup>. The statements are but faintly applicable to the existing redactions of the Atharvan, the *Saunakiya*, and *Paippalāda-sākhās*<sup>2</sup>, but we should be slow to condemn them as wholly apocryphal. The Gop. Br. I, 1, 5 and 8 also narrates in its own style of unbridled Brahmanical fancy the separate creation by Brahman of the *Rishis* Atharvan and *Āṅgiras*,

<sup>1</sup> *āṅgirasānām ādyaīḥ pañcānūvākaiḥ svāhā* (XIX, 22, 1); *sārvebhya āṅgīrobhya vidagamebhyaḥ svāhā* (XIX, 22, 18); *ātharvanānām katurrikēbhyaḥ svāhā* (XIX, 23, 1).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. IV, 433 ff.

the subsequent emanation from these two of twenty Atharvanic and Âṅgirasic descendant sages<sup>1</sup>, and finally, the production by the Atharvans of the *âtharvāna veda*, by the Âṅgiras of *âṅgirasā veda*.

In another passage, I, 3, 4, the Gop. Br. also asserts the separate character of the Âṅgiras and Atharvans; the latter are again associated with *bheshagam*, the former is made the base of a foolish etymology, to wit: *bhûyishtham brahma yad bhrigvâṅgirasah, ye-ṅgirasō ye-ṅgirasō sa rasah, ye-tharvāno ye-tharvānas tad bheshagam*.

As regards the chronology and cause of this differentiation of atharvan and âṅgiras the texts are apparently wholly silent. The association of both names (and later of the name *bhrigu* also) with the texts and practices of the fourth Veda may be sought in the character of these mythic beings. They are fire-priests, fire-churners<sup>2</sup>, and the Atharvanic rites, as well as the house-ceremonies in general, centre about the fire, the oblations are into the fire. Fire-priests, in distinction from soma-priests, may have had in their keeping these homelier practices of common life. But whence the terrible aspect of the Âṅgiras in contrast to the auspicious Atharvans? In the hymn about *Saramâ* and the *Pavis*, RV. X, 108, 10, *Saramâ* threatens the *Pavis* with the terrible Âṅgiras, *âṅgirasas ka ghorāh*. This statement, wholly incidental as it seems to be, is, of course, not to be entirely discarded. More important is the fact that *Brîhaspati*, the divine *purodhâ* (*purohita*), is distinctly *âṅgirasā*. In Kaus. 135, 9, *Brîhaspati Âṅgirasā* appears distinctly as the representative, or the divinity of witchcraft performances. In the *Mahâbhârata* he is frequently called *âṅgirasām sreshthah*. In his function of body-priest of the gods it behoves him to

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless by way of allusion to the twenty books in the existing redaction of the *Saunakya-sâkhâ*. The expression *vimsino-ṅgirasah* is repeated Pân. V, 2, 37, as a designation of the twenty books of the *Saunakya-sâkhâ* in its present redaction.

<sup>2</sup> Avestan *âtar*, *âthra-van* and Vedic *athar-van* may be derivatives from the root *manth*, *math* (ṁth) 'churn.' But the absence of the aspiration in *âtar* makes the doubtful derivation still more doubtful.



exercise against hostile powers those fierce qualities which are later in a broader sense regarded as Aṅgirasīc. Thus RV. X, 164, 4 = AV. VI, 45, 3<sup>1</sup>, certainly exhibits this function of the divine purohita, and the composer of AV. X, i, 6, when he exclaims, 'Pratīkīna ("Back-hurler") the descendant of Aṅgiras, is our overseer and officiator (purohita): do thou drive back again (pratīkīh) the spells, and slay yonder fashioners of the spells,' has also in mind the divine purohita<sup>2</sup>. The stanza foreshadows the later formation pratyāṅgiras, discussed above. We look in vain, however, for statements of the reason why the word atharvan should be especially associated with sānta and bhesaga, and must assume that this was accomplished by secondarily contrasting it with aṅgiras after the sense of ghora, abhikāra had incrustated itself over it<sup>3</sup>. The uncertainty of all this does not endanger the result that at a comparatively early time the terms atharvānaḥ, in the sense of 'holy charms,' and aṅgirasaḥ, in the sense of 'witchcraft charms,' joined the more distinctively hieratic terms *rikah*, *yagūmshi*, and *sāmāni*, as characteristic types of Brahmanical literary performances. But this distinction was at a later period again abandoned; in the end the name atharvan and its derivatives prevail as designations of the practices and charms of the fourth Veda without reference to their strongly diversified character.

The stem atharvan is modulated in a considerable variety of ways by derivative processes, the simple stem itself, or forms in the singular from it, being decidedly rare, and not at all early. I have noted *Nṛsimhapûrvatāpani* Up. I, 4, *rigyaguḥsāmātharvarûpaḥ sūryaḥ*. Plural forms are less rare: *atharvāno vedaḥ*, Sat. Br. XIII, 4, 3, 7; *atharvanām*,

<sup>1</sup> yād indra brahmanas pate-bhidrohām kārāmasi, prātetā na āṅgirasō dvishatām pātva āmhasaḥ.

<sup>2</sup> RV. IV, 50, 7-9 prescribes that kings shall keep in honour (sūbhṛtām) a *bṛihaspati*, i. e. a Brahman purohita, in archaic language whose sense coincides completely with the later Atharvanic notions. Barring the diction the passage might stand in any Atharva-Parisishṭa; cf. below, p. lxviii, note.

<sup>3</sup> A dash of popular etymology may have helped the process: a-tharvan, 'not injuring'; cf. thurv in the sense of 'injure,' Dhātupāṭha XV, 62, and perhaps Maitr. S. II, 10, 1; also the roots tûrv and dhûrv with similar meanings.

TB. III, 12, 9, 1; atharvânah, Pañk. Br. XVI, 10, 10. The derivative neuter plural âtharvanâni (sc. sùktâni) is common, from AV. XIX, 23, 1; Pañk. Br. XII, 9, 10 to Vṛiddhahârîta-samhitâ III, 45 (Givânanda, vol. i, p. 213), and later. The same stem, âtharvana, is used in the masculine singular, âtharvanas (sc. vedah) katurthah, Khând. Up. VII, 1, 2. 4; 2, 1; 7, 1; in the plural, mantrâ âtharvanâh, Râm. II, 26, 21. The stem âtharvana (without vṛiddhi of derivation) is found Nṛisimhapûrvatâpani Up. II, 1, atharvanair mantraiḥ; Mahâbh. III, 189, 14 = 12963, atharvanah (sc. vedah). Still another derivative is atharvâna, in atharvâna-vid, Mahâbh. XII, 342, 100 = 13259. The name atharva-veda appears about as early as the corresponding names of the other Vedic categories (ṛigveda. &c.), Sâñkh. Sr. XVI, 2, 10; Pâr. Grîh. II, 1, 7; Hir. Grîh. II, 19, 6; Baudh. Grîh. IV, 5, 1. The form employed in the Gainist Siddhânta is a(t)havvana-veda (see below, p. lvi); that of the Buddhist scriptures is âthabbana-veda (ibid.).

In addition to the designations of the Atharvan discussed above there are still others, based upon different modes of viewing this heterogeneous collection of Mantras.

Other designations of the AV. A single passage, Sat. Br. XIV, 8, 14, 1-4 = Brîh. Âr. Up. V, 13, 1-4, seems to hint at the fourth Veda with the word kshatram. The passage is engaged in pointing out the merits of Vedic compositions, stated in the series uktham (= ṛik; cf. Sat. Br. X, 5, 2, 20), yaguh, sâma, kshatram. Inasmuch as the first three obviously represent the trayî vidyâ, it is possible to view kshatram as epitomising the Atharvan<sup>1</sup>. If so, the passage is of considerable interest, as it seems to view the fourth Veda as the Veda of the Kshatriyas. More precisely the passage substitutes the act of kshatra, i.e. the characteristic performances of the Kshatriya (through, or with the aid of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Prasna Up. II, 6, where brahma and kshatra figure. Both together represent in the epics the best outcome of the life of a kshatriya, 'piety' and 'prowess.' It is possible to conceive the appearance of kshatra alone as an elliptic version of both brahma and kshatra, the two together being the outcome of the trayî preceding, rather than a supplementary statement of additional Vedic types of composition; cf. Prasna Up. II, 6. For brahma alone, see below, p. xxxi, note.

his purohita) as Atharvanic by distinction. Recently Professor Weber<sup>1</sup> has emphasised the marked relation of the Atharvan to the royal caste.

The text of the *Samhitâ* abounds in *râgakarmâni*, 'royal practices,' and Weber thinks that the name of Kausika, the author of the great Atharvan *Sûtra*, points to a Kshatriya connection, since Kusika is identical with Virvâmitra, and the latter, as is well known, stands forth among the ancient Vedic heroes as the representative of royalty. None of these points can be regarded as more than possibilities<sup>2</sup>.

Two other designations of the AV. differ from all the preceding in that they are the product of a later Atharvanic literary age, neither of them being found in the *Samhitâ*, and both being almost wholly restricted to the ritual text of the Atharvan itself. They are the terms *bhṛigvaṅgirasah* and *brahma-veda*.

The term *bhṛigvaṅgirasah* is, as far as the evidence of the accessible literature goes, found only in Atharvan texts. Though *bhṛigu* takes in this compound the place of *atharvan*, the terms *bhṛigavah* or *bhṛiguveda* do not occur. The term *bhṛigvaṅgirasah*, however, is the favourite designation of the Veda in the Atharvan ritual texts<sup>3</sup>: it makes a show, in fact, of crowding out the other designations. Thus the Kausika does not directly mention the Atharvan compositions by any other name (see 63, 3; 94, 2-4; cf. 137, 25; 139, 6), although vaguer allusions to this Veda and its adherents are made with the stem *atharvan* (59, 25; 73, 12;

<sup>1</sup> *Episches im vedischen Ritual*, Proc. of the Royal Academy at Berlin, July 23, 1891; nr. xxxviii, p. 785 ff. (especially 787, top); *Râgasûya*, pp. 4, 23, note.

<sup>2</sup> We may note also the prominence allowed in the AV. to the kind of performance called *sava*. These are elaborate and rather pompous bestowals of *dakṣinâ*, rising as high as the presentation of a house (*śâlāsava*, IX, 3); or a goat with five messes of porridge, five cows, five pieces of gold, and five garments (*agaudana*, IX, 4). There are twenty-two kinds of these *sava*, and the eighth book of the Kausika is devoted to their exposition (Kerava 64-66 presents a brief catalogue of them). Revenues of this kind are not likely to have been derived from lesser personages than rich Kshatriyas, or kings.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Samhitâ* the stem *bhṛigvaṅgiras* is never employed as the name of the Atharvan writings; in AV. V, 19, 1. 2 the terms *bhṛigu* and *āṅgirasah* occur as the names of typical Brahman priests.

125, 2.) The term also occurs in Vait. Sû. I, 5; Gop. Br. I, 1, 39; 2, 18 (end); 3, 1. 2. 4, and it is common in the *Parisishṭas* (see Weber, *Omina und Portenta*, p. 346 ff.; *Verzeichniss der Sanskrit und Prâkrit Handschriften*, II, 89 ff.), and the *Anukramanî*. No valid reason appears why the term *bhṛigu* has succeeded in encroaching so far upon the term *atharvan*. The following may, however, be remarked. The three words *atharvan*, *aṅgiras*, and *bhṛigu* are in general equivalent, or closely related mythic names in connection with the production or the service of fire. Occasionally in the mantras (RV. X, 14, 6) they are found all together<sup>1</sup>, or *bhṛigu* is found in company with *atharvan* (RV. X, 92, 10), or with *aṅgiras* (RV. VIII, 43, 13). This interrelation of the three names continues in the *Yagus* and *Brâhmaṇa*-texts, but in such a way that the juxtaposition of *bhṛigu* and *aṅgiras* becomes exceedingly frequent<sup>2</sup>, broaching in fact on complete synonymy. The latter is reached in Sat. Br. IV, 1, 5, 1, where the sage *Kyavana* is designated either as a *Bhârgava* or as an *Āṅgirasa*<sup>3</sup>. It is conceivable that the frequency of this collocation suggested to the *Atharvavedins* a mode of freshening up the more trite combination *atharvâṅgirasaḥ*; of any reason for a conscious preference of the word *bhṛigu* the texts show no trace<sup>4</sup>.

The term *brahma-veda* whose origin is discussed below (p. lxxv) likewise belongs to the sphere of the *Atharvan* ritual. Outside of the *Atharvan* there is to be noted only a single, but indubitable occurrence, *Sâṅkh. Grîh.* I, 16, 3.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Weber, *Verzeichniss*, II, 46.

<sup>2</sup> E. g. Tait. S. I, 1, 7, 2; Maitr. S. I, 1, 8; Vâg. S. I, 18; Tait. Br. I, 1, 4, 8; III, 2, 7, 6; Sat. Br. I, 2, 1, 13; Kâty. Sr. II, 4, 38; Âpast. Sr. I, 12, 3; 23, 6; Yâska's Nigh. V, 5; Nir. XI, 18. The juxtaposition of *bhṛigu* and *atharvan* is decidedly rarer in this class of texts (e. g. Âpast. Sr. IV, 12, 10); that of *bhṛigu* and *aṅgiras* continues in the *Mahâbhârata*, and later; see Pet. Lex. s. v. (col. 364, top).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. similarly *Dadhyaṅk Âtharvama*, Tait. S. V, 1, 4, 4, with *Dadhyaṅk Āṅgirasa*, *Pañk. Br.* XII, 8, 6.

<sup>4</sup> A statement like that of the late *Kūlikâ Upanishad* 10, that the *Bhṛigu* are foremost among the *Atharvans* (*atharvâṃo bhṛigūttamâḥ*), if it is taken seriously at all, reflects rather the result than the cause of the substitution of the name *bhṛigu* for *atharvan*.

Even in the Atharvan Upanishads the term is wanting<sup>1</sup>. The earliest occurrences of the word, aside from Sāṅkh. Gr̥h., are Vait. Sū. 1, 1; Gop. Br. I, 2, 16. The word is common in the Parisishāṣas.

We may note finally the terms *pañṣṭakalpa* and *pañṣṭa-kalpin*. They do not refer directly to the *Samhitās* of the AV., but are both bahuvrīhi-compounds designating 'one who practises with the five kalpas of the AV.,' i.e. Atharvan priests. Thus the words were first explained by the author, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XI, 378; Kausika, Introduction, p. lvii. Cf. also Magoun, The Āsuri-kalpa, Amer. Journ. Phil. X, 169. They are very late: they do not occur in the Sūtras or Brāhmaṇa of the AV., nor, as far as is known, in the literature proper of that Veda. They appear as the titles of scribes of Atharvan texts, see Kausika, Introduction, p. ix; Weber, Verzeichniss der Sanskrit und Prākṛit Handschriften, II, 96. But they are sufficiently attested outside of the Atharvan, in the expression, *pañṣṭakalpam atharvānam*, Mahābh. XII, 342, 99 = 13258, and in the Mahābhāṣya (Ind. Stud. XIII, 455).

## II. THE POSITION OF THE ATHARVA-VEDA IN HINDU LITERATURE IN GENERAL.

In addressing oneself to the task of characterising the estimate which the Hindus placed upon the Atharvan texts and practices, it is especially needful to take a broad, if possible a universal view, of the statements of the Vedic and mediaeval texts bearing upon the question. The Atharvan is

<sup>1</sup> The word occurs in certain doubtful variants of the text of the *Mundaka Up.*; see Ind. Stud. I, 301, note. In Rām I, 65, 22 *brahmaveda* is contrasted with *kṣatṛaveda*, just as at Mahābh. VII, 23, 39 = 988 *brāhma veda* with *dhanurveda*. In such cases the word *brahma* is not to be referred pregnantly to the fourth Veda, but to Brahmanic religion in general represented by the first caste, the science of war being in the hands of the second, or warrior-caste. Cf. below, p. xlii. The word *brahmavid*, Mahābh. III, 2625 (Nala 14, 18, *brahmarshi*), however, seems to mean 'skilled in sorcery,' and may contain an allusion to the AV.

a sacred text in more than one respect: aside from the materials which it shares with the *Rig-* and *Yagur-vedas*, many of its hymns and practices are benevolent (*bheshaga*) and are in general well regarded, though even these, as we shall see, do not altogether escape the blight of contempt. Many hymns of the *AV.* are theosophic in character: on whatsoever ground they found shelter in the *Atharvan* collections they cannot have been otherwise than highly esteemed. The class of charms designed to establish harmony in family and village life and reconciliation of enemies (the so-called *sâṃmanasyâni*, p. 134 ff.), and the royal ceremonies (*râgakarmâni*), are obviously auspicious in their nature. Even the sorceries of the *Atharvan* necessarily show a double face: they are useful to oneself, harmful to others. According as they are employed objectively and aggressively, they are a valuable and forceful instrument for the benefit and aggrandisement of him that employs them; according as one suffers from them subjectively and passively, they are dreadful and contemptible. This conflict of emotions lasts throughout the history of the recorded Hindu thought; the colour of the *Atharvan* remains changeable to the end, and is so described in the final orthodox and stereotyped view that it is used 'to appease, to bless, and to curse'.<sup>1</sup> The fact, however, is that there must have arisen in the long run a strong wave of popular aversion against the *Veda*, whose most salient teaching is sorcery. This appears from the discussions of the Hindus themselves as to the orthodoxy of that *Veda*<sup>2</sup>; from the conscious efforts of the later *Atharvan* writings to vindicate its character and value; from the allegorical presentation of the *Atharvan* as 'a lean black man, sharp, irascible, and amorous'<sup>3</sup>; and many occasional statements of the Vedic and classical texts. The history of the relation of the *Atharvan* to the remaining Hindu literature is, however,

<sup>1</sup> *sântikapaush/ikâbhiâtârâdipratipâdaka*, *Madhusûdanasarasvatî* (*Ind. Stud.* I, 16); *Kerava* to *Kaus.* I, 1; *Deva* to *Kâty. Sr.* XV, 7, 11, and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> According to Burnell, *Vamsabrahmaṇya* of the *Sâṃaveda*, p. xxi, the most influential scholars of Southern India still deny the genuineness of the *Atharvan*.

<sup>3</sup> *Râgendralâlamitra* in the Introduction to the *Gopatha-brâhmaṇya*, p. 4.

still unwritten, and the following pages aim to supply the necessary data.

In the hymn to the Purusha, the primæval cosmic man (RV. X, 90, 9), the three Vedic categories, *rikah sāmāni*

Position of  
the AV. in  
the Rig-  
veda.

. . . *yaguh*, are mentioned; a fourth term, *khandāmsi*, is generic, embodying the metrical canons, or the metrical compositions as a whole, but the opportunity to mention the

Atharvan is neglected<sup>1</sup>. The names atharvan, *aṅgiras*, and *bhrigu*, which occur frequently elsewhere in the RV., designate mythic personages, intimately connected with the production of the fire, and the soma-sacrifice; nowhere do they seem to refer to any kind of literary composition. Even the expression *brahmāni*, used in connection with atharvan, RV. I, 80, 16, can claim no special interest, because, as will appear later (p. lxvi), the word *bráhma* is never used as a specific designation of Atharvan charms. No great importance is to be attached to this silence; the praises to the gods in connection with the great soma-sacrifices, with their prevailing mythical colouring, darkened very often by priestly mysticism, offer but scant occasion for the mention of sorcery, or the plainer practices of everyday life. Yet sorcery and house-practices there were in India at all times<sup>2</sup>. The failure of the Rig-veda to mention any systematic redaction of charms by a collective name like *atharvāṅgirasah* must be gauged by the slenderness of its opportunities to mention the Veda as a generic name (cf. VIII, 19, 5), or Vedic collections or redactions in particular (X, 90, 9)<sup>3</sup>. There is no proof that even the oldest

<sup>1</sup> For RV. X, 71, 11, which also hints at the three Vedic types, and the *bráhma* that embraces them all, see the full discussion below, p. lxiv ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e. g., RV. I, 191; VII, 50, and especially VII, 104, 16.

<sup>3</sup> The familiar mention of compositions called *rik*, *sāman*, *uktha*, *stotra*, *sastra*, &c., does not, it is important to note, refer to collections at all, but to types of poetic productivity; they are moreover all of them such as were distinctly connected with the soma-sacrifice. Their presence simply accentuates the preoccupation of the body of the Rig-vedic collection with the great priestly sacrifices, and the consequent absence of the more general terms for Vedic classes of writings. The stem *yaguh*, in the sense of collection of formulas of the Yagur-veda, occurs only in the above-mentioned passage, X, 90, 9.

parts of the RV., or the most ancient Hindu tradition accessible historically, exclude the existence of the class of writings entitled to any of the names given to the Atharvan charms; there is no evidence that these writings ever differed in form (metre) or style from those in the existing Atharvan redactions; and, finally, there is no positive evidence—barring the argumentum ex silentio—that the names current in other texts as designations of Atharvan hymns (bheshagâni, atharvânah, ângirasah, &c.) were unknown at the earliest period of literary activity. On the other hand, the existing redactions of the AV. betray themselves as later than the RV. redaction by the character of the variants in those mantras which they share with the RV.

As regards the AV., the stanza X, 7, 20 presents the four Vedic categories, *rikah*, *yaguh*, *sâmâni*, and atharvân-girasah, the last the traditional name of the Saunakiya-version. The same tetrad is intended at XI, 6, 14, where the narrower term bheshagâ(ni) takes the place of atharvângirasah. At XIX, 54, 5 the mention of atharvan and ângiras, though not directly referable to the AV., certainly suggests it, because stanza 3 speaks in the same strain of the *rikah* and *yaguh*; and in XIX, 22, 1; 23, 1 (*parisishṭa* in character; cf. above, p. xxii), the ângirasâni and âtharvanâni (sc. sūktâni) are mentioned separately. Otherwise this text also fails to present a fixed name for the type of literature known later as Atharvanic<sup>1</sup>. The Atharvan is very much in the same position as we shall find the Yagus-texts: the three Vedas are mentioned, often in connection with other more specific forms and designations of prayer and sacerdotal acts, but the Atharvan is omitted. The impression left in both cases is by no means that of conscious neglect or contempt, but rather of esoteric restriction to the sphere of the great Vedic ritual (*śrauta*)<sup>2</sup>. Thus

<sup>1</sup> The word *brahma* which is catalogued with the trayī at XI, 8, 23; XV. 6, 3 (cf. also XV, 3, 7) does not refer to the Atharvan, but is the broader and higher term for religious activity in general. Cf. RV. X, 71, 11, and see below, p. lxvi.

<sup>2</sup> E. g. in the very same hymn (X, 7, 14) in which the Atharvângirasah are



it augurs no contempt or neglect of the Atharvan, if in a charm constructed for the purpose of obtaining a knowledge of the Vedas, AV. VII, 54 (Kaus. 42, 9), only *rīk*, *sāman*, *yaguh*, *veda*, and oblation (*haviḥ*) are mentioned: the person who here desires Vedic learning is not in training for Atharvan priesthood, and therefore does not take care to include this specialistic learning<sup>1</sup>. And similarly a considerable number of additional Atharvan passages, IX, 6, 1. 2; XI, 7, 5. 24; 8, 23; XII, 1, 38; XV, 3, 6-8; 6, 3, in which the Atharvan is not mentioned with the other Vedic compositions, betray no sign of conscious exclusion or contempt of the Atharvan. On the other hand, this very omission ensures the interesting result that the *Samhitā* of the AV., unlike its ritualistic adjuncts (see p. lvii ff.), is in no wise engaged either in self-glorification, or in polemics against the other Vedas. It seems altogether evident that the Atharvan diaskeuasts were totally unconscious of any disadvantages inherent in their text, or any contemptuous treatment on the part of the adherents of the other Vedas.

In addition to the explicit designation of the Atharvan compositions as *atharvāṅgīrasaḥ*, *bheshagāni*, *ātharvanāni*, &c., there is to be noted in the *Saunakiya*-text of the hymns a decided advance in the association of the names Atharvan, *Aṅgīras*, and *Bhrīgu* with the practices and conditions which these hymns are aimed at. The older, broader, and vaguer mythic personality of all three which appears, e.g. in RV. VIII, 43, 13; X, 14, 6 (= AV. XVIII, 1, 58); X, 92, 10, is still continued in the Atharvan (VI, 1, 1; XI, 6, 13; XVI, 8, 11-14): Atharvan, *Aṅgīras*, and *Bhrīgu* are at times simply semi-divine, or wholly divine

---

mentioned as the fourth Veda the poet lapses into the more familiar *traividya*, in a stanza which, like st. 20, aims to state that the Vedas are derived from *Skambha* (*Brahma*), a monotheistic personification; cf. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V, 378.

<sup>1</sup> A similar passage in a *Sūtra* of the RV. (*Āśv Gr̥h.* III, 3, 1-3), on the same occasion, namely, the study of the Veda, does not hesitate to include the Atharvan along with many other Vedic texts. This does not argue conscious preference, any more than the Atharvan passage indicates conscious exclusion; cf. below, p. xliv.

beings, whose office is entirely non-Atharvanic. But on the other hand the Atharvans appear at IV, 37, 1 as slayers of the Rakshas (similarly IV, 3, 7); the Atharvans and Āngiras fasten amulets, and consequently slay the Dasyus, at X, 6, 20; and the name *Bhrigu* appears at V, 19, 1 (cf. TS. I, 8, 18, 1; TB. I, 8, 2, 5) as the typical designation of a Brāhmaṇa, i.e. here, of an Atharvan priest. Such specialisations of these names are unknown in the RV. Especially noteworthy is the evident beginning of the association of the name āngirasa with aggressive witchcraft or spells, and the somewhat less clear corresponding correlation of the stem ātharvana with auspicious charms (see above, p. xviii ff.). Altogether the impression arises that the names Atharvan, Āngiras, and *Bhrigu*, connected with the redaction of the AV., have in the text of that Veda assumed, or commenced to assume, the office which the diaskeuast and the ritualistic texts of the Atharvan have definitely and permanently bestowed upon them.

In the domain of the *śruti*, exclusive of the Rig-veda, i.e. in the *Yagus-samhitās*, and the Brāhmaṇas, the position of the Atharvan is on the whole defined with sufficient clearness. It depends altogether on the practical character of these texts as exponents of the great Vedic sacrifices, the *śrauta*-performances: these, by their very nature, exclude any very direct interest in the systematic charms of the *bheshagāni* and *ābhikārikāni*. Such sorcery as is interwoven with the *śrauta*-performances has acquired independent expression in the metrical and prose formulas the *Yagus-samhitās*; it figures in the form and by the name of sacrificial formulas (*yagūmshi*) as part of the threefold Veda (*trayī vidyā*). Thus the subject-matter of formulas like the following: 'I dig (pits) that slay the Rakshas, destroy the spells that belong to Vishṇu; that spell here which my equal or unequal has dug into (the ground) do I cast out; I make subject here my equal or my unequal that plans hostile schemes against me' (Tait. S. I, 3, 2, 1; VI, 2, 11, 1. 2; Maitr. S. I, 2, 10. 11; Vāg. S. V, 23 ff.; Sat. Br. III, 5, 4, 8 ff.), is by its very terms

Position of  
the AV. in  
the rest of  
the *śruti*.

Atharvanic, and the practices by which its recitation is supplemented might be described in the Kausika-sûtra. The formula *yó asmán dvéshī yám ka vayám dvishmāh*, 'he that hates us and whom we hate' (shall perish, or the like), occurs countless times in the Yagus-texts, as well as in the Atharvan charms. The aims and the acts of the Atharvan are present at the Vedic sacrifice, as well as at the practices of private life; the difference lies in the degree of applicability, and the degree of prominence: in the sruti-literature the sphere of the Atharvan is restricted to matters that are incidental and subsidiary, intended merely to pave the way for the main issue, the successful dispatching of the sacrifice to the gods, and the undisturbed gratification of the priests (the *ishtam* and the *pûrtam*). Under these circumstances and at such a time pronounced hostility against the Atharvan would be a paradox, too silly even for the Yagus-texts and the Brâhmaṇas; no such hostility or repugnance is in evidence: that is reserved for a later and more reflective age.

In the first place then, the mythic personages Atharvan, Aṅgiras, and Bhrigu, whose proper names in the course of time are growingly restricted to the sphere of the Atharvan, continue in their pristine position of demi-gods. At Maitr. S. I, 6, 1 the Aṅgiras are still gods, *aṅgirasām tvā devânām vratenâdadhe*; similarly Tait. Br. I, 1, 4, 8, *bhrigûnām tvâṅgirasām vratapate vratenâdadhâmi*; cf. also Tait. Br. III, 2, 7, 6; Maitr. S. I, 1, 8; Vâg. S. I, 18 (Sat. Br. I, 2, 1, 13; Kâty. Sr. II, 4, 38); Âpast. Sr. V, 11, 7. For Atharvan, see Tait. S. V, 1, 4, 3; 6, 6, 3; Tait. Br. I, 1, 10, 4; Vâg. S. VIII, 56; XI, 32. And so innumerable other instances. Needless to say, the descendants of the three divinities, conceived eponymically as the founders of families of *Rishis*, the Âtharvana, Aṅgirasa, and Bhârgava, enjoy the same rights, and hold the same position of honour as the other families of *Rishis*, it being reserved for the later Atharvan writings to extol them beyond measure, and to establish them as the typical teachers<sup>1</sup>. Thus Atharvan Daiva is the name of an ancient

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Weber, *Omina und Portenta*, p. 347.

teacher, Sat. Br. XIV, 5, 5, 22; 7, 3, 28; Dadhyañk Ātharvāna, Tait. S. V, I, 4, 4; 6, 6, 3; Sat. Br. IV, 1, 5, 18; VI, 4, 2, 3; the countless Āngirasa, of which the RV. Anukramanī counts no less than 45<sup>1</sup>, e. g. Sat. Br. IV, 1, 5, 1; Kaush. Br. XXX, 6; Ait. Br. VIII, 21, 13; Āpast. Sr. V, 11, 7; and the equally frequent Bhārgava, Tait. S. I, 8, 18, 1; Sat. Br. ib.; Ait. Br. VIII, 2, 1, 5; Kaus. Br. XXII, 4. Occasionally, doubtless, even the *śruti* feels the connection that has been established between these names and the sphere of Atharvanic literary activity, as when the Kāṭh. S. XVI, 13 mentions a *Rishi* Bhishag Ātharvāna<sup>2</sup> (see Weber, Ind. Stud. III, 459); the Kaush. Br. XXX, 6, a *Rishi* Ghora Āngirasa; or when the Pañk. Br. XII, 8, 6 states that Dadhyañk Āngirasa was the chaplain (*purodhāniya*) of the gods.

The manner in which the hymns of the Atharvan are alluded to in the *śrauta*-texts is as follows. Ordinarily the texts are preoccupied with the sacrificial literature in the narrower sense, and hence devote themselves to the mention and laudation of the *trayī vidyā*, either without recounting its specific literary varieties, or by fuller citation of the terms *ṛik*, *sāman*, *yaguḥ*. For these are substituted not infrequently other terms like *stoma*, *uktha*, *śastra*, *udgītha*. &c., special liturgical varieties, also derived directly from the sphere of the *śrauta*-performances, and, in fact, strictly dependent upon these performances for their existence. On the other hand, whenever the *śrauta*-texts mention, or make draughts upon other literary forms like *itihāsa*, *purāṇa*, *gāthā*, *sūtra*, *upanishad*, and many others, the Atharvan literature is almost unfailingly included, and that too almost invariably in the following order: the *traividya* is mentioned first, the Atharvan holds the fourth place, and next follow in somewhat variable arrangement the types *itihāsa*, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Weber, *Episches im vedischen Ritual*, Sitzungsberichte der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1891, p. 812 (46 of the reprint).

<sup>2</sup> The same apocryphal *Rishi* is reported by the *Anukramanī*s as the author of the *oshadhīstuti*, 'the hymn to the plants,' RV. X, 97; Vāg. S. XII, 75-89.

Thus the Taittirīya-saṃhitā mentions *rik*, *sāman*, and *yaguḥ* alone at II, 4, 12, 7; 5, 7, 1; VI, 1, 2, 4; VII, 3, 1, 4; 12, 1; the same categories are alluded to at II, 4, 11, 6, in the expressions *sāmanaḥ*, *yagushām*, and *ukthamadānām*; at III, 2, 9, 5. 6 in the expressions *udgātrinām* (with *udgitha*), *ukthasamsinām* (with *rikah*), and *adhvaryūnām*; cf. also *ishtayagushah*, *stutastomasya*, *sastokthasya* at I, 4, 28, 1. The only mention of Atharvan literature is at VII, 5, 11, 2, under the designation *āṅgirasah* (without *atharvānah*<sup>1</sup>), and here the text is as follows: *rigbhyaḥ svāhā*, *yagurbhyaḥ svāhā*, *sāmabhyaḥ svāhā*, *āṅgirobhyaḥ svāhā*, *vedebhyaḥ svāhā*, *gāthābhyaḥ svāhā*, *nārāsamsibhyaḥ svāhā*, *raibhibhyaḥ svāhā*.

This also, in the main, is the nature of the references to the AV. in the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa. Either the term *trayī vidyā* is used, or *rik*, *sāman*, and *yaguḥ* are mentioned explicitly: I, 1, 4, 2. 3; II, 6, 4, 2-7; IV, 6, 7, 1. 2; V, 5, 5, 1. 9; VI, 1, 1, 8; 3, 1, 10. 11. 20; VII, 5, 2, 52; VIII, 5, 2, 4; IX, 5, 2, 12; X, 4, 2, 21. 22; 5, 2, 1. 2; XI, 5, 4, 18; 8, 3-7; XII, 3, 3, 2; 4, 9; XIV, 4, 3, 12; 8, 15, 2. 9. In all these cases there is no mention of the Atharvan; but neither is there any mention of any other literary type that has a distinctive standing outside of the *trayī vidyā*. On the other hand, the Atharvan is mentioned in a number of cases, every one of which presents also a lengthy list of additional literary forms. Thus XI, 5, 6, 4-8, *rikah*, *yagūmshi*, *sāmāni*, *atharvāṅgirasah*, *anusāsanāni*, *vidyā*, *vākovākyam*, *itihāsapurānam*, *gāthā nārāsamsyah*; XIII, 4, 3, 3 ff., *riko vedah*, *yagūmshi vedah*, *atharvāno vedah*, *āṅgirasō vedah*, *sarpavidyā vedah*, *devaganavidyā vedah*, *māyā vedah*, *itihāso vedah*, *purānam vedah*, *sāmāni vedah*; XIV, 5, 4, 10; 6, 10, 6; 7, 3, 11 (=Br̥h. Ār. II, 4, 10; IV, 1, 2; 5, 11), *rigvedo yagurvedah* *sāmavedo-atharvāṅgirasā itihāsaḥ purānam vidyā upanishadah* *slokāḥ sūtrāny anuvyākhyānāni vyākhyānāni*; X, 5, 2, 20, *adhvaryavah* (*yaguḥ*),

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. xviii.

*khandogâh* (sâman), *bahvrikah* (uktham), *yâtuvidah* (yâtu), *sarpavidah* . . . *devaganavidah*. Only a single Upanishad passage, XIV, 8, 14, 1-4 (= *Brîh. Âr. Up. V, 13, 1-4*), seems to mention, or rather hint at, the Atharvan in connection with representatives of the trayî vidyâ, without mentioning other texts<sup>1</sup>. The series is uktham, *yaguh*, sâma, kshatram; the passage possibly views the fourth Veda as the Veda of the Kshatriyas, or, more precisely, substitutes the act of kshatra, i. e. the performances of the kshatriya as Atharvanic by distinction. See, for this, p. xxv, above.

The Taittirîya-brâhmaṇa mentions the Atharvan twice, once in accordance with the method described above, at

The AV. in  
the  
Taittirîya-  
brâhmaṇa.

III, 12, 8, 2, *riko yagûmshi sâmanî atharvân-gîrasah* . . . *itihâsapurânam*. In the other passage, III, 12, 9, 1, the Atharvan is mentioned without the customary adjuncts, and

that too before the Sâma-veda, to wit, *rikâm prâkî mahatî dig uk̐yate, dakshinâm âhur yagushâm apârâm, atharvanâm ângirasâm pratikî, sâmnâm udikî mahatî dig uk̐yate*. But it is of interest to note that in the sequel, where sundry symbolic and mystic correlations of the Vedas with the sun, &c., are established, the Atharvan is wanting, and the operations take place with vedais tribhiḥ. Thus, *rigbhiḥ pûrvâhne divi deva iyate, yagurvede tishṭhati madhye ahnah, sâmavedenâ-stamaye mahîyate, vedair asûnyas tribhir eti sûryah*. We shall not err in judging that the fourth Veda is mentioned in a purely formulaic manner, only because it is needed to fill out the scheme of the four principal directions of space; the real theme at the heart of the author is the traividya, as, e. g. in III, 10, 11, 5. 6. On the other hand, it would be altogether erroneous to assume either hostility, or conscious discrimination against the Atharvan. The Taittirîya-âraṇyaka again falls into line in two passages, II, 9 and 10, presenting the texts in their most expansive form, *rikah, yagûmshi,*

<sup>1</sup> Conversely the trayî is catalogued with other texts (*vâkovâkyam itihâsapurânam*), but without the Atharvan, at XI, 5, 7, 6 ff.; cf. the same list *Sākh. Grîh. I, 24, 8*.

sāmāni, atharvāṅgirasah, brāhmaṇāni, itihāsān, purāṇāni, kalpān, gāthāh, nārāsamsiḥ.

The only mention of the Atharvan as a literary type in Śāṅkhāyana's Srauta-sūtra is at XVI, 2, 2 ff., again in the

The AV. in  
the remain-  
ing srauta-  
texts.

series, *riko vedah*, *yagurvedah*, *atharvavedah* (in connection with *bheshagam*), *āṅgiraso vedah* (in connection with *ghoram*), *sarpavidyā*, *ra-kshovidyā*, *asuravidyā*, *itihāsavedah*, *purāṇa-vedah*, *sāmavedah*. Very similarly in Āsvalāyana's Srauta-sūtra X, 7, 1 ff., *riko vedah* *yagurvedah*, *atharvānah vedah* (with *bheshagam*), *āṅgiraso vedah* (with *ghoram*), *vishavidyā*, *piśākavidyā*, *asuravidyā*, *purāṇavidyā*, *itihāso vedah*, *sāmavedah*. These passages are essentially identical with Sat. Br. XIII, 4, 3, 3 ff., above; their chief interest lies in the differentiation of atharvan and āṅgiras, respectively as representatives of the auspicious (*bheshagam*) and terrible (*ghoram* = *ābhiḥārikam*) activities of this Veda; cf. above, p. xviii ff. In the *Pañikaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa*, XII, 9, 10; XVI, 10, 10, the Atharvan charms are mentioned favourably: *bheshagam* vā *ātharvaṇāni*, and *bheshagam* vai *devānām atharvāno bheshagyāyai-vā-rishṭyai*. Cf. also XXIII, 16, 7; *Kāth.* S. XI, 5 (cf. Ind. Stud. III, 463).

The *Vāgasaneyi-samhitā* mentions the *traividya* (or *rik* and *sāman* without *yaguh*) frequently, IV, 1. 9; VIII, 12; XVIII, 9. 29. 67; XX, 12; XXXIV, 5; XXXVI, 9; the Atharvan is nowhere mentioned in connection with the other three. Once at XXX, 15 = Tait. Br. III, 4, 1, 11, a woman that miscarries (*avatokā*) is devoted to the Atharvans; the reference, in the light of AV. VI, 17; Kaus. 35, 12 (a charm to prevent miscarriage), seems to be to Atharvan hymns or Atharvanic practices. Otherwise the word *atharvan* occurs in connections that admit of no special, or at any rate obvious, reference to the fourth Veda, VIII, 56; XI, 32. Neither is there, as far as is known, any mention of the Atharvan in the *Maitrāyaṇi-samhitā*, the *Aitareya* and *Kaushītaki-brāhmaṇas*, or *Kātyāyana's* and *Lātyāyana's* Srauta-sūtras.

The position of the Atharvan in the srauta-literature according to this evidence is what might be naturally

expected: there is no evidence of repugnance or exclusiveness. Witchcraft is blended with every sphere of religious thought and activity, and the only sane attitude on the part of these texts must be the recognition of the literary products which are by distinction the repositories of witchcraft. No one will expect rigid consistency: witchcraft blows hot and cold from the same mouth; according as it is turned towards the inimical forces, human and demoniac, or is turned by others against oneself, it is regarded as useful, or noxious. The AV. itself takes the same view by implication: the hymn, II, 12, hurls the bitterest invective against enemies that endeavour to thwart one's holy work; this does not prevent one's own endeavour to frustrate the sacrifice of an enemy (VII, 70); the hymn, II, 7, ensures protection against curses and hostile plots, but does not prevent the existence of fierce imprecations and curses issued forth subjectively for the ruin of another (VI, 13 and 37). It is a question throughout of my sorcery, or thy sorcery. The flavour of holiness and virginal innocence is necessarily absent, and this want crops out in connection with the performances of *yātu* even in the RV. (VII, 104, 15. 16), where the writer exclaims: 'may I die to-day if I am a sorcerer,' and complains against his enemy who calls him, though he is pure, a sorcerer, and against the real sorcerer who pretends that he is pure. Though *yātu* (sorcery) is regarded here as devilish (cf. e.g. AV. I, 7 and 8), the writer at Sat. Br. X, 5, 2, 20 is not prevented from placing the *yātuvidaḥ*, 'those that are skilled in sorcery,' in solemn array with the representatives of the holiest forms of literature, immediately after the *bahvrikah*, as the characteristic exponent of Atharvanic activity. And on the other hand even *bhe-shagam*, 'cure, medicine,' the altruistic province of the Atharvan, though well regarded in general, does not come off without a sneer. The Tait. S. VI, 4, 9, 3 (cf. Maitr. S. IV, 6, 2; Sat. Br. IV, 1, 5, 14) says, *brāhmaṇena bhe-shagam na kâryam*, 'a Brahman shall not practise medicine,' the reason that is assigned being that the physician is

Resumé of  
the *śrauta-*  
texts estimate  
of the AV.



impure, that the practice entails promiscuous, unaristocratic mingling with men: 'men run to the physician' (MS. IV, 6, 2, p. 80, l. 1)<sup>1</sup>. And we may trust that the canons of social standing and literary appreciation of a people that had produced the best that is to be found in Vedic literature could not fail altogether, when in the proper mood, to estimate at its right value the wretched hocus-pocus of the *bheshagâni* themselves, though these were the best that the Vedic period had produced for the relief of bodily ailment. Yet the Veda without witchcraft would not be the Veda, and the *śrauta*-texts are not in the position to throw stones against the Atharvan. Moreover it must not be forgotten that the Atharvan contains in its cosmogonic and theosophic sections more material that undertakes to present the highest *brahmavidyâ* than any other Vedic *Samhitâ* (cf. below, p. lxvi); by whatever literary evolution this was associated with this sphere of literature and incorporated into the redaction, it doubtless contributed to the floating of the more compact body of sorcery-charms, and its higher valuation among the more enlightened of the people. At any rate, a sober survey of the position of the Atharvan in the *traividya* yields the result that this Veda, while not within the proper sphere of the greater concerns of Vedic religious life, is considered within its own sphere as a Veda in perfectly good standing; the question of its relative importance, its authority, and its canonicity is not discussed, nor even suggested.

The position of the Atharvan in the Upanishads does not appear to differ from that in the *śruti* in general. Aside from the Atharvan Upanishads, which are naturally somewhat freer in their reference to the AV., and in the mention of more or less apocryphal Atharvan teachers, it is introduced but rarely, and usually in the manner prevalent elsewhere in the *śrauta*-literature, i. e. preceded by the *trayî*, and

The AV. in  
the Upani-  
shads.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the contempt for the *pûgayagñiyâti*, *ye pûgân yâgayanti*, 'those who sacrifice for a crowd,' Manu III, 151; Mahâbh. I, 2883, and the *grâmayâgin*, Manu IV, 205, and *grâmayâgaka*, Mahâbh. III, 13355. See also Vishnu LXXXII, 12; Gaut. XV, 16.

followed by a variable list of other literary types. Thus the passages quoted above from Sat. Br. XIV, 5, 4, 10; 6, 10, 6; 7, 3, 11 = *Brîh. Âr. Up.* II, 4, 10; IV, 1, 2; 5, 11, and the Tait. Âr. II, 9 and 10, are of Upanishad character, and the Maitr. Up. VI, 32 repeats the list of texts stated at Sat. Br. = *Brîh. Âr. Up.*, just cited, in precisely the same order. The same text, Maitr. Up. VI, 33 (= Mahâ Up. 2 : Atharvasiras 4), has the list *rigyaguhśâmâtharvângirasâ itihâsah purânam*. The *Khând. Up.* III, 1-4 deals with *rik*, *yaguh*, *sâman*, *atharvângirasah*, and *itihâsapurânâni*; the same text at VII, 1, 2. 4; 2, 1; 7, 1, has the same list, . . . *âtharvanas katurthah itihâsapurânah pañkamah*, to which are added a lengthy series of additional sciences (*vidyâ*). The Tait. Up. = Tait. Âr. VIII, 3, again, presents the Atharvan in a formulaic connection, *tasya* (sc. *âtmanah*) *yagur eva sirah, rig dakshinah pakshah, sâmôttarah pakshah, âdesa âtmâ, atharvângirasah pukkham*<sup>1</sup>. There is, as far as is known, no additional mention of the Atharvan in the non-Atharvanic Upanishads, and it is evident that there is no marked change in the manner in which the fourth Veda is handled. Very much more numerous are the instances in which the trayî alone appears; see Jacob's Concordance to the principal Upanishads, under the words *rigveda, rinmaya, rik*; *yagurveda, yagurmaya, yagus*; *sâmaveda, sâmamaya, sâman*. They show that the draughts upon the Atharvan and the subsequent literary forms are, in general, made under the excitement of formulaic solemnity; while on the other hand, needless to say, the Upanishads with their eye aloft alike from hymn, sacrificial formula, and witchcraft charm, have no occasion to condemn the Atharvan, aside from that superior attitude of theirs which implies, and diplomatically expresses condemnation of the entire Veda that is not brahmavidyâ.

Even in the Atharvan Upanishads there is sounded in

---

<sup>1</sup> This Upanishad belongs to a Yagus-school; hence the pre-eminence of the *yagus*. The Atharvan is here forced into a position of disadvantage, and it may be admitted that its mention after the *âdesa* (Upanishad) is intentional. But there is really no other course open to the writer. The tenor of the entire passage excludes the notion of disparagement of any of the texts mentioned.

general neither the polemic nor the apologetic note which characterises the ritualistic writings of the Atharvan. We find, to be sure, in the late *Praxava Up.* a sporadic, if not solitary, assumption of superiority on the part of the AV.<sup>1</sup> and an interpolated passage in the *Prasna Up.* V, 5 betrays the distinct tendency to secure at any cost the correlation of the Atharvan with the highest brahma<sup>2</sup>. The authority of Atharvanic teachers, Sanatkumâra, Âṅgiras, Paippalâda, &c., is, of course, cited with especial frequency in the Atharvan Upanishads, helping to confer upon them an esoteric school character. But in general, all that may be said is, that the Atharvan Upanishads mention the fourth Veda along with the other three more frequently than the corresponding tracts of the other schools, that the Atharvan is quietly added to the trayî, whether other literary forms like the *itihâsapurânam*, &c., appear in the sequel, or not. Even these Upanishads, however, occasionally lapse into the more frequent habit of the bulk of the Vedic literature, and fail to refer to the Atharvan, whether consciously or not, it seems impossible to tell. Thus the *Mundaka Up.* I, 1, 5 counts the four Vedas (Atharvan included) along with the Âṅgas as the lesser science, above which towers the science of Brahma: *rigvedo, yagurvedah, sâmavedo atharvavedah sikshâ*, &c. But in II, 1, 6 the list is, *rikah sâmâ yagûmshi dikshâ yagñaska*. The *Prasna Up.* II, 8 says of the *Prâna*, 'life's breath' (personified), *rishînâm karitam satyam atharvângirasâm asi*, which seemingly contains an allusion to the Atharvan writings, but in II, 6 we have, *prâne sarvam pratishhitam riko yagûmshi sâmâni yagñah kshatram brahma ka*<sup>3</sup>. See also *Mahânârâyana Up.* 22. This betrays the usual preoccupation with the *traividya*, which is not quite effaced by the possible allusion to the Atharvan in II, 8. The *Nṛsimhapûrvatâpani Up.*

<sup>1</sup> See *Ind. Stud.* I, 296; IX, 51.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ind. Stud.* I, 453, note, and cf. Lœhtling's critical edition of the *Prasna* in the *Proceedings of the Royal Saxon Academy*, November, 1890.

<sup>3</sup> It would have been easy to substitute for the last four words, *atharvângirasas ka ye*, or the like. Cf. also *Prasna V*, 5, alluded to above.

I, 2 has, *rigyaguhsâmâtharvânas katvâro vedâh*; I, 4, *rigyaguhsâmâtharvarûpah sûryah*; II, 1 (= *Nrisimhottaratâpanî* Up. 3; *Atharvasikhâ* Up. 1), *rigbhih rigvedah*, *yagurbhir yagurvedah*, *sâmabhih sâmavedah*, *atharvanair mantrair atharvavedah*; in V, 9 it falls into the broader style of reference, *rikah*, *yagûmshi*, *sâmâni*, *atharvânam*, *angirasam*, *sâkhâh*, *purânâni*, *kalpân*, *gâthâh*, *nârâsamsth*, leading up finally to *pranavam*, the Om which embraces all (*sarvam*). But in V, 2 we have *rigmayam yagurmayam sâmamayam brahmamayam amritamayam*, where *brahmamayam* obviously refers to the *brahmavidyâ*, the holy science, not to the fourth Veda, the *Brahmaveda*<sup>1</sup>. And thus the *Brahmavidyâ* Up. 5 ff. recounts the merits of the *traividya*, culminating in the Om, without reference to the *Atharvan*. It seems clear that even the *Atharvan Upanishads* as a class are engaged neither in defending the *Atharvan* from attack, nor in securing for it any degree of prominence. Other references to the *Atharvan* occur in *Atharvasiras* I, *rig aham yagur aham sâmâham atharvângirasoham*; *Muktikâ* Up. 12-14, *rigveda*, *yaguh*, *sâman*, *âtharvana*; *ibid.* I, *atharvavedagatânâm . . . upanishadâm*; *Mahâ Up.* 3, *gâyâtram khanda rigvedah*, *traishṭubham khando yagurvedah*, *gâgatam khandah sâmavedah*, *ânushṭubham khando tharvavedah*. Cf. also *Kûlikâ* Up. 10, 13, 14.

On turning to the *Grihya-sûtras* it would be natural to anticipate a closer degree of intimacy with the *Atharvan*, and hence a more frequent and less formulaic reference to its writings. For the subject-matter of these texts is itself, broadly speaking, *Atharvanic*, besides being dashed strongly with many elements of *vidhâna* or sorcery-practice, i.e. *Atharvanic* features in the narrower sense and by distinction<sup>2</sup>. Many verses quoted in the *Grihya-sûtras* are

The AV.  
in the  
*Grihya-*  
*sûtras*.

<sup>1</sup> The *Upanishads* do not designate the fourth Veda as *Brahmaveda*, unless we trust certain doubtful variants and addenda, reported by Weber, *Ind. Stud.* I, 301, note. The earliest occurrence of *Brahmaveda* is at *Sânkh. Grih.* I, 16, 13 (see above, p. xxvii).

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g. the use of roots, *Pâr.* I, 13, 1; *Sânkh.* I, 19, 1; 23, 1; the battle-charm, *Âsv.* III, 12 (cf. p. 117 ff. of this volume); the *bhaishagyâni*, 'remedial charms,' *Âsv.* III, 6, 3 ff.; *Pâr.* I, 16, 24 ff.; III, 6; *Hir.* II, 7;

identical with, or variants of those contained in the Atharva-saṃhitā. But even the Gr̥hya-rites, popular, nay vulgar, as they must have been in their untrammelled beginnings, were, so to speak, Rishified, and passed through in due time a process of school-treatment which estranged them as far as possible from the specifically Atharvanic connections, and assimilated them, as far as possible, to the Rig-veda, Sāma-veda, and Yagur-veda, as the case may be. Thus the battle-charm, Āsv. III, 12, instead of drawing upon the very abundant mantras of this kind, contained in the AV. (see p. 117 ff.), is decked out with the scattering material of this sort that may be extracted from the RV. (see the notes to Stenzler's and Oldenberg's translations). In general the preference for mantras of the particular school is nearly if not quite as great as in the Srauta-sūtras. The anticipation of a marked degree of literary relationship with the Atharvan is not materialised. The Gr̥hya-sūtras of the Sama-veda (Gobhila and Khādīra), and Āpastamba<sup>1</sup>, do not seem to mention the Atharvan at all; Āsvalāyana (III, 3, 1-3), on the occasion of the svādhyāya, the daily recitation of the Veda, recommends the Atharvan, but the mention of this text is that which we have found to be the normal one in the Srauta-literature, i.e. preceded by *ṛik*, *yaguh*, and *sāman*; followed by *brāhmaṇa*, *kalpa*, *gāthā*, *nārāsaṃsī*, *itihāsa*, and *purāṇa*<sup>2</sup>. Similarly Hiranyakesin (II, 19, 6), in connection with a long list of deities, mentions in order *ṛigveda*, *yagurveda*, *sāmaveda*, and *itihāsapurāṇa*; in Sāṅkhāyana I, 24, 8 the Atharvan is even omitted in a similar list, which catalogues

Āpast. VII, 18 (cf. p. 1 ff.); the *sāman*manasyāni, 'charms to secure harmony,' Pār. III, 7; Āpast. III, 9, 4 ff.; VIII, 23, 6. 7; Hir. I, 13, 19 ff. (cf. p. 134 ff.), &c. See in general the list of miscellaneous Gr̥hya-rites in Oldenberg's index to the Gr̥hya-sūtras, Sacred Books, vol. xxx, p. 306 ff.

<sup>1</sup> This Sūtra mentions neither *ṛik*, *sāman*, nor atharvan, a probably unconscious preoccupation with the *yaguh* that must not be construed as intentional chauvinism against the other Vedas. The mantra-materials quoted and employed do not differ in their general physiognomy from those of the other Sūtras, but they are always referred to as *yaguh*.

<sup>2</sup> The passage contains in slightly different arrangement the list of Vedic texts presented by the Tait. Ār. II, 9 and 10, above; cf. also Sat. Br. XI, 5, 7, 5. 6.

*ṛigveda*, *yagurveda*, *sāmaveda*, *vākovākya*m, *itihāsapurāṇam*, and finally *sarvān vedān* (cf. the same grouping, *Sat. Br.* XI, 5, 7, 6 ff.). But in *Sāṅkh.* I, 16, 3 (*brahmaveda*); *Hir.* II, 3, 9 (*atharvāṅgirasa*); II, 18, 3; 20, 9 (*atharvaveda*); *Pār.* II, 10, 7 (*atharvaveda*); II, 10, 21 (*atharvanām*) there is a distinct advance along the line of later development in the familiar mention of the fourth Veda; this is not balanced altogether by the restriction to the *trayī*, *Sāṅkh.* I, 22, 15; 24, 2; *Hir.* I, 5, 13; II, 13, 1, or the restriction to two Vedas, *Gobh.* I, 6, 19; III, 2, 48; *Āsv.* I, 7, 6 = *Pār.* I, 6, 3 = *Sāṅkh.* I, 13, 4, because these passages are to a considerable extent quotations, or modifications of mantras derived from the *sruti*. The true value of this testimony is chronological, not sentimental: the *Gṛīhya-sūtras*, as much as their subject-matter is akin to the *Atharvan*, are not imbued with a sense of its especial value and importance, any more than the *śrauta*-texts. They handle their materials in a self-centred fashion, without acknowledging any dependence upon the literary collections of the *Atharvans*; their more frequent reference to the fourth Veda is formulaic in every single instance, and the greater frequency with which it is mentioned marks the later chronology of the *Gṛīhya-sūtras* (cf. Oldenberg, *Sacred Books*, vol. xxx, pp. i and xvii ff.).

The construction of the Vedic literature in general is, as we have seen, such as to forbid any genuine discrimination there against the *Atharvan*. In so far as this Veda offers the means of defence against the ills of life (disease and possession by demons); in so far as it presents the auspicious blessings pronounced at the sacramental points in the life of the individual, from conception to death, it is holy by its very terms. Even witchcraft is part of the religion; it has penetrated and has become intimately blended with the holiest Vedic rites; the broad current of popular religion and superstition has infiltrated itself through numberless channels into the higher religion that is presented by the Brahman priests, and it may be presumed that the priests were neither able to cleanse their

The AV.  
in the law-  
books.

own religious beliefs from the mass of folk-belief with which it was surrounded, nor is it at all likely that they found it in their interest to do so. But there is another field of literature whose roots also reach down to the Veda, in which judgment must be passed over the more unclean and sinister phases of Atharvanic activity. The broad arena on which men meet in daily contact is the true field for the golden rule. The need of doing unto others what one would have others do unto oneself, and leaving the opposite undone, is sure to be felt, and sure to gain expression in the proper literature. This literature is the legal literature (*dharma*), more narrowly that part of it which deals with the mutual rights and obligations of men, the *vyavahâra*-chapters of the legal *Sûtras* and *Sâstras*. Here also the Atharvan retains in a measure its place by virtue of its profound hold upon popular beliefs, because indispensable sciences like medicine and astrology are Atharvanic by distinction, and because the Atharvan performs, especially for the king, inestimable services in the injury and overthrow of enemies. The king's chaplain (*purohita*) was in all probability as a rule an Atharvan priest (cf. *Yâgñav.* I, 312). But incantations, sorceries, and love-charms do work injury, and the *dharma*-literature pronounces with no uncertain voice the judgment that the Atharvan, while useful and indispensable under certain circumstances, is on the whole inferior in character and position, that its practices are impure, and either stand in need of regulation, or must be prohibited by the proper punishments.

The Atharvan is not mentioned very frequently either in the *Dharma-sûtras*, the older metrical *Dharma-sâstras*, or in the more modern legal *Smritis*. In *Vishnu* XXX, 37; *Baudh.* II, 5, 9, 14; IV, 3, 4; *Yâgñav.* I, 44 (cf. *Manu* II, 107); 101<sup>1</sup> (cf. *Manu* II, 85); *Ausanas-smṛiti* III, 44 (*Givâ-nanda*, vol. i, p. 514), the Atharvan is mentioned in the

---

<sup>1</sup> In this passage, *vedâtharvapurâṇâni setihâsâni*, the Atharvan is kept distinct from the *trayî*, the *veda* by distinction; cf. Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*<sup>2</sup>, p. 165, note.

normal Vedic manner, i.e. preceded by the *traividya*, and followed by other literary types, especially the *itihâsapurânam*. It is worthy of note that in only three of the five cases (Baudh. II, 5, 9, 14; *Yâgñav.* I, 44; Aus. III, 44), the older name *atharvângirasaḥ* appears; the other three have *atharvaveda*, or *atharvan*. But it seems altogether impossible to derive from this any chronological indications as to the date of a given legal text, since *Uśanas*, or even *Yâgñavalkya*, is certainly later than *Baudhâya* and *Vishnu*. At this time the names *atharvaveda*, *atharvan*, *âtharvava* have established themselves as the equivalent of the older *atharvângirasaḥ*, but the older name crops out at times in a purely chance way. At *Yâgñav.* I, 3 the fourth Veda is also implied as one of the fourteen foundations of knowledge and law, without being mentioned by name; cf. also *Ausanasa-smṛiti* V, 66 (*Gīvananda*, vol. i, p. 531, bottom). The *Atharvan*, however, holds also the position of the fourth Veda in cases where no additional literature is mentioned; at Baudh. III, 9, 4 burnt oblations are offered to the four Vedas and many divinities; at Baudh. IV, 5, 1 the *Sāman*, *Rik*, *Yagus*, and *Atharva-veda* are mentioned in connection with oblations calculated to procure the special wishes of one's heart (*kāmyeshṭayaḥ*). At Vas. XXII, 9 the *Samhitās* of all the Vedas (*sarvakhandaḥsamhitāḥ*) are counted among the purificatory texts: the *Atharvan* is probably intended to be included, especially as the *Atharvasiras* (see below) is explicitly mentioned. In the late *Vṛiddhahārīta-samhitā* III, 45<sup>1</sup> the *âtharvanâni* (sc. *sûktâni*) are on a level with the *riko yagûmshi* and *sāmâni*. In the *Ausanasa-smṛiti* III, 86 (*Gīvananda*, vol. i, p. 518) the twice-born is recommended to read either a Veda, two Vedas, the Vedas, or the four Vedas, a distinction between the *trayī vidyā* and the four Vedas, not explicitly stated elsewhere. The *Atharvasiras*, an *Upanishad* connected with the *AV.*, is mentioned a number of times, Gaut. XIX, 12; Vas. XXII, 9; XXVIII, 14; *Ausanasa-smṛiti* IV, 5; the same text is mentioned under the name of *Siras* at Baudh. IV, 1, 28;

<sup>1</sup> See *Gīvanandavidyâśāgara's Dharmarâstrasamgraha*, vol. i, p. 213.



Vas. XXI, 6-8; XXV, 13; Vishnu LV, 9. Certain vows called Siras, Baudh. II, 8, 14, 2; Vas. XXVI, 12, also emanate from the sphere of Atharvanic practices; so Govinda at Baudh. loc. cit. More pointedly, and without the company of the traividya, the sacred texts of the Atharvan and Aṅgiras (śrutir atharvāṅgirasīḥ) are recommended as the true weapons with which the Brāhmaṇa may slay his enemies, Manu XI, 33; the king must choose for his chaplain (purohita) one who is skilled in the Atharvan and Aṅgiras (atharvāṅgirase), Yāgñav. I, 312<sup>1</sup>; and the same recommendation is implied at Gaut. XI, 15, 17, where the king is enjoined to take heed of that which astrologers and interpreters of omens tell him, and to cause the purohita to perform in his house-fire among other expiatory rites (śānti), rites for prosperity (maṅgala), and witchcraft practices (abhiḥāra) against enemies<sup>2</sup>. Such a purohita is eo ipso an Atharvan priest. In the Atri-saṃhitā (Gīva-nanda's collection, vol. i, p. 45) *gyotirvido* . . . *atharvānaḥ*, 'Atharvan priests skilled in astrology' are recommended for the performance of śrāddhas and sacrifices (cf. Vishnu III, 75; Yāgñav. I, 332). The snātaka must not live in a country without physicians, Vishnu LXXI, 66, and the king should consult his physicians in the morning, Yāgñav. I, 332. At Vishnu III, 87, the king himself is urged to be conversant with incantations dispelling the effects of poison and sickness, and at Manu VII, 217, the food of the king is rendered salubrious by sacred texts that destroy poison: these passages evidently refer to Atharvanic bhai-shagyāni (cf. p. 25 ff.), and Atharvan priests skilled in their use. At Baudh. II, 8, 15, 4; Vishnu LXXIII, 11; LXXXI, 4, the demons called yātudhāna are driven out by means of sesame, in perfect accord with AV. I, 7, 2.

Thus far then the dharma-literature expresses regard for the Atharvan, and distinct dependence upon its literature and its practices. But the ever dubious quality of the fourth Veda sounds from notes pitched in a different key. In the

<sup>1</sup> The king himself is urged (ib. I, 310) to devote himself to the trayā.

<sup>2</sup> This is the stereotyped summary of the functions of the AV., śāntapushī-kābhiḥārika; see p. xxix.

first place we may remark that the conspicuous omission of this Veda which characterises the *śrauta*-literature, without pronounced disapproval of the Atharvan, is continued in the *dharma*-texts. Thus notably in the prohibition of the recital of the other Vedas while the sound of the *Sāmans* is heard, these texts mention only the *ṛik* and the *yaguh*; see Gaut. XVI, 21; Vas. XIII, 30; Vishṇu XXX, 26; Manu IV, 123. 124. At Baudh. IV, 5, 29; Manu XI, 263-66, the recitation of the *traividya* is recommended as a most efficient means of purification and release from sin. In the cosmogonic account, Manu I, 23, only *ṛik*, *yaguh*, and *sāman* are derived from the primeval creation. In Baudh. II, 8, 14, 4. 5; Manu III, 145, the *traividya* and its adherents only appear at the funeral-offerings (*śrāddha*), though the *Atri-saṃhitā* singles out Atharvans skilled in astronomy on that very occasion (see above, p. xlviii). At Manu XII, 112 (cf. *Yāgñav.* I, 9) adherents of the three Vedas are recommended as an assembly (*parishad*) to decide points of law; at *Yāgñav.* II, 211 punishment is declared for him that abuses one skilled in the three Vedas; at *Yāgñav.* I, 310 the king is urged to devote himself to the study of the *trayī* (*vidyā*); his chaplain, on the other hand, must be skilled in the manipulation of the *atharvāṅgirasam* (ib. I, 312). The inferiority of the Atharvan is stated outright at *Āpast.* II, 11, 29, 10. 11, where it is said that the knowledge of women and *Sūdras* is a supplement of the *Atharva-veda* (cf. Bühler, *Sacred Books*, vol. ii, p. xxix); and yet more brusquely Vishṇu V, 191 counts him that recites a deadly incantation from the *Atharva-veda* as one of the seven kinds of assassins.

Still more frequently, performances which imply the knowledge and use of the Atharvan are decried and punished, though the writings of the Atharvan are not expressly mentioned. Thus magic rites with intent to harm enemies, and sorceries and curses in general, cause impurity, and are visited with severe penances at *Āpast.* I, 9, 26, 7; 10, 29, 15; Baudh. II, 1, 2, 16; Gaut. XXV, 7; Vishṇu XXXVII, 26; LIV, 25; Manu IX, 290; XI, 198; *Yāgñav.* III, 289. Yet the other side of the coin is turned

up at Manu XI, 33, where the Atharvan is recommended as the natural weapon of the Brāhmaṇa against his enemies (see above). Nārada, V, 108, also betrays his hostile attitude towards sorcery when he remarks that the sage Vasishṭha took an oath, being accused of witchcraft<sup>1</sup>. With especial frequency and emphasis the impurity of physicians is insisted upon, Āpast. I, 6, 18, 20; 19, 15; Vishṇu LI, 10; LXXXII, 9; Gaut. XVII, 17; Vas. XIV, 2. 19; Manu III, 152. 180; IV, 212. 220; Yāgñav. I, 162; III, 240: we gathered above (p. xxxix) that the practice of medicine is regarded in the same light in the Brāhmaṇas; the charge, of course, reflects upon the Atharvan. Astrology also, and fortune-telling, are impure occupations, Baudh. II, 1, 2, 16; Manu IX, 258; the practice of astrology is forbidden to ascetics, Vas. X, 21; Manu VI, 50; and the astrologer is excluded from the śrāddha, Vishṇu LXXXII, 7; Manu III, 162. That these practices were Atharvanic in character we may gather from AV. VI, 128; Kaus. 50, 15<sup>2</sup>. An especially pointed reflection against the AV. is implied in the prohibition of the mûlakriyâ or mûlakarma, 'practices with roots<sup>3</sup>:' at Vishṇu XXV, 7 wives are especially forbidden to engage in such practice; at Manu IX, 290 magic rites with roots, practised by persons not related to him against whom they are directed, are regarded as sinful<sup>4</sup>; at Manu XI, 64 practices with roots in general are forbidden. Such practices abound in the AV. and its ritual; see I, 34; III, 18 (=RV. X, 145); V, 31, 12; VI, 138. 139; VII, 38, &c., and the performances connected with them (cf. p. 99 ff. and the commentary on these hymns). Though they are not wanting elsewhere, especially in the Grîhya-sûtras, the brunt of the charge is without doubt directed against the Atharvan. Finally, at Gaut. XV, 16; Vishṇu LXXXII, 12; Manu III, 151; IV,

<sup>1</sup> He has in mind the asseveration of the poet, RV. VII, 104, 15, adyâ murîya yâdi yâtudhâno âsmi, &c., 'may I die to-day if I am a sorcerer.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 'Seven Hymns of the Atharva-veda,' Amer. Journ. Phil. VII, 484 ff. (19 ff. of the reprint); the present volume, pp. 160, 532 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the same prohibition in the Mahâbhârata, below, p. liv.

<sup>4</sup> The commentator Nārada states that they are permissible, if practised against a husband or relative.

205, he who practises for a multitude (grāmayaḡaka) is pronounced impure: we may presume that this kind of activity was largely, if not entirely in the hands of Atharvan-priests; cf. the note on p. xl.

The position of the Atharvan in the Mahābhārata may be characterised in the single statement that its importance

The AV. in  
the Mahā-  
bhārata.

as a Veda, and its canonicity, are finally and completely established; that its practices are familiarly known and, in general, not sub-

jected to any particular criticism. There is no especial affinity between the great Epic and the *śrauta*-literature, barring the continuance of a considerable quantity of the legendary materials (ākhyāna) which are woven into the descriptions of the Vedic sacrifices in the Brāhmaṇas; hence there is nothing in the Epic to induce preoccupation with the trayī vidyā. On the other hand, the great collection deals so largely with the interests of the Kshatriyas as to preclude any conscious discrimination against the fourth Veda, since this Veda also is to a very considerable extent engaged in the interest of the kings (rāgakarmāṇi, Kausika, chapters 14 to 17), and the practices of their chaplains (purohita) are also largely Atharvanic in character. It is true that the Mahābhārata in common with all Hindu literature, the Atharvan literature not excluded, mentions frequently only the three Vedas by their distinctive names, or by the generic terms trayī vidyā and trayo vedāḥ. Thus in the passages assembled in A. Holtzmann's sufficiently exhaustive collectanea on this question in his work on the Epic, *Das Mahābhārata und seine Theile*, vol. iv, p. 5, the prevailing Vedic habit of referring to the Vedas is continued. But there can be little question that this mode of reference has at this time, as doubtless in a measure also in the period of Vedic productivity, become a stereotyped mechanical habit, continued from the tradition of earlier times; cf. Bühler, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* XL, 701, who compares the German expression 'die vier Erdtheile,' and the like. There is no indication that the mention of the Atharvan is consciously avoided.

The main proof of the high regard for the Atharvan and its unchallenged position in the canon, are the quasi-cosmogonic passages in which the four Vedas figure in the primordial transactions of the creation of the world, and its affinity with the personified creator. Thus, at V, 108, 10=3770 Brahman is said to have first sung the four Vedas; Brahman himself is called *Katurveda*, III, 203, 15=13560, as similarly *Vishnu* at XIX, 238, 9 (Bhav.)=12884; at III, 189, 14=12963; VI, 67, 6=3019 *Vishnu* himself declares that the four Vedas (atharvāṇa the fourth) have sprung from him. According to XIX, 14, 15 (Bhav.)=11516, Brahman created first the tristich called *Gāyatrī*, the mother of the Vedas, and afterwards the four Vedas; according to XIX, 53, 41 (Bhav.)=13210 he carries upon each of his four heads one of the Vedas, or, according to II, 11, 32=449, the four Vedas dwell bodily in his palace. At XII, 347, 27=13476 malicious demons steal the four Vedas from Brahman, and *Vishnu* restores them. Accordingly the Brahman priest and the kings, both of whom owe it to themselves to be vedavid, are more specifically described as knowing and reciting the four Vedas, at I, 70, 37=2880 ff.; VII, 9, 29=289; XIX, 142, 1 (Vish.)=7993, where a *Brāhmaṇa* is designated as *katurvedaḥ*, just as the divinity Brahman, above. Other instances of the mention of the four Vedas, with or without other literary compositions, are I, 1, 21; I, 1, 264; II, 11, 32=450; III, 43, 41=1661 (*ākhyānapaṇḍikamair vedaiḥ*); III, 58, 9=2247 (*katuro vedān sarvān ākhyānapaṇḍikamān*); III, 64, 17=2417 (*katvāro vedāḥ sāṅgopāṅgāḥ*); III, 189, 14=12963; V, 44, 28=1711; VII, 59, 15=2238; VII, 149, 22=6470; XII, 236, 1=8613; XII, 335, 28=12723; XII, 339, 8=12872; XII, 341, 8=13136 (*ṛigvede . . . yagurvede tathai-vā-tharvasāmasu, purāṇe sopanishade*); XII, 342, 97=13256 ff.; XII, 347, 28=13476; XIII, 17, 91=1205 ff. (where the Atharvan appears first, *atharvasīrshaḥ sāmāsya ṛikṣahasrāmitekṣanaḥ, yagurpādabhugo guhyaḥ*); XIII, 111, 46=5443; XIII, 168, 31=7736; XIX, 109, 5 (Vish.)=9491 (*katvāro sakhilā vedāḥ sarahasyāḥ savistarāḥ*); XIX, 14, 15 (Bhav.)=11665. Cf. Holtzmann, l. c., p. 6.

By itself the Atharvan is mentioned numerous times: as atharvāṅgiras (singular), atharvāṅgirasāḥ (plural), atharvāṅgīrasa, atharvan, atharvāna, atharvāna, and atharva-veda. Invariably the statements presenting these names are either directly laudatory, or they exhibit the Atharvan in an indisputable position of usefulness. At III, 305, 20=17066 Kuntī knows mantras, atharvāṅgīrasi<sup>1</sup> srutam, for compelling the gods to appear; at II, 11, 19=437 the atharvāṅgirasāḥ, personified, are mentioned honorifically along with other Vedic Rishis; at V, 18, 5=548 ff. Aṅgiras praises Indra with atharvavedamantraiḥ, and Indra declares that this Veda shall henceforth have the name atharvāṅgīrasa. At XII, 342, 99=13258 ff. Pragāpati declares that the sages skilled in the Atharvan (viprā atharvānavidas) fashion him into an Atharvan priest, devoted to the practice of the five kalpas (pañcakalpam atharvānam). At V, 37, 58=1391 Atharvan practitioners (atharvanāḥ) are spoken of in a friendly way: 'For him that has been wounded with the arrow of wit there are no physicians and no herbs, no sacrificial formulas, no amulets, no Atharvanas (conjurers), and no skilful remedies<sup>2</sup>.' See also I, 70, 40=2883; III, 251, 24=15147; XIII, 14, 309=901; XIII, 94, 44=4590. In a number of places weapons are said to be as fierce and efficacious as the sorcery-practices of the Atharvan (krītyām atharvāṅgīrasīm iva), VIII, 40, 33=1848; VIII, 90, 4=4625; VIII, 91, 48=4795; IX, 17, 44=907; XIII, 98, 13=4706: the passages imply neither praise nor blame, but represent Atharvan practices as familiarly established among the customs of the people.

It is scarcely to be expected that the Atharvan and its practices, notwithstanding their establishment in the good graces of the epic writers, shall come off entirely without criticism; there must have been persons aching under its supposed inflictions, and moods awake to a full sense of its vulgarity. In such cases the Mahābhārata reflects entirely the spirit of the dharma-texts. Thus at XII, 36-28=1322;

<sup>1</sup> In the Calcutta edition, atharvasīrasi for atharvāṅgīrasi.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Böhrtlingk, Indische Sprüche, 1497-8.

XIII, 90, 13=4282, physicians are declared to be impure (cf. above, p. 1). Practices undertaken by bad women with charms and roots (mantramûlaparâ strî . . . mûlaprakâra) are inveighed against: the man that has a wife addicted to them would be afraid of her, as of a snake that had got into the house, III, 233, 13=14660 ff.; cf. the identical prohibition of the dharma-texts above, p. 1)<sup>1</sup>. Women are said at XIII, 39, 6=2237 ff. (cf. Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche<sup>2</sup>, 6407) to be skilled in the sorceries of the evil demons Namukî, Sambara, and Kumbhînasi. Magic or sorcery is in general regarded as good. Thus *krityâ* is regarded as the divinity of witchcraft (abhi-kâradevatâ) by the commentator on VII, 92, 54=3314, and *krityâ*, abhi-kâra, and mâyâ are in general allowable, but yet it is possible in the view of the Epic to bewitch right to make it wrong, to be a dharmâbhi-kârin, XII, 140, 42=5288, or to use foul mâyâ, VII, 30, 15=1316 ff. (see above, p. xxix, and cf. Hopkins, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XIII, 312 ff.).

In the Râmâyana the Vedas in general are mentioned very frequently; special Vedic names appear to be rare, the Sâma-veda (sâmagâh) being mentioned at IV, 27, 10, the Taittirîya (âkâryas taittirîyânam) at II, 32, 7 (cf. Ind. Stud. I, 297). The Atharvan (mantrâs kâ-tharvanâh) occurs at II, 26, 21.

In the proverb-literature the Atharvan is scarcely mentioned (cf. Mahâbh. V, 37, 58=1391 in Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche<sup>2</sup>, 4216), but the mantras of the Atharvan are in the minds of the poets, though they usually speak of mantras in general without specification. Thus a comparison of proverbs 1497-8 with 4216 seems to call up the atmosphere of the Atharvan practices in their mention of aushadhâni and mantrâni; still more clearly rogaviyogamantramahimâ at 2538 refers to the bhesagâni of the AV., and sakyam vârayitum . . . vyâdhir bhesagasamgrahais ka vividhamantraprayogair visham, proverb 6348, both to the

The AV. in  
the later  
literature  
in general.

<sup>1</sup> The sentiment has become proverbial; see Sârṅg. Padḍh., nīti 76 b (Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche<sup>2</sup>, 5260).

bheshagāni and the charms against poison (see p. 25 ff.). The knowledge of sorcery, dreaded in women (see the prohibitions in the dharma, p. 1 above), is alluded to in proverbial form at 5260 = Mahābh. III, 233, 13 = 14660; and 6407 = Mahābh. XIII, 39, 6 = 2237.

In the Dasakumāra-karita the Atharvan is employed twice, once in an obvious sorcery practice, ātharvanikena vidhinā (chapter iii, p. 108, 13), where priests perform sacrifices preliminary to transforming a person from one shape to another. Another time (chapter ii, p. 94) a marriage is celebrated with Atharvanic ceremonies (ātharvarena vidhinā). Cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. I, 297; Ind. Streifen, I, 328.

In the Kirātārguniya X, 10 (cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. I, 289; Muir, Orig. Sanskrit Texts I<sup>2</sup>, p. 395) there is a passage which shows that the potency of the Atharvan had not then waned: anupamasamadīptitāgarīyān *krīta* padapañktir atharvarena vedah, 'he (Arguna), being through unparalleled composure and fervour exceedingly powerful, as the Veda arranged by Atharvan <sup>1</sup>.'

The Purāṇas always speak of the fourfold Veda <sup>2</sup>, and present the Atharvan in the advanced position of the ritualistic literature of the AV. itself; cf. below, p. lvii ff. The Vishṇu-purāṇa, p. 276, assigns the four Vedas to the four priests of the *srauta*-ritual, the AV. to the Brahman. Similarly at Prasthāna-bheda, p. 16, l. 10, there is the statement, paurohityam sântipaushṭikāni rāgñām atharva-vedena kārayed brahmatvam ka; cf. Max Müller, Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 476. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa I, 4, 19. 20 speaks of the fourfold Veda designed for the execu-

<sup>1</sup> Mallinātha comments upon the passage, and cites an āgama, to wit: samaḥ sântir abhyudayakānde dīptitā ugratā abhiḥārakānde atharvanā vasishṭhena *krīta* rāhitā padānām pañktir anupūrvō yasya sa vedas katurthavedah, atharvanas tu mantroddhāro vasishṭhena *krīta* ity āgamaḥ. The passage has a twofold interest: it reflects the ancient Atharvanic (abhyudaya) and Aṅgirasic (abhiḥāra) components of the Veda, and it ascribes its redaction to Vasishṭha; cf. above, p. xviii, and below, p. lxxv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Colebrooke, Miscellaneous Essays, vol. i, p. 10. See, e.g. Vishṇu-purāṇa I, 5 (Wilson's translation, vol. i, p. 85), where the Atharvan is said to be the northern mouth of Brahman.



tion of the sacrifice (*yagñasamtatyai vedam ekam katurvidham*), mentioning them by name in the sequel. At VI, 6, 19 figures the atharvāṅgīrasa veda. Also, the *Matsya-purāṇa*, as quoted by *Sāyana* in the introduction to the AV., p. 6, orders that the purohita shall compass the Mantras and the *Brāhmaṇa* of the AV.; and the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* claims that the king consecrated with the Mantras of the AV. enjoys the earth and the ocean; see *Sāyana*, *ibid.*

In the *Gainist Siddhānta*, fifth āṅga (*bhagavati*), I, 441; II, 246-7; upāṅga, I, 76; X, 3, the scope of Vedic or Brahmanical literature is stated as *riurveda*, *gaguveda*, *sāmaveda*, *ahavvanaveda* (*athavvana-*), *itihāsapamkama* . . .; see Weber, *Verzeichniss der Sanskrit- und Prākṛit-Handschriften*, II, 423-4; and *Ind. Stud.* XVI, pp. 238, 304, 379, 423, 474<sup>1</sup>. According to Weber, *ibid.*, p. 237, the *Siddhānta* is to be placed between the second and fifth centuries of our era. This mode of describing the Vedic literature we found above to prevail from the time of the *Sat. Br.* to the *Mahābhārata*. In the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga-sūtra* II, 27 (see *Jacobi's translation*, *Sacred Books*, vol. xlv, p. 366) the incantations of the Atharvan (*atharvaṇi*) are naturally spoken of in condemnatory language.

As specimens of the view of the Buddhist writings we may quote the *Atthakavagga* 14, 13 of the *Sutta-nipāta* (*Fausböll's translation*, *Sacred Books*, vol. x, part ii, p. 176), where the practice of the *Āthabbana-veda* is forbidden. To the condemnation of practices essentially Atharvanic in character is devoted the *Mahā Silam*, in the second chapter of the *Tevigga-sutta*; see *Rhys Davids' translation* in the *Sacred Books*, vol. xi, pp. 196-200, similarly the *Vinaya*, *Kullavagga* V, 32, 2, *ibid.*, vol. xx, p. 152.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Kalpa-sūtra*, in *Jacobi's translation*, *Sacred Books*, vol. xxii, p. 221.

### III. THE ATHARVA-VEDA IN THE VIEW OF ITS RITUALISTIC LITERATURE.

It is but natural to expect, and the expectation nowhere meets with disappointment, that the Atharvan texts in general should allude with predilection, and in terms of praise, to their own kind of compositions, to the mythical sages who are their reputed authors, and to the priests devoted to the practices that went hand in hand with the recitation of the Atharvans and Aṅgiras. We found above, (pp. xxxii, xlii), a sufficiently marked tendency on the part of the *Samhitā* itself and the Atharvan Upanishads to do this; there was occasion to note, too, that this tendency was followed out naturally and with moderation. Certainly there is no indication in these texts of any systematic attempt to make battle against the ancient threefold Veda, or to enter into polemics against the priests devoted to their respective duties while reciting or chanting its mantras. Similarly the ritual texts of the AV. allude preferably, and yet incidentally, to their own Veda, and as occasion offers, bring to the front the priests schooled in it. Thus Kaus. 139, 6 an oblation is offered to *Bhr̥ṣṇu* and Aṅgiras along with other divinities, without mention, however, of any specific representatives of the other Vedas. The expression, Kaus. 125, 2, *vedābhigupto brahmanā parivṛito atharvabhiḥ śāntaḥ*<sup>1</sup>, illustrates this passive preference for the Atharvan very well; cf. also 137, 25. Again, Kaus. 63, 3, four priests descended from *R̥shis*, skilled in the *bhr̥ṣṇvaṅgirasah*, are employed very naturally, and similarly allusion is made to Atharvan priests and Atharvan schools, Kaus. 59, 25; 73, 12; Vait. Sū. 1, 5; Ath. Paris. 46, 2; 73, 1; 77, 4. In the Atharva-pariśiṣṭas *Bhr̥ṣṇu*, Aṅgiras, and Atharvan figure more frequently than any

<sup>1</sup> The passage reflects also the Atharvanic connection of their Veda with *Brahmán* and the *bráhma*; cf. Ath. Paris. 2, 1, *brahmane brahmavedāya . . . namaskṛīya*, and see below, p. lxii ff.

other names: they have become the typical teachers of the trivialities which these texts profess.

But over and above this the ritual texts raise certain special claims regarding the position of the Atharvan among the Vedas, and they further make the demand with strident voice and obvious polemic intention that certain offices shall be reserved for the priests conversant with that

Nature of the  
especial claims  
of the ritual  
texts.

Veda. The position of these texts may be stated under three heads. First, they are not content with the rather vacillating attitude of the non-Atharvanic texts which refer in general to a threefold Veda, reserving, as we have seen, the honorific mention of the fourth Veda to more or less well-defined occasions, especially to moods when it is felt desirable to call into requisition the entire range of Vedic literary composition in addition to the trayī vidyā (e.g. itihāsa, purāṇa, gāthā, &c.). Secondly, the office of the Brahman, the fourth priest at the *srauta*-ceremonies, who oversees and corrects by means of expiatory formulas (*prāyaskitta*) the accidents and blunders of *hotar*, *udgātar*, and *adhvaryu*, is said to belong to an Atharvavedin, and the *Vaitāna-sūtra* in fact exhibits the *bhrigvaṅgirovid* in possession of that office. Thirdly, a similar claim is advanced in respect to the office of the *purohita*. Again and again it is stated that the *purohita*, *guru*, or *brahman* of a king, the chaplain or house-priest, shall be conversant with the Atharvan writings, shall be an Atharvan priest, and this claim, as we have seen above (p. xlvi), is supported to some extent by later Brahmanical treatises not derived from Atharvan schools. Cf. also below, p. lxxvii.

The *Gopatha-brāhmaṇa*, in its opening chapters I, 1, 4-10, describes the cosmogonic origin of the universe and the Vedas from the lone *brahma*. Unlike other texts, which as a rule ignore the Atharvan in these creative accounts, the atharvan and the *aṅgiras* texts are placed at the head; the other Vedic texts (*ṛik*, *yagur*, and *sāman*, I, 1, 6), as well as the subsidiary compositions (the five Vedas, called *sarpaveda*, *pisāṭaveda*, *asuraveda*, *itihāsaveda*, and *purāṇaveda*, I, 1,

Exaltation  
of the AV.  
in general.

10), are relegated to the rear. At Vait. Sû. 6, 1 the Atharvan is again placed at the head of the four Vedas. Gop. Br. I, 3, 4 lauds the Atharvan compositions as the greatest religious manifestation, *etad vai bhûyishtham brahma yad bhrigvâṅgirasah*, and at I, 2, 16 (cf. I, 2, 18) the Atharvan figures as the fourth Veda by the name of Brahma-veda, being here correlated with the service of the Brahman-priest as the overseer at the *srauta*-ceremonies<sup>1</sup>. At I, 1, 9 there is quoted a stanza, thoroughly Upanishad in character, which shows that the Atharvanists correlated their Veda with the knowledge of brahma, the higher and subtler religious conception, which at all times is raised above any special knowledge of the constituent parts of the Vedic religion: 'The highest Veda was born of tapas, it grew in the heart of those that know the brahma'<sup>2</sup>. The Atharvan ritual texts never cite the trayî vidyâ in formulary order without including the fourth Veda<sup>3</sup>, differing in this regard even from the text of the *Samhitâ* and the Atharvan Upanishads (see pp. xxxii, xliii). The first half of the Gop. Br. (I, 5, 25) ends with the assertion that they who study the trayî reach, to be sure, the highest heaven (*trivishṭapam tridivam nâkam uttamam*), but yet the Atharvans and Aṅgiras go beyond to the great worlds of Brahma (*ata uttare brahmalokâ mahântah*).

As regards the Brahman, the overseer at the *srauta*-performances, the Vait. Sû. 1, 1 states that he must be conversant with the Brahma-veda, and in 1, 17, 18 this priest is described as the lord of beings, lord of the world, &c. These expressions seem to indicate that he is the representative at the sacrifice of the personified god Brahmân. At II, 2 (cf. Gop. Br. I, 2, 16) the Brahman is again ordered to be conversant with the *atharvâṅgirasah*, this time in

The office  
of Brahman  
in the ritual  
texts.

<sup>1</sup> *katasro vâ ime hotrá, hautram âdhvaryavam audgâtram brahmatvam*.

<sup>2</sup> Thus according to the version of Sâyana, Introduction to the AV., p. 5, *śreshṭho hi vedas tapaso dhigâto brahmagyânâm hrîdaye sambabhûva*. Râgendraśâstrî's edition, *śreshṭho ha vedas tapaso dhigâto brahmagyânâm kshitaye sambabhûva*, 'it was created for the destruction of the oppressors of Brahmins.'

<sup>3</sup> See especially Gop. Br. II, 2, 14, where the *atharvâṅgirasah* are added every time in liturgical formulas to the *rikah*, *yagûmshi*, and *sâmâni*.

expressed contrast with udgâtar, hotar, and adhvaryu (sāmaveda, *ṛigveda*, yagurveda). At Gop. Br. I, 2, 18 (end) the Brahman is described with the words, *esha ha vai vidvân sarvavid brahmâ yad bhrigvaṅgirovid*. The last statement is of especial interest as indicating the identification of the Atharvan with the sarvavidyâ which stands above the trayî vidyâ (cf. below, p. lxiii). Especially at Gop. I, 3, 1. 2 the futility of the sacrifice without a Brahman skilled in the *bhrigvaṅgirasah* is described vividly: a cow, a horse, a mule, a chariot cannot proceed with less than four feet, therefore the sacrifice, in order to succeed, must have four feet: the four Vedas, and the four priests. Especially characteristic is the following: At Tait. S. III, 5, 2, 1, &c. (cf. Ind. Stud. X, 34), the well-known legend is told, according to which Vasishtha 'saw Indra clearly, though the *Rishis* (in general) did not see him clearly.' Indra makes Vasishtha his Brahman (*purohita*), and confides to him moreover a mystery, the *stomabhâga*-verses. Since then men have Vasishtha for their *purohita*: therefore a descendant of Vasishtha is to be chosen as Brahman. The same legend is repeated almost verbatim Gop. Br. II, 2, 13, but the text demurs at the last clause. The Gop. Br. cannot say *tasmâd vâsishtho brahmâ kâr्याh*, because it has previously stated emphatically that a *bhrigvaṅgirovid* is the only person fitted for that exalted office (I, 2, 18; 3, 1 ff.). At Vait. Sû. 6, 1 the *gârhapatya*-fire is personified as a steed which is prepared by the four Vedas for the Brahman, and by *Pragâpati* for Atharvan: the equation *brahman=atharvan* is implied. The passage, Vait. Sû. 37, 2, a *brahmodya* or theological contest between the Brahman and the Udgâtar, betrays perhaps a certain insecurity and touchiness on the part of the Brahman in his assumed superiority to the other priests: 'Not art thou superior, better than I, goest not before me. . . . Thou speakest these words that are worthy of being learned, (but) shalt not become equal to me.' The superiority of the Brahman was occasionally disputed<sup>1</sup>, and possibly the Atharvanic

<sup>1</sup> See Haug, *Brahma und die Brahmanen*, p. 10.

Brahman felt that he stood in special need of asserting his dignity.

Even more energetic are the demands of the liturgical texts in the matter of the office of purohita who is known also by the name of brahman and guru. 'The king who rules the country shall seek a wise Brahman (*brahmānam*). He verily is wise that is skilled in the *bhrigu* and *aṅgiras*; for the *bhrigu* and *aṅgiras* act as a charm against all ominous occurrences, and protect everything' (Kaus. 94, 2-4; cf. 126, 2). The equivalence of brahman, purohita, and guru is guaranteed by comparing with this Ath. Paris. 3, 1, *kulinam srotriyam bhrigvaṅgirovidam . . . gurum vriniyād bhūpatiḥ*; and 3, 3, *tasmād bhrigvaṅgirovidam . . . kuryāt purohitam*. Cf. also 2, 2, *brahmā tasmād atharvavit*. Conversely, 'The gods, the Fathers, and the twice-born (priests) do not receive the oblation of the king in whose house there is no guru that is skilled in the Atharvan' (2, 3). Cf. Weber, *Omina und Portenta*, p. 346 ff.; Ind. Stud. X, 138; *Sâyana*, Introduction to the AV., p. 6. In Kaus. 17, 4 ff. the king and the purohita (*Dārila: rāgā, purodhāḥ*) are seen in active co-operative practice at the consecration of the king; and again (*brahmā rāgā ka*) in 140, 4 ff. at the *indramahotsava*-festival.

The Atharva-parisishṭas are not content with these strong recommendations of their own adherents, but they would have the adherents of the other Vedas, yea even of certain branches (*jâkhâ*) of the Atharvan itself, excluded from the purohiti: 'The Atharvan keeps off terrible occurrences, and acts as a charm against portentous ones . . . not the *adhvaryu*, not the *khandoga*, and not the *bahvrika*. . . . The *bahvrika* destroys the kingdom, the *adhvaryu* destroys sons, the *khandoga* dissipates wealth; hence the guru must be an *Âtharvana*. . . . A *Paippalâda* as guru increases happiness, sovereignty, and health, and so does a *Saunakin* who understands the gods and the mantras. . . . The king whose *purodhâ* is in any way a *Galada* or a *Mauda* is deposed from his kingdom within the year' (Ath. Paris.

2, 2-5)<sup>1</sup>. The Paippalâdas, Saunakins, Galadas, and Maudas are alike representatives of Atharvan schools (see Kausika, Introduction, p. xxxiii ff.): the passage shows how eager the scramble for the office of purohita had become. That the Atharvans finally succeeded in making heard their clamorous demand for this office (see below, p. lxxvii) is probably due, as we shall see, to their superior, if not exclusive knowledge of witchcraft, which was doubtless regarded in the long run as the most practical and trenchant instrument for the defence of king and people.

In order to estimate at its correct value the claims of the Atharvanists that their own Veda is entitled to the name Brahma-veda, and that the so-called Brahman-priests and the Purohitas must be adherents of the AV., we need to premise certain considerations of a more general nature.

Causes  
leading up to  
the exaltation  
of the AV.

In the Vedic religious system, or we might say more cautiously religious evolution, three literary forms and correspondingly three liturgical methods of application of these forms to the sacrifice were evolved at a time prior to the recorded history of Hindu religious thought and action. They are the *rikah*, *sâmâni*, and *yagûmshi*, known also by a variety of other designations, and characterised to a considerable extent by special verbs expressing the act of reciting or chanting them<sup>2</sup>. Correspondingly the priests who had learned one of these varieties of religious expression and its mode of application to the sacrifice appear, again for aught we know from prehistoric times as individual actors (*hotar*, *udgâtar*, *adhvaryu*), in no wise qualified each by himself to shoulder the burden of literary knowledge or liturgic technique. The Hindus were at all times well aware that these religious forms are fragmentary and parts of a whole. The Rig-veda contains countless expressions indicating the insufficiency of the *rikah* to fulfil alone

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. I, 296; the author, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XI, 378, note.

<sup>2</sup> See Max Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 489 ff.; Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, p. 25 ff.

the scheme of religious action, and the interdependence of the three Vedic types. There is a Rig-veda, but no Rig-vedic religion, as even recent writers on the religions of India unfortunately tend to assume: the absence of *sâmans* would in principle leave Vedic religion just as much mutilated as the absence of *ṛiks*; the categories are the three parts of a trio whose melody is carried by each in turn.

A comprehensive vision was never wanting, though the search for a word for 'religion,' or religious practice, as a whole was at first not very successful. The Brâhmaṇa-texts still struggle with the notion of the superiority of him that knows all the Vedas, and they consequently posit a *sarvavidyâ*<sup>1</sup> which is superior to a knowledge of each of the Vedas. The most successful attempt at describing the religious literature and action as a whole is the word *brâhma*, and, correspondingly, he who knows the religion as a whole is a *brahmân*. Each of these words appears occasionally in the fourth place, *brâhma* after the *trayî*; *brahmân* in company with the priests of the *trayî*. In a sense the *brâhma* is a fourth Veda, but it is not co-ordinate with the other three; it embraces and comprehends them and much else besides; it is the religious expression and religious action as a whole, and it is the learned esoteric understanding of the nature of the gods and the mystery of the sacrifice as a whole (*brahma* in *brahmodya* and *brahmavâdin*). Needless to say, this fourth Veda, if we may so call it, has primarily no connection with the Atharvan, not even in the Atharva-*samhitâ* itself (XI, 8, 23; XV, 3, 7; 6, 3), nor in the Upanishads of that Veda (e.g. *Nṛisimha-pûrvatâpanî* Up. V, 2): the claim that the Atharvan is the Brahma-veda belongs to the Atharvan ritual. In the Upanishads this *brahma*, still frequently contrasted with the ordinary Vêdas, is taken up eagerly, extolled above all other knowledge, and in a way personified, so that it furnishes one of the main sources of the various conceptions which finally precipitate themselves in the pantheistic

<sup>1</sup> Tait. Br. III, 10, 11, 4; Tait. Âr. X, 47; cf. Sat. Br. XIV, 6, 7, 18; 9, 4, 17.



Brahman-Ātman. The knowledge of this brahma constitutes the brahmavidyā, which is separated by the widest imaginable gap from the Brahma-veda in the Atharvanic sense ; cf. above, p. xliii.

This broader religious knowledge exists again from earliest times, not only in the abstract, but centres in persons who grasped it in its entirety, in distinction from the technically qualified priests devoted to some speciality. What the bráhma is to the trayî, that the brahmán is to hotar, adhvaryu, &c. Thus the important stanza, RV. X, 71, 11, depicts the activity of four priests at a *srauta*-sacrifice, the hotar (*rikām* pósham áste pupushván), the udgâtar (*gâyatrām* gáyati sákvarishu), the adhvaryu (*yagnásya* mátrām ví mimíte), and the brahmán. The latter is described in the words, brahmá vádati gâtavidyám, 'the Brahman tells (his) innate wisdom <sup>1</sup>.' The association of the first three priests with the three Vedic categories, *rik*, *sâman*, and *yaguh*, is expressed with a degree of clearness commensurate with the character of the hymn, which is in the nature of a brahmodya. But the brahmán has no peculiar Veda ; certainly there is no allusion to the Atharvan. His knowledge is that of the entire Veda, the sarvavidyâ (Tait. Br. III, 10, 11, 4), religious knowledge as a whole. By means of this knowledge he is able to assume in the ritual practices the function of correcting the mistakes of the other priests, whose knowledge is more mechanical. The Brahman is as it were the stage-manager in the sacerdotal drama, the physician of the sacrifice when it is attacked by the disease of faulty execution (Sat. Br. XIV, 2, 2, 19) ; he is the mind of the sacrificer (Sat. Br. XIV, 6, 1, 7)<sup>2</sup>. As such he is also conversant with the mystic aspects of the divine powers, the powers of nature, and the details of the sacrifice. In the expression, brahmá vádati gâtavidyám, the 'own wisdom' is the bráhma (neuter), and vádati gâtavidyám foreshadows the brahmodya, 'the holy, or theo-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. RV. I, 10, 1 ; II, 1, 2 ; IV, 22, 1 ; VI, 38, 3. 4 ; VII, 33, 14 ; X, 52, 2 ; X, 91, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 135 ff. ; Haug, Brahma und die Brahmanen, p. 9 ff. ; Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 28 ff.

logical mystery, or riddle<sup>1</sup>, as well as the ritualist refinements which the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra-texts introduce times without end with the closely-related expression, brahmavādino vadanti. In the non-Atharvanic Vedic texts it is never suggested that the Atharvan is the specific equipment, above all other things, which shapes the faculties of this all-round Vedic theologian. On the contrary, the Kaush. Br. VI, 11 raises the rather one-sided claim that a Rig-veda scholar is the proper Brahman<sup>2</sup>. Vasishṭha was a celebrated Brahman and Purohita, and the qualifications for this office were said for a time (probably by the descendants of Vasishṭha themselves) to be especially at home in this family. But the Brāhmaṇa-texts declare explicitly that this is an 'überwundener standpunkt,' an obsolete custom: every one properly equipped may be a Brahman; see Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 34. 35. 137. There is no original connection between Vasishṭha and the Atharvan<sup>3</sup>, and it is not going too far to assume that the distinguished abilities demanded by the theory of this office were rare enough to admit every one that had intrinsically valid claims upon it.

How, then, did the Atharvans come to raise the plea that the Brahman must be one of themselves, and that, consequently, the Atharva-veda was the Brahma-veda? Schematically this was suggested by an obvious proportion. As the hotar, &c., is to the Rig-veda, &c., so the Brahman is to the fourth Veda, and as the Atharvan is the fourth Veda, or rather a fourth Veda, it required no too violent wrench to identify it with that other comprehensive fourth Veda, the knowledge of the brahma. Thus the Atharvan

<sup>1</sup> See the author, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XV, pp. 172, 184 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A broader view, yet one that ignores the Atharvan claim, is taken by Āpastamba, in the Yagñā-paribhāṣā-sūtra 19. There the Brahman is said to perform with all three Vedas. Only the commentator admits that the Atharvan may be included. See Max Müller, Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 470; Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. IX, p. xlvii; Sacred Books, vol. xxx, p. 321. Cf. also Sat. Br. XI, 5, 8, 7, and Madhusūdana's statement of the final orthodox view, Max Müller, ib. 445 ff.; Ind. Stud. I, 4. 14.

<sup>3</sup> The interesting association of Vasishṭha with the redaction of the Atharvan, reported by Mallinātha in his comment on Kirātārguṇīya X, 10, may be founded upon this very title to the office of purohita, and thus show that purohitas were naturally supposed to be Atharvavedins; cf. above, p. lv.

became the Brahma-veda. The fact that there was no systematic sharply-defined provision for the Atharvanists in the scheme of the hieratic religion must have been galling at first, until this arrangement was completed to their own satisfaction. They may have, though we do not know that they did, gathered courage for this tour de force by the frequent mention in the AV. itself of the word *bráhma* in the sense of charm, prayer, e.g. I, 10, 1; 14, 44; 23, 4, &c. If this was done it was a proceeding both arbitrary and superficial: the word has in the AV. the meaning of charm only in so far and inasmuch as the hymns of that Veda happen to be charms; the RV. employs the term freely to designate its own *sûktâni* (e.g. V, 85, 1; VII, 28, 1; 36, 1; X, 13, 1; 61, 1). One misses, too, the plural *bráhmâni* as the true Vedic type of designation for a special class of composition, on a level with *rikah*, *sâmâni*, *yagûmshi*, *atharvângirasaḥ*, or *atharvâṇaḥ* (*bheshagâni*) and *āṅgirasaḥ* (*ābhikārikâni*). We may also remember that the Atharvan of all *Samhitās* contains the largest collection of theosophic hymns which deal explicitly (X, 2), or implicitly (X, 7), with Brahman and the *brahma*<sup>1</sup>. This may, of course, have helped to suggest that the Atharvavedin was the truly superior theologian. In the Upanishads the knowledge of just such theosophic relations is styled the *brahmavidyā*. *Sâyana* in the Introduction to the AV., p. 4, argues that the AV. is known as Brahma-veda because it was revealed to Brahman who is called Atharvan<sup>2</sup>. His authority, however, is Gop. Br. I, 4 ff., a text that elsewhere identifies the AV. with that *bhūyishṭam brahma* which was produced by the *tapas* (cf. AV. VIII, 10, 25), pressing to an unwarranted degree the relationship of the Atharvan texts with the sphere of the Upanishads<sup>3</sup>; cf. above, p. lix.

It may be safe to assume that all these and other notions

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the superabundant Upanishads, composed in Atharvanic schools.

<sup>2</sup> *atharvākhyena brahmaṇā drīṣṭvāt tannāmnā ayaṁ vedo vyapadyate*.

<sup>3</sup> Similarly the *Vishṇu-purāṇa* VI, 5 (Wilson's translation, vol. v, p. 210): 'The AV. also states that there are two kinds of knowledge. By the one which is the supreme, God (*akshara*) is obtained; the other is that which consists of *Rik* and other Vedas.'

flitted through the minds of the systematic theologians of the Atharvan schools as they continued to insist upon the name *Brahma-veda* for their scriptures, and upon the office of *Brahman* for their priests. A measure of substantiality may, however, come to their claim from another quarter at a comparatively early time, in this instance with the passive support of all Vedic schools. The matter concerns the office of the *purohita*, the spiritual and temporal aid of the king, his chaplain, and chancellor. One would again look in vain in the non-Atharvanic *Samhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas*, or *Sūtras* for the direct declaration that the *purohita* either was, or should be, an adherent of the Atharvan. These texts do not mention the Atharvan in this connection any more than in connection with the office of the *Brahman* at the sacrifice. Yet it seems extremely unlikely that the knowledge of Atharvan practices should not have been considered a very valuable adjunct, if not a *conditio sine qua non*, of the *purohiti*. *Purohitas*, whether they are formal adherents of the AV. or not, are always engaging in Atharvanic practices, even against one another (cf. Max Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 486). The interests of the king and his sovereignty (*kshatriya* and *kshatram*) are too obviously dependent upon magic rites to admit the likelihood that the pretensions to this office on the part of him that knew them should have been ignored. At all periods the safety of the king, the prosperity of his people, his ascendancy over hostile neighbours, must have depended upon the skill of his *purohita* in magic. The description, Ait. Br. VIII, 24-28, of the *purohita*, his functions, and his relation to the king, transfer the reader to the sphere and spirit of the Atharvan. The *purohita* secures for the king royalty, strength, empire, and people (VIII, 24, 7). The *purohita* is a fire with five flaming missiles, dangerous when not properly propitiated; but, duly honoured, he embraces the king, protecting him with his flames as the ocean the earth (VIII, 25, 1). His people do not die young, his own life's breath does not leave him before he has reached the full limits of his life, he lives to

a good old age, if a Brāhmaṇa, imbued with this knowledge, is his purohita, the shepherd of his kingdom. The subjects of such a king are loyal and obedient (VIII, 25, 2. 3). The prescriptions regarding the purohita are followed (VIII, 25) by a magic rite, called *brahmaṇaḥ parimāra*, designed to kill hostile kings, which might have found a place in the ritual of the Atharvan<sup>1</sup>. In later texts, as a matter of fact, the rule is laid down formally that the purohita should be an Atharvavedin. Thus in Gaut. XI, 15. 17; Yāgñav. I, 312 (cf. also Manu XI, 33); see p. xlviii, above. Sāyana in the Introduction to the AV., pp. 5, 6, claims outright that the office of purohita belongs to the Atharvanists (*paurohityam ka atharvavidaiḥ va kāryam*), and he is able to cite in support of his claim not only the rather hysterical dicta of the Atharvan writings, but also slokas from a number of Purāṇas, the Nītisāstra, &c.; cf. above, p. lvi<sup>2</sup>. In the Dasakumāra-karita magic rites, as well as the marriage ceremony, are in fact performed at the court of a king with Atharvan rites. *ātharvanena* (*ātharvanikena*) *vidhinā*, and the statement is the more valuable as it is incidental; see above, p. lv.

I do not desire to enter here upon a discussion of the question of the original relation between the purohita and the brahman, whose identity is baldly assumed in many passages of the earlier Hindu literature<sup>3</sup>. I believe that they were not originally the same, but that they were bound together by certain specific ties. They are similar,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the battle-charm, AV. III, 19: the purohita figures in it as well as in the accompanying performances, Kaus. 14, 22-23 (Dārila). And RV. IV, 50, 7-9, perhaps earlier, shows the *br̥haspati* (purohita) in essentially the same important relation to the king.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Deva at Kāty. Sr. XV, 7, 11, *purohito yoḥ atharvavedavihitānām śānti-kapaushikābbhiḥ kārakarmaṇām kartā*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Max Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 485 ff.; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 31 ff.; Rāgasūya, p. 23, note; Haug, Brahma und die Brahmanen, p. 9 ff.; Geldner, Vedische Studien, II, 144 ff.; Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, pp. 374, 395 ff. Sāyana at RV. VII, 33, 14 equates purohita and brahman, and Ait. Br. VII, 16, 1 exhibits Vasishṭha, the typical purohita, in the office of brahman at a *śrauta*-rite. At RV. IV, 50, 7 ff. the activity of a purohita is sketched: the purohita, however, is called *br̥haspati* (= brahman).

above all, in this, that they have in charge, each in his own way, the general interests of their noble employers, whereas other priests are likely ordinarily to have had only subordinate charges, because of the technical character of their knowledge and occupation. RV. X, 71, 11 expresses clearly the existence of broader theological interests than the mere knowledge of the recitation and chanting of hymns and the mechanical service of the sacrifice (*hotar*, *udgâtar*, and *adhvaryu*). This is the Brahmanship which later forks into two directions, on one side the general knowledge of the procedures at the sacrifice (the Brahman as fourth priest), and the theological speculations attaching (*brahmavâdin*); on the other, the higher theosophy which leads ultimately to the *brahmavidyâ* of the Upanishads. It is natural that a divine thus qualified should at a very early time assume permanent and confidential relations to the noble *râganya* in all matters that concerned his religious and sacrificial interests. His functions are those of chaplain and high-priest. It seems unlikely that this Brahman was in all cases; too, competent to attend to those more secular and practical needs of the king connected with the security of his kingdom, the fealty of his people, and the suppression of his enemies. These activities, *râgakarmâni*, as the Atharvan writings call them, must have called for different training and different talents—they represent rather the functions of a chancellor, or prime-minister, than those of a chaplain—and there is no warrant to assume that every Brahman possessed these necessary qualifications in addition to his expertness in systematic theology. On the other hand, conversely, there must have been *purohitas* incapable of assuming the charge of their employers' interests on the occasion of the more elaborate Vedic performances (*śrauta*), unless we conceive that in such cases the Brahman was a mere figure-head and his office a sinecure.

And yet precisely here is to be found the measure of truth which we may suspect in the Atharvanist claim that the supervising Brahman shall be an adherent of the AV. In many cases the tribal king, or *râgâ*, might have had but

one body-priest, well capable of attending to the kingdom's needs in all manner of charms and sorcery, and thus filling the paurohitya creditably with the entire armament of the Veda of charms and sorcery, himself an Atharvavedin. If the king had about him no systematic theologian resplendent in his *gâtavidyâ*, if there was no adherent of that ideal fourth Veda, the *sarvavidyâ* that looms above the *trayi vidyâ*, the remoter applicability of the *śrauta*-practices to the weal and woe of everyday life, or confidence in the ability of *hotar*, *adhvaryu*, &c., to perform their duties correctly of themselves, would lead him to entrust the general supervision of the Vedic performances (in the narrower sense) to his Atharvan *purohita*. Thus the sweeping claim of the Atharvan priests may be founded at least upon a narrow margin of fact, and later the Atharvan priests are likely to have equipped themselves with a sufficiency of rather external and mechanical knowledge to perform the function of Brahman with a show of respectability, witness the activity of the Brahman in the *śrauta*-rites of the *Vaitâna-sûtra*. In very late times the ability of Atharvan priests to practise *śrauta*-rites, and the canonicity of their *śrauta*-manual, the *Vaitâna-sûtra*, were recognised by other Vedic schools, if the matter-of-fact references to that *Sûtra* on the part of the commentators to *Kâtyâyana's Śrauta-sûtras* may be regarded as normal; see Garbe in the preface to the edition of the *Vait. Sû.*, p. vi.

We may remark, however, that the entire question of the relation of the AV. to *śrauta*-practices is a very obscure point in the history of Vedic literature, it being assumed generally that the Atharvan had originally nothing to do with the larger Vedic ritual. The assumption in this broad form is at any rate erroneous, or defective. The existing *Samhitâs* of the AV. contain mantras which could have had no sense and purpose except in connection with *śrauta*-performances. A series of formulas, e.g. like AV. VI, 47 and 48, has no meaning except in connection with the three daily pressures of soma (*savana*), and the *Vait. Sû.*

Relation of  
the AV. to  
the *śrauta*-  
ritual.

21, 7 exhibits them, properly no doubt, as part of an ordinary *śrauta*-rite, the *agnishōma*. It would seem then that the Atharvavedins possessed the knowledge of, and practised *śrauta*-rites prior to the conclusion of the present redactions of their hymns, and thus perhaps, after all, the *purohita*, in case of his being an Atharvan, was not altogether unequipped for taking a hand in the broader Vedic rites with the three fires and the usual assortment of priests. Again, the AV. contains hymns which are evidently expiatory formulas for faults committed at the sacrifice. Thus AV. VI, 114 presents itself in the light of an ordinary *prāyaskitta*-formula, and there are MSS. of the *Vaitāna-sūtra* which add six *prāyaskitta* chapters to the eight which make up the body of that text<sup>1</sup>. The *Gop. Br.*, more frequently than other *Brāhmaṇas*, refers to defects in the sacrifice (*virishṭa*, *ūna*, *yātayāma*) which are to be corrected (*samdhāna*) by certain hymns, stanzas, and formulas; see I, 1, 13 and 22. Possibly the germs of the correlation of the Atharvan and the Brahman, in his function as supervisor and corrector of the sacrifice, may also turn out to be traceable to a period prior to the present redaction of the *Samhitās*.

The present volume of translations comprises about one third of the entire material of the Atharva-veda in the text of the Saunaka-school. But it represents the contents and spirit of the fourth Veda in a far greater measure than is indicated by this numerical statement. The twentieth book of the *Samhitā*, with the exception of the so-called *kuntāpa-sūktāni* (hymns 127-136<sup>2</sup>), seems to be a verbatim repetition of mantras contained in the *Rig-veda*, being employed in the *Vaitāna-sūtra* at the *sastras* and *stotras* of the soma-sacrifice: it is altogether foreign to the spirit of the original

<sup>1</sup> See Garbe, in the preface of his edition of the text, p. 5; Weber, *Verzeichniss der Sanskrit und Prākrit Handschriften*, II, 8; Kausika, *Introduction*, p. xxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> One of these, hymn 127, appears in the present volume, p. 197 ff.



Atharvan. The nineteenth book is a late addendum<sup>1</sup>, in general very corrupt; its omission (with the exception of hymns 26, 34, 35, 38, 39, 53, and 54) does not detract much from the general impression left by the body of the collection. The seventeenth book consists of a single hymn of inferior interest. Again, books XV and XVI, the former entirely Brahmanical prose<sup>2</sup>, the latter almost entirely so, are of doubtful quality and chronology. Finally, books XIV and XVIII contain respectively the wedding and funeral stanzas of the Atharvan, and are largely coincident with corresponding mantras of the tenth book of the Rig-veda: they are, granted their intrinsic interest, not specifically Atharvanic<sup>3</sup>. Of the rest of the Atharvan (books I–XIII) there is presented here about one half, naturally that half which seemed to the translator the most interesting and characteristic. Since not a little of the collection rises scarcely above the level of mere verbiage, the process of exclusion has not called for any great degree of abstemiousness.

These successive acts of exclusion have made it possible to present a fairly complete history of each of the hymns translated. The employment of the hymns in the Atharvanic practices is in closer touch with the original purpose of the composition or compilation of the hymns than is true in the case of the other collections of Vedic hymns. Many times, though by no means at all times, the practices connected with a given hymn present the key to the correct interpretation of the hymn itself. In any case it is instructive to see what the Atharvan priests did with the hymns of their own school, even if we must judge their performances to be secondary.

I do not consider any translation of the AV. at this time as final. The most difficult problem, hardly as yet ripe for final solution, is the original function of many mantras,

<sup>1</sup> See Kausika, Introduction, p. xl ff.

<sup>2</sup> Translated by Professor Aufrecht, *Indische Studien*, I, 130, 140.

<sup>3</sup> The fourteenth book has been rendered by Professor Weber, *Indische Studien*, V, p. 195 ff.; the eighteenth book by the same scholar in the *Proceedings of the Royal Prussian Academy*, 1895, p. 815 ff.; 1896, p. 253 ff.

after they have been stripped of certain adaptive modifications, imparted to them to meet the immediate purpose of the Atharvavedin. Not infrequently a stanza has to be rendered in some measure of harmony with its connection, when, in fact, a more original meaning, not at all applicable to its present environment, is but scantily covered up by the secondary modifications of the text. This garbled tradition of the ancient texts partakes of the character of popular etymology in the course of the transmission of words. New meaning is read into the mantras, and any little stubbornness on their part is met with modifications of their wording. The critic encounters here a very difficult situation: searching investigation of the remaining Vedic collections is necessary before a bridge can be built from the more original meaning to the meaning implied and required by the situation in a given Atharvan hymn. Needless to say the only correct and useful way to translate a mantra in the Atharvan, is to reproduce it with the bent which it has received in the Atharvan. The other Vedic collections are by no means free from the same taint. The entire Vedic tradition, the Rig-veda not excepted, presents rather the conclusion than the beginning of a long period of literary activity. Conventionality of subject-matter, style, form (metre), &c., betray themselves at every step: the 'earliest' books of the RV. are not exempt from the same processes of secondary grouping and adaptation of their mantras, though these are less frequent and less obvious than is the case in the Atharva-veda.

Obligations to previous translators: Weber, Muir, Ludwig, Zimmer, Grill<sup>1</sup>, Henry, &c., are acknowledged in the introduction to each hymn. I regret that the work was in the hands of the printer prior to the appearance of Professor Henry's excellent version of books X-XII<sup>2</sup>. The late lamented Professor Whitney kindly furnished me with the

---

<sup>1</sup> Grill's work, entitled, *Hundert Lieder des Atharva-veda*, second edition (1888), is cited as 'Grill<sup>1</sup>.' My own six series of Contributions to the Interpretation of the Veda, are cited for the sake of brevity as 'Contributions.'

<sup>2</sup> Les livres X, XI, et XII de l'Atharva-véda. Paris, 1896.

advance sheets of the late Shankar Pandurang Pandit's scholarly edition of the AV. with Sâyana's commentary, as also with many of the readings of the Cashmir text (the so-called Paippalâda-sâkhâ) of the AV. Neither the Paippalâda nor Sâyana sensibly relieves the task of its difficulty and responsibility.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,  
BALTIMORE: April, 1896.

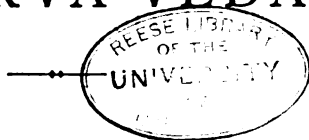
HYMNS  
OF THE  
ATHARVA-VEDA.



# HYMNS

## OF THE

# ATHARVA-VEDA.



I.

CHARMS TO CURE DISEASES AND POSSESSION BY  
DEMONS OF DISEASE (BHAISHAGYÂNI).

V, 22. Charm against takman (fever) and  
related diseases.

1. May Agni drive the takman away from here, may Soma, the press-stone, and Varuna, of tried skill; may the altar, the straw (upon the altar), and the brightly-flaming fagots (drive him away)! Away to naught shall go the hateful powers!

2. Thou that makest all men sallow, inflaming them like a searing fire, even now, O takman, thou shalt become void of strength: do thou now go away down, aye, into the depths!

3. The takman that is spotted, covered with spots, like reddish sediment, him thou, (O plant) of unremitting potency, drive away down below!

4. Having made obeisance to the takman, I cast him down below: let him, the champion of Sakambhara, return again to the Mahāvṛishas!

5. His home is with the Mūgavants, his home

with the Mahâvṛishas. From the moment of thy birth thou art indigenous with the Balhikas.

6. O takman, vyāla, ví gada, vyāṅga, hold off (thy missile) far! Seek the gadabout slave-girl, strike her with thy bolt!

7. O takman, go to the Mûgavants, or to the Balhikas farther away! Seek the lecherous Sûdra-female: her, O takman, give a good shaking-up!

8. Go away to the Mahâvṛishas and the Mûgavants, thy kinsfolk, and consume them! Those (regions) do we bespeak for the takman, or these regions here other (than ours).

9. (If) in other regions thou dost not abide, mayest thou that art powerful take pity on us! Takman, now, has become eager: he will go to the Balhikas.

10. When thou, being cold, and then again deliriously hot, accompanied by cough, didst cause the (sufferer) to shake, then, O takman, thy missiles were terrible: from these surely exempt us!

11. By no means ally thyself with balâsa, cough and spasm! From there do thou not return hither again: that, O takman, do I ask of thee!

12. O takman, along with thy brother balâsa, along with thy sister cough, along with thy cousin pâman, go to yonder foreign folk!

13. Destroy the takman that returns on (each) third day, the one that intermits (each) third day, the one that continues without intermission, and the autumnal one; destroy the cold takman, the hot, him that comes in summer, and him that arrives in the rainy season!

14. To the Gandhâris, the Mûgavants, the Aṅgas, and the Magadhas, we deliver over the takman, like a servant, like a treasure!

## VI, 20. Charm against takman (fever).

1. As if from this Agni (fire), that burns and flashes, (the takman) comes. Let him then, too, as a babbling drunkard, pass away! Let him, the impious one, search out some other person, not ourselves! Reverence be to the takman with the burning weapon!

2. Reverence be to Rudra, reverence to the takman, reverence to the luminous king Varuṇa! Reverence to heaven, reverence to earth, reverence to the plants!

3. To thee here, that burnest through, and turnest all bodies yellow, to the red, to the brown, to the takman produced by the forest, do I render obeisance.

## I, 25. Charm against takman (fever).

1. When Agni, having entered the waters, burned, where the (gods) who uphold the order (of the universe) rendered homage (to Agni), there, they say, is thy origin on high: do thou feel for us, and spare us, O takman!

2. Whether thou art flame, whether thou art heat, or whether from licking chips (of wood) thou hast arisen, Hrûḍu by name art thou, O god of the yellow: do thou feel for us, and spare us, O takman!

3. Whether thou art burning, whether thou art scorching, or whether thou art the son of king Varuṇa, Hrûḍu by name art thou, O god of the yellow: do thou feel for us, and spare us, O takman!



4. To the cold takman, and to the deliriously hot, the glowing, do I render homage. To him that returns on the morrow, to him that returns for two (successive) days, to the takman that returns on the third day, homage shall be!

VII, 116. Charm against takman (fever).

1. Homage (be) to the deliriously hot, the shaking, exciting, impetuous (takman)! Homage to the cold (takman), to him that in the past fulfilled desires!

2. May (the takman) that returns on the morrow, he that returns on two (successive) days, the impious one, pass into this frog!

V, 4. Prayer to the kush/ha-plant to destroy takman (fever).

1. Thou that art born upon the mountains, as the most potent of plants, come hither, O kush/ha, destroyer of the takman, to drive out from here the takman!

2. To thee (that growest) upon the mountain, the brooding-place of the eagle, (and) art sprung from Himavant, they come with treasures, having heard (thy fame). For they know (thee to be) the destroyer of the takman.

3. The asvattha-tree is the seat of the gods in the third heaven from here. There the gods procured the kush/ha, the visible manifestation of amṛita (ambrosia).

4. A golden ship with golden tackle moved upon the heavens. There the gods procured the kush/ha, the flower of amṛita (ambrosia).

5. The paths were golden, and golden were the oars; golden were the ships, upon which they carried forth the kush/ha hither (to the mountain).

6. This person here, O kush/ha, restore for me, and cure him! Render him free from sickness for me!

7. Thou art born of the gods, thou art Soma's good friend. Be thou propitious to my in-breathing and my out-breathing, and to this eye of mine!

8. Sprung in the north from the Himavant (mountains), thou art brought to the people in the east. There the most superior varieties of the kush/ha were apportioned.

9. 'Superior,' O kush/ha, is thy name; 'superior' is the name of thy father. Do thou drive out all disease, and render the takman devoid of strength!

10. Pain in the head, affliction in the eye, and ailment of the body, all that shall the kush/ha heal—a divinely powerful (remedy), forsooth!

XIX, 39. Prayer to the kush/ha-plant to destroy takman (fever), and other ailments.

1. May the protecting god kush/ha come hither from the Himavant: destroy thou every takman, and all female spooks!

2. Three names hast thou, O kush/ha, (namely: kush/ha), na-ghâ-mâra ('forsooth-no-death'), and na-ghâ-risha ('forsooth-no-harm'). Verily no harm shall suffer (na ghâ . . . rishat) this person here, for whom I bespeak thee morn and eve, aye the (entire) day!

3. Thy mother's name is g1valâ ('quickenings'), thy father's name is g1vanta ('living'). Verily no

harm shall suffer this person here, for whom I bespeak thee morn and eve, aye the entire day!

4. Thou art the most superior of the plants, as a steer among cattle, as the tiger among beasts of prey. Verily no harm shall suffer this person here, for whom I bespeak thee morn and eve, aye the entire day!

5. Thrice begotten by the Sāmbu Aṅgiras, thrice by the Ādityas, and thrice by all the gods, this kushṭha, a universal remedy, stands together with soma. Destroy thou every takman, and all female spooks!

6. The asvattha-tree is the seat of the gods in the third heaven from here. There came to sight the amṛita (ambrosia), there the kushṭha-plant was born.

7. A golden ship with golden tackle moved upon the heavens. There came to sight the amṛita, there the kushṭha-plant was born.

8. On the spot where the ship glided down, on the peak of the Himavant, there came to sight the ambrosia, there the kushṭha-plant was born. This kushṭha, a universal remedy, stands together with soma. Destroy thou every takman, and all female spooks!

9. (We know) thee whom Ikshváku knew of yore, whom the women, fond of kushṭha, knew, whom Vâyasa and Mâtsya knew: therefore art thou a universal remedy.

10. The takman that returns on each third day, the one that continues without intermission, and the yearly one, do thou, (O plant) of unremitting strength, drive away down below!

I, 12. Prayer to lightning, conceived as the cause of fever, headache, and cough.

1. The first red bull, born of the (cloud-)womb, born of wind and clouds, comes on thundering with rain. May he, that cleaving moves straight on, spare our bodies; he who, a single force, has passed through threefold !

2. Bowing down to thee that fastenest thyself with heat upon every limb, we would reverence thee with oblations ; we would reverence with oblations the crooks and hooks of thee that hast, as a seizer, seized the limbs of this person.

3. Free him from headache and also from cough, (produced by the lightning) that has entered his every joint ! May the flashing (lightning), that is born of the cloud, and born of the wind, strike the trees and the mountains !

4. Comfort be to my upper limb, comfort be to my nether ; comfort be to my four members, comfort to my entire body !

I, 22. Charm against jaundice and related diseases.

1. Up to the sun shall go thy heart-ache and thy jaundice : in the colour of the red bull do we envelop thee !

2. We envelop thee in red tints, unto long life. May this person go unscathed, and be free of yellow colour !

3. The cows whose divinity is *Rohinī*, they who, moreover, are (themselves) red (*róhinī*)—(in their) every form and every strength we do envelop thee.

4. Into the parrots, into the ropanâkâs (thrush) do we put thy jaundice, and, furthermore, into the hâridravas (yellow wagtail) do we put thy jaundice.

VI, 14. Charm against the disease balâsa.

1. The internal disease that has set in, that crumbles the bones, and crumbles the joints, every balâsa do thou drive out, that which is in the limbs, and in the joints !

2. The balâsa of him that is afflicted with balâsa do I remove, as one gelds a lusty animal. Its connection do I cut off as the root of a pumpkin.

3. Fly forth from here, O balâsa, as a swift foal (after the mare). And even, as the reed in every year, pass away without slaying men !

VI, 105. Charm against cough.

1. As the soul with the soul's desires swiftly to a distance flies, thus do thou, O cough, fly forth along the soul's course of flight !

2. As a well-sharpened arrow swiftly to a distance flies, thus do thou, O cough, fly forth along the expanse of the earth !

3. As the rays of the sun swiftly to a distance fly, thus do thou, O cough, fly forth along the flood of the sea !

I, 2. Charm against excessive discharges from the body.

1. We know the father of the arrow, Parganya, who furnishes bountiful fluid, and well do we know his mother, Prithivî (earth), the multiform !

2. O bowstring, turn aside from us, turn my body

into stone ! Do thou firmly hold very far away the hostile powers and the haters !

3. When the bowstring, embracing the wood (of the bow), greets with a whiz the eager arrow, do thou, O Indra, ward off from us the piercing missile !

4. As the point (of the arrow) stands in the way of heaven and earth, thus may the muṅga-grass unfailingly stand in the way of sickness and (excessive) discharge !

## II, 3. Charm against excessive discharges from the body, undertaken with spring-water.

1. The spring-water yonder which runs down upon the mountain, that do I render healing for thee, in order that thou mayest contain a potent remedy.

2. Then surely, yea quite surely, of the hundred remedies contained in thee, thou art the most superior in checking discharges and removing pain.

3. Deep down do the Asuras bury this great healer of wounds : that is the cure for discharges, and that hath removed disease.

4. The ants bring the remedy from the sea : that is the cure for discharges, and that hath quieted disease.

5. This great healer of wounds has been gotten out of the earth : that is the cure for discharges, and that hath removed disease.

6. May the waters afford us welfare, may the herbs be propitious to us ! Indra's bolt shall beat off the Rakshas, far (from us) shall fly the arrows cast by the Rakshas !

VI, 44. Charm against excessive discharges from the body.

1. The heavens have stood still, the earth has stood still, all creatures have stood still. The trees that sleep erect have stood still : may this disease of thine stand still !

2. Of the hundred remedies which thou hast, of the thousand that have been collected, this is the most excellent cure for discharges, the best remover of disease.

3. Thou art the urine of Rudra, the navel of amṛita (ambrosia). Thy name, forsooth, is viśhâ-nakâ, (thou art) arisen from the foundation of the Fathers, a remover of diseases produced by the winds (of the body).

I, 3. Charm against constipation and retention of urine.

1. We know the father of the arrow, Parganya, of hundredfold power. With this (charm) may I render comfortable thy body : make thy outpouring upon the earth ; out of thee may it come with the sound bâl !

2. We know the father of the arrow, Mitra, &c.

3. We know the father of the arrow, Varuṇa, &c.

4. We know the father of the arrow, Kandra, &c.

5. We know the father of the arrow, Sûrya, &c.

6. That which has accumulated in thy entrails, in thy canals, in thy bladder—thus let thy urine be released, out completely, with the sound bâl !

7. I split open thy penis like the dike of a lake—thus let thy urine be released, out completely, with the sound bâl !

8. Relaxed is the opening of thy bladder like the ocean, the reservoir of water—thus let thy urine be released, out completely, with the sound *bâl*!

9. As an arrow flies to a distance when hurled from the bow—thus let thy urine be released, out completely, with the sound *bâl*!

# VI, 90. Charm against internal pain (colic), due to the missiles of Rudra.

1. The arrow that Rudra did cast upon thee, into (thy) limbs, and into thy heart, this here do we now draw out away from thee.

2. From the hundred arteries which are distributed along thy limbs, from all of these do we exorcise forth the poisons.

3. Adoration be to thee, O Rudra, as thou casteth (thy arrow); adoration to the (arrow) when it has been placed upon (the bow); adoration to it as it is being hurled; adoration to it when it has fallen down!

# I, 10. Charm against dropsy.

1. This Asura rules over the gods; the commands of Varuṇa, the ruler, surely come true. From this (trouble), from the wrath of the mighty (Varuṇa), do I, excelling in my incantation, lead out this man.

2. Reverence, O king Varuṇa, be to thy wrath, for all falsehood, O mighty one, dost thou discover. A thousand others together do I make over to thee: this thy (man) shall live a hundred autumns!

3. From the untruth which thou hast spoken, the abundant wrong, with thy tongue—from king Varuṇa I release thee, whose laws do not fail.



4. I release thee from Vaisvânara (Agni), from the great flood. Our rivals, O mighty one, do thou censure here, and give heed to our prayer!

### VII, 83. Charm against dropsy.

1. Thy golden chamber, king Varuṇa, is built in the waters! Thence the king that maintains the laws shall loosen all shackles!

2. From every habitation (of thine), O king Varuṇa, from here do thou free us! In that we have said, 'ye waters, ye cows;' in that we have said, 'O Varuṇa,' from this (sin), O Varuṇa, free us!

3. Lift from us, O Varuṇa, the uppermost fetter, take down the nethermost, loosen the middlemost! Then shall we, O Âditya, in thy law, exempt from guilt, live in freedom!

4. Loosen from us, O Varuṇa, all fetters, the uppermost, the nethermost, and those imposed by Varuṇa! Evil dreams, and misfortune drive away from us: then may we go to the world of the pious!

### VI, 24. Dropsy, heart-disease, and kindred maladies cured by flowing water.

1. From the Himavant (mountains) they flow forth, in the Sindhu (Indus), forsooth, is their assembling-place: may the waters, indeed, grant me that cure for heart-ache!

2. The pain that hurts me in the eyes, and that which hurts in the heels and the fore-feet, the waters, the most skilled of physicians, shall put all that to rights!

3. Ye rivers all, whose mistress is Sindhu, whose

queen is Sindhu, grant us the remedy for that : through this (remedy) may we derive benefit from you !

VI, 80. An oblation to the sun, conceived as one of the two heavenly dogs, as a cure for paralysis.

1. Through the air he flies, looking down upon all beings : with the majesty of the heavenly dog, with that oblation would we pay homage to thee !

2. The three *kâlakânḡa* that are fixed upon the sky like gods, all these I have called for help, to render this person exempt from injury.

3. In the waters is thy origin, upon the heavens thy home, in the middle of the sea, and upon the earth thy greatness. With the majesty of the heavenly dog, with that oblation would we pay homage to thee !

II, 8. Charm against *kshetriya*, hereditary disease.

1. Up have risen the majestic twin stars, the *vîritau* (' the two looseners '); may they loosen the nethermost and the uppermost fetter of the *kshetriya* (inherited disease) !

2. May this night shine (the *kshetriya*) away, may she shine away the witches ; may the plant, destructive of *kshetriya*, shine the *kshetriya* away !

3. With the straw of thy brown barley, endowed with white stalks, with the blossom of the sesame—may the plant, destructive of *kshetriya*, shine the *kshetriya* away !

4. Reverence be to thy ploughs, reverence to thy

wagon-poles and yokes ! May the plant, destructive of kshetriya, shine the kshetriya away !

5. Reverence be to those with sunken eyes (?), reverence to the indigenous (evils ?), reverence to the lord of the field ! May the plant, destructive of kshetriya, shine the kshetriya away !

## II, 10. Charm against kshetriya, hereditary disease.

1. From kshetriya (inherited disease), from Nirriti (the goddess of destruction), from the curse of the kinswoman, from Druh (the demon of guile), from the fetter of Varuna do I release thee. Guiltless do I render thee through my charm; may heaven and earth both be propitious to thee !

2. May Agni together with the waters be auspicious to thee, may Soma together with the plants be auspicious. Thus from kshetriya, from Nirriti, from the curse of the kinswoman, from the Druh, from the fetter of Varuna do I release thee. Guiltless do I render thee through my charm; may heaven and earth both be propitious to thee !

3. May the wind in the atmosphere auspiciously bestow upon thee strength, may the four quarters of the heaven be auspicious to thee. Thus from kshetriya, from Nirriti &c.

4. These four goddesses, the directions of space, the consorts of the wind, the sun surveys. Thus from kshetriya, from Nirriti &c.

5. Within these (directions) I assign thee to old age; forth to a distance shall go Nirriti and disease ! Thus from kshetriya, from Nirriti &c.

6. Thou hast been released from disease, from

mishap, and from blame; out from the fetter of Druh, and from Grâhi (the demon of fits) thou hast been released. Thus from kshetriya, from Nirriti &c.

7. Thou didst leave behind Arâti (the demon of grudge), didst obtain prosperity, didst enter the happy world of the pious. Thus from kshetriya, from Nirriti &c.

8. The gods, releasing the sun and the *ritam* (the divine order of the universe) from darkness and from Grâhi, did take them out of sin. Thus from kshetriya, from Nirriti &c.

### III, 7. Charm against kshetriya, hereditary disease.

1. Upon the head of the nimble antelope a remedy grows! He has driven the kshetriya (inherited disease) in all directions by means of the horn.

2. The antelope has gone after thee with his four feet. O horn, loosen the kshetriya that is knitted into his heart!

3. (The horn) that glistens yonder like a roof with four wings (sides), with that do we drive out every kshetriya from thy limbs.

4. The lovely twin stars, the *vikritau* ('the two looseners') that are yonder upon the sky, shall loosen the nethermost and the uppermost fetter of the kshetriya!

5. The waters, verily, are healers, the waters are scatterers of disease, the waters cure all disease: may they relieve thee from the kshetriya!

6. The kshetriya that has entered into thee from the prepared (magic) concoction, for that I know the remedy: I drive the kshetriya out of thee.

7. When the constellations fade away, and when the dawn does fade away, (then) shall he shine away from us every evil and the kshetriya !

I, 23. Leprosy cured by a dark plant.

1. Born by night art thou, O plant, dark, black, sable. Do thou, that art rich in colour, stain this leprosy, and the gray spots !

2. The leprosy and the gray spots drive away from here—may thy native colour settle upon thee—the white spots cause to fly away !

3. Sable is thy hiding-place, sable thy dwelling-place, sable art thou, O plant: drive away from here the speckled spots !

4. The leprosy which has originated in the bones, and that which has originated in the body and upon the skin, the white mark begotten of corruption, I have destroyed with my charm.

I, 24. Leprosy cured by a dark plant.

1. The eagle (suparna) that was born at first, his gall thou wast, O plant. The Âsuri having conquered this (gall) gave it to the trees for their colour.

2. The Âsuri was the first to construct this remedy for leprosy, this destroyer of leprosy. She has destroyed the leprosy, has made the skin of even colour.

3. 'Even-colour' is the name of thy mother; 'Even-colour' is the name of thy father; thou, O plant, producest even colour: render this (spot) of even colour !

4. The black (plant) that produces even colour has been fetched out of the earth. Do thou now, pray, perfect this, construct anew the colours !

VI, 83. Charm for curing scrofulous sores called *apaḥit*.

1. Fly forth, ye *apaḥit* (sores), as an eagle from the nest! *Sûrya* (the sun) shall prepare a remedy, *Kandramâs* (the moon) shall shine you away!

2. One is variegated, one is white, one is black, and two are red: I have gotten the names of all of them. Go ye away without slaying men!

3. The *apaḥit*, the daughter of the black one, without bearing offspring will fly away; the boil will fly away from here, the *galunta* (swelling) will perish.

4. Consume thy own (proper) oblation with gratification in thy mind, when I here offer *svâhâ* in my mind!

VII, 76. A. Charm for curing scrofulous sores called *apaḥit*.

1. Ye (sores) fall easily from that which falls easily, ye exist less than those that do not exist (at all); ye are drier than the (part of the body called) *sehu*, more moist than salt.

2. The *apaḥit* (sores) that are upon the neck, and those that are upon the shoulders; the *apaḥit* that are upon the *vigâman* (some part of the body) fall off of themselves.

B. Charm for curing tumours called *gâyânya*.

3. The *gâyânya* that crushes the ribs, that which passes down to the sole of the foot, and whichever is fixed upon the crown of the head, I have driven out every one.

4. The *gâyânya*, winged, flies; he settles down upon man. Here is the remedy both for sores not caused by cutting, as well as for wounds sharply cut!

5. We know, O *gâyânya*, thy origin, whence thou didst spring. How canst thou slay there, in whose house we offer oblations?

C. Stanza sung at the mid-day pressure  
of the soma.

6. Drink stoutly, O Indra, slayer of *Vṛitra*, hero, of the soma in the cup, at the battle for riches! Drink thy fill at the mid-day pressure! Living in wealth, do thou bestow wealth upon us!

VII, 74. A. Charm for curing scrofulous sores  
called *apaḥit*.

1. We have heard it said that the mother of the black *apaḥit* (pustules) is red: with the root (found by) the divine sage do I strike all these.

2. I strike the foremost one of them, and I strike also the middlemost of them; this hindmost one I cut off as a flake (of wool).

B. Charm to appease jealousy.

3. With *Tvashṭar's* charm I have sobered down thy jealousy; also thy anger, O lord, we have quieted.

C. Prayer to Agni, the lord of vows.

4. Do thou, O lord of vows, adorned with vows, ever benevolently here shine! May we all, adoring thee, when thou hast been kindled, O *Gâtavedas*, be rich in offspring!

VI, 25. Charm against scrofulous sores upon neck and shoulders.

1. The five and fifty (sores) that gather together upon the nape of the neck, from here they all shall pass away, as the pustules of the (disease called) *apaṅṅit*!

2. The seven and seventy (sores) that gather together upon the neck, from here they all shall pass away, as the pustules of the (disease called) *apaṅṅit*!

3. The nine and ninety (sores) that gather together upon the shoulders, from here they all shall pass away, as the pustules of the (disease called) *apaṅṅit*!

VI, 57. Urine (*gālāsha*) as a cure for scrofulous sores.

1. This, verily, is a remedy, this is the remedy of Rudra, with which one may charm away the arrow that has one shaft and a hundred points!

2. With *gālāsha* (urine) do ye wash (the tumour), with *gālāsha* do ye sprinkle it! The *gālāsha* is a potent remedy: do thou (Rudra) with it show mercy to us, that we may live!

3. Both well-being and comfort shall be ours, and nothing whatever shall injure us! To the ground the disease (shall fall): may every remedy be ours, may all remedies be ours!

IV, 12. Charm with the plant *arundhatti* (*lākshā*) for the cure of fractures.

1. *Rohanī* art thou, causing to heal (*rohanī*), the broken bone thou causest to heal (*rohanī*): cause this here to heal (*rohaya*), O *arundhatti*!



2. That bone of thine which, injured and burst, exists in thy person, Dhâtar shall kindly knit together again, joint with joint!

3. Thy marrow shall unite with marrow, and thy joint (unite) with joint; the part of thy flesh that has fallen off, and thy bone shall grow together again!

4. Thy marrow shall be joined together with marrow, thy skin grow together with skin! Thy blood, thy bone shall grow, thy flesh grow together with flesh!

5. Fit together hair with hair, and fit together skin with skin! Thy blood, thy bone shall grow: what is cut join thou together, O plant!

6. Do thou here rise up, go forth, run forth, (as) a chariot with sound wheels, firm feloe, and strong nave; stand upright firmly!

7. If he has been injured by falling into a pit, or if a stone was cast and hurt him, may he (Dhâtar, the fashioner) fit him together, joint to joint, as the wagoner (*Ribhu*) the parts of a chariot!

V, 5. Charm with the plant *silâṭī* (*lākshâ*, *arundhatti*) for the cure of wounds.

1. The night is thy mother, the cloud thy father, Aryaman thy grandfather. *Silâṭī*, forsooth, is thy name, thou art the sister of the gods.

2. He that drinks thee lives; (that) person thou dost preserve. For thou art the supporter of all successive (generations), the refuge of men.

3. Every tree thou dost climb, like a wench lusting after a man. 'Victorious,' 'firmly founded,' 'saving,' verily, is thy name.

4. The wound that has been inflicted by the club, by the arrow, or by fire, of that thou art the cure : do thou cure this person here !

5. Upon the noble plaksha-tree (*ficus infectoria*) thou growest up, upon the asvattha (*ficus religiosa*), the khadira (*acacia catechu*), and the dhava (*grislea tomentosa*) ; (thou growest up) upon the noble nyagrodha (*ficus indica*, banyan-tree), and the parva (*butea frondosa*). Come thou to us, O arundhati !

6. O gold-coloured, lovely, sun-coloured, most handsome (plant), mayest thou come to the fracture, O cure ! 'Cure,' verily, is thy name !

7. O gold-coloured, lovely, fiery (plant), with hairy stem, thou art the sister of the waters, O lākshâ, the wind became thy very breath.

8. Silâḥī is thy name, O thou that art brown as a goat, thy father is the son of a maiden. With the blood of the brown horse of Yama thou hast verily been sprinkled.

9. Having dropped from the blood of the horse she ran upon the trees, turning into a winged brook. Do thou come to us, O arundhati !

## VI, 109. The pepper-corn as a cure for wounds.

1. The pepper-corn cures the wounds that have been struck by missiles, it also cures the wounds from stabs. Anent it the gods decreed : ' Powerful to secure life this (plant) shall be ! '

2. The pepper-corns spake to one another, as they came out, after having been created : ' He whom we shall find (as yet) alive, that man shall not suffer harm ! '

3. The Asuras did dig thee into the ground, the

gods cast thee up again, as a cure for disease produced by wind (in the body), moreover as a cure for wounds struck by missiles.

I, 17. Charm to stop the flow of blood.

1. The maidens that go yonder, the veins, clothed in red garments, like sisters without a brother, bereft of strength, they shall stand still!

2. Stand still, thou lower one, stand still, thou higher one; do thou in the middle also stand still! The most tiny (vein) stands still: may then the great artery also stand still!

3. Of the hundred arteries, and the thousand veins, those in the middle here have indeed stood still. At the same time the ends have ceased (to flow).

4. Around you has passed a great sandy dike: stand ye still, pray take your ease!

II, 31. Charm against worms.

1. With Indra's great mill-stone, that crushes all vermin, do I grind to pieces the worms, as lentils with a mill-stone.

2. I have crushed the visible and the invisible worm, and the kurûru, too, I have crushed. All the *algandû* and the *saluna*, the worms, we grind to pieces with our charm.

3. The *algandû* do I smite with a mighty weapon: those that have been burned, and those that have not been burned, have become devoid of strength. Those that are left and those that are not left do I destroy with my song, so that not one of the worms be left.

4. The worm which is in the entrails, and he that is in the head, likewise the one that is in the ribs : avaskava and vyadhvara, the worms, do we crush with (this) charm.

5. The worms that are within the mountains, forests, plants, cattle, and the waters, those that have settled in our bodies, all that brood of the worms do I smite.

## II, 32. Charm against worms in cattle.

1. The rising sun shall slay the worms, the setting sun with his rays shall slay the worms that are within the cattle !

2. The variegated worm, the four-eyed, the speckled, and the white—I crush his ribs, and I tear off his head.

3. Like Atri, like Kaṇva, and like Gamadagni do I slay you, ye worms ! With the incantation of Agastya do I crush the worms to pieces.

4. Slain is the king of the worms, and their viceroy also is slain. Slain is the worm, with him his mother slain, his brother slain, his sister slain.

5. Slain are they who are inmates with him, slain are his neighbours ; moreover all the quite tiny worms are slain.

6. I break off thy two horns with which thou deliverest thy thrusts ; I cut that bag of thine which is the receptacle for thy poison.

## V, 23. Charm against worms in children.

1. I have called upon heaven and earth, I have called upon the goddess Sarasvatī, I have called

upon Indra and Agni: 'they shall crush the worm,' (I said).

2. Slay the worms in this boy, O Indra, lord of treasures! Slain are all the evil powers by my fierce imprecation!

3. Him that moves about in the eyes, that moves about in the nose, that gets to the middle of the teeth, that worm do we crush.

4. The two of like colour, the two of different colour; the two black ones, and the two red ones; the brown one, and the brown-eared one; the (one like a) vulture, and the (one like a) cuckoo, are slain.

5. The worms with white shoulders, the black ones with white arms, and all those that are variegated, these worms do we crush.

6. In the east rises the sun, seen by all, slaying that which is not seen; slaying the seen and the unseen (worms), and grinding to pieces all the worms.

7. The yevâsha and the kashkasha, the egatka, and the sipavitnuka—the seen worm shall be slain, moreover the unseen shall be slain!

8. Slain of the worms is the yevâsha, slain further is the nadaniman; all have I crushed down like lentils with a mill-stone.

9. The worm with three heads and the one with three skulls, the speckled, and the white—I crush his ribs and I tear off his head.

10. Like Atri, like Kanva, and like Gamadagni do I slay you, ye worms! With the incantation of Agastya do I crush the worms to pieces.

11. Slain is the king of the worms, and their viceroy also is slain. Slain is the worm, with him his mother slain, his brother slain, his sister slain.

12. Slain are they who are inmates with him, slain are his neighbours; moreover all the quite tiny worms are slain.

13. Of all the male worms, and of all the female worms do I split the heads with the stone, I burn their faces with fire.

#### IV, 6. Charm against poison.

1. The Brâhmaṇa was the first to be born, with ten heads and ten mouths. He was the first to drink the soma; that did render poison powerless.

2. As great as heaven and earth are in extent, as far as the seven streams did spread, so far from here have I proclaimed forth this charm that destroys poison.

3. The eagle Garutmant did, O poison, first devour thee. Thou didst not bewilder him, didst not injure him, yea, thou didst turn into food for him.

4. The five-fingered hand that did hurl upon thee (the arrow) even from the curved bow—from the point of the tearing (arrow) have I charmed away the poison.

5. From the point (of the arrow) have I charmed away the poison, from the substance that has been smeared upon it, and from its plume. From its barbed horn, and its neck, I have charmed away the poison.

6. Powerless, O arrow, is thy point, and powerless is thy poison. Moreover of powerless wood is thy powerless bow, O powerless (arrow)!

7. They that ground (the poison), they that daubed it on, they that hurled it, and they that let

it go, all these have been rendered impotent. The mountain that grows poisonous plants has been rendered impotent.

8. Impotent are they that dig thee, impotent art thou, O plant! Impotent is that mountain height whence this poison has sprung.

#### IV, 7. Charm against poison.

1. This water (vâr) in the (river) Varanâvati shall ward off (vârayâtai)! Amrita (ambrosia) has been poured into it: with that do I ward off (vâraye) poison from thee.

2. Powerless is the poison from the east, powerless that from the north. Moreover the poison from the south transforms itself into a porridge.

3. Having made thee (the poison) that comes from a horizontal direction into a porridge, rich in fat, and cheering, from sheer hunger he has eaten thee, that hast an evil body: do thou not cause injury!

4. Thy bewildering quality (madam), O (plant?) that art bewildering (madâvati), we cause to fall like a reed. As a boiling pot of porridge do we remove thee by (our) charm.

5. (Thee, O poison) that art, as it were, heaped about the village, do we cause to stand still by (our) charm. Stand still as a tree upon its place; do not, thou that hast been dug with the spade, cause injury!

6. With broom-straw (?), garments, and also with skins they purchased thee: a thing for barter art thou, O plant! Do not, thou that hast been dug with the spade, cause injury!

7. Those of you who were of yore unequalled in

the deeds which they performed—may they not injure here our men: for this very purpose do I engage you!

VI, 100. Ants as an antidote against poison.

1. The gods have given, the sun has given, the earth has given, the three Sarasvatis, of one mind, have given this poison-destroying (remedy)!

2. That water, O ants, which the gods poured for you into the dry land, with this (water), sent forth by the gods, do ye destroy this poison!

3. Thou art the daughter of the Asuras, thou art the sister of the gods. Sprung from heaven and earth, thou didst render the poison devoid of strength.

V, 13. Charm against snake-poison.

1. Varuṇa, the sage of heaven, verily lends (power) to me. With mighty charms do I dissolve thy poison. The (poison) which has been dug, that which has not been dug, and that which is inherent, I have held fast. As a brook in the desert thy poison has dried up.

2. That poison of thine which is not fluid I have confined within these (serpents?). I hold fast the sap that is in thy middle, thy top, and in thy bottom, too. May (the sap) now vanish out of thee from fright!

3. My lusty shout (is) as the thunder with the cloud: then do I smite thy (sap) with my strong charm. With manly strength I have held fast that sap of his. May the sun rise as light from the darkness!

4. With my eye do I slay thy eye, with poison



do I slay thy poison. O serpent, die, do not live ; back upon thee shall thy poison turn !

5. O kairâta, speckled one, upatrin̐ya (grass-dweller ?), brown one, listen to me ; ye black repulsive reptiles, (listen to me) ! Do not stand upon the ground of my friend ; cease with your poison and make it known (to people ?) !

6. I release (thee) from the fury of the black serpent, the taimâta, the brown serpent, the poison that is not fluid, the all-conquering, as the bow-string (is loosened) from the bow, as chariots (from horses).

7. Both Âligt and Viligt, both father and mother, we know your kin everywhere. Deprived of your strength what will ye do ?

8. The daughter of urugûlâ, the evil one born with the black—of all those who have run to their hiding-place the poison is devoid of force.

9. The prickly porcupine, tripping down from the mountain, did declare this : ‘Whatsoever serpents, living in ditches, are here, their poison is most deficient in force.’

10. Tâbuvam (or) not tâbuvam, thou (O serpent) art not tâbuvam. Through tâbuvam thy poison is bereft of force.

11. Tastuvam (or) not tastuvam, thou (O serpent) art not tastuvam. Through tastuvam thy poison is bereft of force.

## VI, 12. Charm against snake-poison.

1. As the sun (goes around) the heavens I have surrounded the race of the serpents. As night (puts to rest) all animals except the *hamsa* bird, (thus) do I with this (charm) ward off thy poison.

2. With (the charm) that was found of yore by the Brahmans, found by the *Rishis*, and found by the gods, with (the charm) that was, will be, and is now present, with this do I ward off thy poison.

3. With honey do I mix the rivers; the mountains and peaks are honey. Honey are the rivers *Parushnī* and *Śipālā*. Prosperity be to thy mouth, prosperity to thy heart!

VII, 56. Charm against the poison of serpents, scorpions, and insects.

1. The poison infused by the serpent that is striped across, by the black serpent, and by the adder; that poison of the *kaṅkaparvan* ('with limbs like a comb,' scorpion) this plant has driven out.

2. This herb, born of honey, dripping honey, sweet as honey, honied, is the remedy for injuries; moreover it crushes insects.

3. Wherever thou hast been bitten, wherever thou hast been sucked, from there do we exorcise for thee the poison of the small, greedily biting insect, (so that it be) devoid of strength.

4. Thou (serpent) here, crooked, without joints, and without limbs, that twisteth thy crooked jaws—mayest thou, O *Bṛihaspati*, straighten them out, as a (bent) reed!

5. The poison of the *sarkoṭa* (scorpion) that creeps low upon the ground, (after he) has been deprived of his strength, I have taken away; moreover I have caused him to be crushed.

6. There is no strength in thy arms, in thy head, nor in the middle (of thy body). Then why dost thou so wickedly carry a small (sting) in thy tail?

7. The ants devour thee, pea-hens hack thee to pieces. Yea, every one of you shall declare the poison of the sarkoṭa powerless!

8. Thou (scorpion) that strikest with both, with mouth as well as tail, in thy mouth there is no poison: then what can there be in the receptacle in thy tail?

#### VI, 16. Charm against ophthalmia.

1. O âbayu, (and even if) thou art not âbayu, strong is thy juice, O âbayu! We eat a gruel, compounded of thee.

2. Vihalha is thy father's name, Madâvatî thy mother's name. Thou art verily not such, as to have consumed thy own self.

3. O Tauvilikâ, do be quiet! This howling one has become quiet. O brown one, and brown-eared one, go away! Go out, O âla!

4. Alasâlâ thou art first, silâñgalâlâ thou art the next, nilâgalasâlâ (thou art third?)!

#### VI, 21. Charm to promote the growth of hair.

1. Of these three earths (our) earth verily is the highest. From the surface of these I have now plucked a remedy.

2. Thou art the most excellent of remedies, the best of plants, as Soma (the moon) is the lord in the watches of the night, as Varuṇa (is king) among the gods.

3. O ye wealthy, irresistible (plants), ye do generously bestow benefits. And ye strengthen the hair, and, moreover, promote its increase.

VI, 136. Charm with the plant *nitatni*  
to promote the growth of hair.

1. As a goddess upon the goddess earth thou wast born, O plant! We dig thee up, O *nitatni*, that thou mayest strengthen (the growth) of the hair.

2. Strengthen the old (hair), beget the new! That which has come forth render more luxurious!

3. That hair of thine which does drop off, and that which is broken root and all, upon it do I sprinkle here the all-healing herb.

VI, 137. Charm to promote the growth of hair.

1. The (plant) that *Gamadagni* dug up to promote the growth of his daughter's hair, *Vitahavya* has brought here from the dwelling of *Asita*.

2. With reins they had to be measured, with outstretched arms they had to be measured out. May thy hairs grow as reeds, may they (cluster), black, about thy head!

3. Make firm their roots, draw out their ends, expand their middle, O herb! May thy hairs grow as reeds, may they (cluster), black, about thy head!

IV, 4. Charm to promote virility.

1. Thee, the plant, which the *Gandharva* dug up for *Varuṇa*, when his virility had decayed, thee, that causest strength<sup>1</sup>, we dig up.

2. *Ushas* (Aurora), *Sūrya* (the sun), and this charm of mine; the bull *Pragâpati* (the lord of creatures) shall with his lusty fire arouse him!

<sup>1</sup> The original, more drastically, *sepaharshazîm*. By a few changes and omissions in stanzas 3, 6, and 7 the direct simplicity of the original has been similarly veiled.

3. This herb shall make thee so very full of lusty strength, that thou shalt, when thou art excited, exhale heat as a thing on fire!

4. The fire of the plants, and the essence of the bulls shall arouse him! Do thou, O Indra, controller of bodies, place the lusty force of men into this person!

5. Thou (O herb) art the first-born sap of the waters and also of the plants. Moreover thou art the brother of Soma, and the lusty force of the antelope buck!

6. Now, O Agni, now, O Savitar, now, O goddess Sarasvati, now, O Brahmanaspati, do thou stiffen the pasas as a bow!

7. I stiffen thy pasas as a bowstring upon the bow. Embrace thou (women) as the antelope buck the gazelle with ever unfailing (strength)!

8. The strength of the horse, the mule, the goat and the ram, moreover the strength of the bull bestow upon him, O controller of bodies (Indra)!

#### VI, III. Charm against mania.

1. Release for me, O Agni, this person here, who, bound and well-secured, loudly jabbers! Then shall he have due regard for thy share (of the offering), when he shall be free from madness!

2. Agni shall quiet down thy mind, if it has been disturbed! Cunningly do I prepare a remedy, that thou shalt be freed from madness.

3. (Whose mind) has been maddened by the sin of the gods, or been robbed of sense by the Rakshas, (for him) do I cunningly prepare a remedy, that he shall be free from madness.

4. May the Apsaras restore thee, may Indra, may

Bhaga restore thee; may all the gods restore thee, that thou mayest be freed from madness!

IV, 37. Charm with the plant *agasringī* to drive out Rakshas, Apsaras and Gandharvas.

1. With thee, O herb, the Atharvans first slew the Rakshas, with thee Kasyapa slew (them), with thee Kaṇva and Agastya (slew them).

2. With thee do we scatter the Apsaras and Gandharvas. O *agasringī* (odina pinnata), goad (aga) the Rakshas, drive them all away with thy smell!

3. The Apsaras, Guggulū, Pīlā, Naladī, Auksha-gandhi, and Pramandanī (by name), shall go to the river, to the ford of the waters, as if blown away! Thither do ye, O Apsaras, pass away, (since) ye have been recognised!

4. Where grow the asvattha (ficus religiosa) and the banyan-trees, the great trees with crowns, thither do ye, O Apsaras, pass away, (since) ye have been recognised!

5. Where your gold and silver swings are, where cymbals and lutes chime together, thither do ye, O Apsaras, pass away, (since) ye have been recognised.

6. Hither has come the mightiest of the plants and herbs. May the *agasringī* arātakī pierce with her sharp horn (tikshmasringī)!

7. Of the crested Gandharva, the husband of the Apsaras, who comes dancing hither, I crush the two mushkas and cut off the sepas.

8. Terrible are the missiles of Indra, with a hundred points, brazen; with these he shall pierce the Gandharvas, who devour oblations, and devour the avakā-reed.

9. Terrible are the missiles of Indra, with a hundred points, golden ; with these he shall pierce the Gandharvas, who devour oblations, and devour the avakâ-reed.

10. All the Pisâkas that devour the avakâ-reeds, that burn, and spread their little light in the waters, do thou, O herb, crush and overcome !

11. One is like a dog, one like an ape. As a youth, with luxuriant locks, pleasant to look upon, the Gandharva hangs about the woman. Him do we drive out from here with our powerful charm.

12. The Apsaras, you know, are your wives ; ye, the Gandharvas, are their husbands. Speed away, ye immortals, do not go after mortals !

## II, 9. Possession by demons of disease, cured by an amulet of ten kinds of wood.

1. O (amulet) of ten kinds of wood, release this man from the demon (rakshas) and the fit (grâhi) which has seized upon (gagrâha) his joints ! Do thou, moreover, O plant, lead him forth to the world of the living !

2. He has come, he has gone forth, he has joined the community of the living. And he has become the father of sons, and the most happy of men !

3. This person has come to his senses, he has come to the cities of the living. For he (now) has a hundred physicians, and also a thousand herbs.

4. The gods have found thy arrangement, (O amulet) ; the Brahmans, moreover, the plants. All the gods have found thy arrangement upon the earth.

5. (The god) that has caused (disease) shall perform the cure ; he is himself the best physician.

Let him indeed, the holy one, prepare remedies for thee, together with the (earthly) physician !

IV, 36. Charm against demons (pisâka) conceived as the cause of disease.

1. May Agni Vaisvânara, the bull of unfailing strength, burn up him that is evil-disposed, and desires to harm us, and him that plans hostile deeds against us !

2. Between the two rows of teeth of Agni Vaisvânara do I place him that plans to injure us, when we are not planning to injure him ; and him that plans to injure us, when we do plan to injure him.

3. Those who hound us in our chambers, while shouting goes on in the night of the new moon, and the other flesh-devourers who plan to injure us, all of them do I overcome with might.

4. With might I overcome the Pisâkas, rob them of their property ; all evil-disposed (demons) do I slay : may my device succeed !

5. With the gods who vie with, and measure their swiftness with this sun, with those that are in the rivers, and in the mountains, do I, along with my cattle, consort.

6. I plague the Pisâkas as the tiger the cattle-owners. As dogs who have seen a lion, these do not find a refuge.

7. My strength does not lie with Pisâkas, nor with thieves, nor with prowlers in the forest. From the village which I enter the Pisâkas vanish away.

8. From the village which my fierce power has entered the Pisâkas vanish away ; they do not devise evil.



9. They who irritate me with their jabber, as (buzzing) mosquitoes the elephant, them I regard as wretched (creatures), as small vermin upon people.

10. May Nirṛiti (the goddess of destruction) take hold of this one, as a horse with the halter ! The fool who is wroth with me is not freed from (her) snare.

II, 25. Charm with the plant *prisniparṇi* against the demon of disease, called *kanva*.

1. The goddess *Prisniparṇi* has prepared prosperity for us, mishap for Nirṛiti (the goddess of destruction). For she is a fierce devourer of the *Kanvas* : her, the mighty, have I employed.

2. The *Prisniparṇi* was first begotten powerful ; with her do I lop off the heads of the evil brood, as (the head) of a bird.

3. The blood-sucking demon, and him that tries to rob (our) health, *Kanva*, the devourer of our offspring, destroy, O *Prisniparṇi*, and overcome !

4. These *Kanvas*, the effacers of life, drive into the mountain ; go thou burning after them like fire, O goddess *Prisniparṇi* !

5. Drive far away these *Kanvas*, the effacers of life ! Where the dark regions are, there have I made these flesh-eaters go.

VI, 32. Charm for driving away demons (*Rakshas* and *Pisâkas*).

1. Do ye well offer within the fire this oblation with ghee, that destroys the spook ! Do thou, O Agni, burn from afar against the *Rakshas*, (but) our houses thou shalt not consume !

2. Rudra has broken your necks, ye *Pisākas*: may he also break your ribs, ye spooks! The plant whose power is everywhere has united you with Yama (death).

3. Exempt from danger, O Mitra and Varuna, may we here be; drive back with your flames the devouring demons (*Atrin*)! Neither aider, nor support do they find; smiting one another they go to death.

#### II, 4. Charm with an amulet derived from the *gaṅgīdā* tree, against diseases and demons.

1. Unto long life and great delights, for ever unharmed and vigorous, do we wear the *gaṅgīdā*, as an amulet destructive of the *vishkandha*.

2. From convulsions, from tearing pain, from *vishkandha*, and from torturing pain, the *gaṅgīdā* shall protect us on all sides—an amulet of a thousand virtues!

3. This *gaṅgīdā* conquers the *vishkandha*, and smites the *Atrin* (devouring demons); may this all-healing *gaṅgīdā* protect us from adversity!

4. By means of the invigorating *gaṅgīdā*, bestowed by the gods as an amulet, do we conquer in battle the *vishkandha* and all the *Rakshas*.

5. May the hemp and may the *gaṅgīdā* protect me against *vishkandha*! The one (*gaṅgīdā*) is brought hither from the forest, the other (hemp) from the sap of the furrow.

6. Destruction of witchcraft is this amulet, also destruction of hostile powers: may the powerful *gaṅgīdā* therefore extend far our lives!

XIX, 34. Charm with an amulet derived from the *gaṅgīdā*-tree, against diseases and demons.

1. Thou art an Aṅgiras, O *gaṅgīdā*, a protector art thou, O *gaṅgīdā*. All two-footed and four-footed creatures that belong to us the *gaṅgīdā* shall protect !

2. The sorceries fifty-three in number, and the hundred performers of sorcery, all these having lost their force, the *gaṅgīdā* shall render bereft of strength!

3. Bereft of strength is the gotten-up clamour, bereft of strength are the seven debilitating (charms). Do thou, O *gaṅgīdā*, hurl away from here poverty, as an archer an arrow!

4. This *gaṅgīdā* is a destroyer of witchcraft, and also a destroyer of hostile powers. May then the powerful *gaṅgīdā* extend far our lives!

5. May the greatness of the *gaṅgīdā* protect us about on all sides, (the greatness) with which he has overcome the *vishkandha* (and) the *samskandha*, (overcoming) the powerful (disease) with power!

6. Thrice the gods begot thee that hast grown up upon the earth. The Brāhmaṇas of yore knew thee here by the name of Aṅgiras.

7. Neither the plants of olden times, nor they of recent times, surpass thee; a fierce slayer is the *gaṅgīdā*, and a happy refuge.

8. And when, O *gaṅgīdā* of boundless virtue, thou didst spring up in the days of yore, O fierce (plant), Indra at first placed strength in thee.

9. Fierce Indra, verily, put might into thee, O lord of the forest! Dispersing all diseases, slay thou the Rakshas, O plant!

10. The breaking disease and the tearing disease,

the *balāsa*, and the pain in the limbs, the *takman* that comes every autumn, may the *gaṅgida* render devoid of force!

XIX, 35. Charm with an amulet derived from the *gaṅgida*-tree, against diseases and demons.

1. While uttering Indra's name the seers bestowed (upon men) the *gaṅgida*, which the gods in the beginning had made into a remedy, destructive of the *vishkandha*.

2. May that *gaṅgida* protect us as a treasurer his treasures, he whom the gods and the *Brāhmaṇas* made into a refuge that puts to naught the hostile powers!

3. The evil eye of the hostile-minded, (and) the evil-doer I have approached. Do thou, O thousand-eyed one, watchfully destroy these! A refuge art thou, O *gaṅgida*.

4. May the *gaṅgida* protect me from heaven, protect me from earth, protect (me) from the atmosphere, protect me from the plants, protect me from the past, as well as the future; may he protect us from every direction of space!

5. The sorceries performed by the gods, and also those performed by men, may the all-healing *gaṅgida* render them all devoid of strength!

VI, 85. Exorcism of disease by means of an amulet from the *varana*-tree.

1. This divine tree, the *varana*, shall shut out (*vārayātai*). The gods, too, have shut out (*avīvaran*) the disease that hath entered into this man!

2. By Indra's command, by Mitra's and by

Varuna's, by the command of all the gods do we shut out thy disease.

3. As *Vṛitra* did hold fast these ever-flowing waters, thus do I shut out (*vāraye*) disease from thee with (the help of) *Agni Vaisvânara*.

#### VI, 127. The *Āpudru*-tree as a panacea.

1. Of the abscess, of the *balâsa*, of flow of blood, O plant; of neuralgia, O herb, thou shalt not leave even a speck!

2. Those two boils (testicles) of thine, O *balâsa*, that are fixed upon the arm-pits—I know the remedy for that: the *Āpudru*-tree takes care of it.

3. The neuralgia that is in the limbs, that is in the ears and in the eyes—we tear them out, the neuralgia, the abscess, and the pain in the heart. That unknown disease do we drive away downward.

#### XIX, 38. The healing properties of bdellium.

1. [Neither diseases, nor yet a curse, enters this person, O *arundhatî*!] From him that is penetrated by the sweet fragrance of the healing bdellium, diseases flee in every direction, as antelopes and as horses run.

2. Whether, O bdellium, thou comest from the *Sindhu* (*Indus*), or whether thou art derived from the sea, I have seized the qualities of both, that this person shall be exempt from harm.

#### VI, 91. Barley and water as universal remedies.

1. This barley they did plough vigorously, with yokes of eight and yokes of six. With it I drive off to a far distance the ailment from thy body.

2. Downward blows the wind, downward burns the sun, downward the cow is milked: downward shall thy ailment pass!

3. The waters verily are healing, the waters chase away disease, the waters cure all (disease): may they prepare a remedy for thee!

# VIII, 7. Hymn to all magic and medicinal plants, used as a universal remedy.

1. The plants that are brown, and those that are white; the red ones and the speckled ones; the sable and the black plants, all (these) do we invoke.

2. May they protect this man from the disease sent by the gods, the herbs whose father is the sky, whose mother is the earth, whose root is the ocean.

3. The waters and the heavenly plants are foremost; they have driven out from every limb thy disease, consequent upon sin.

4. The plants that spread forth, those that are bushy, those that have a single sheath, those that creep along, do I address; I call in thy behalf the plants that have shoots, those that have stalks, those that divide their branches, those that are derived from all the gods, the strong (plants) that furnish life to man.

5. With the might that is yours, ye mighty ones, with the power and strength that is yours, with that do ye, O plants, rescue this man from this disease! I now prepare a remedy.

6. The plants *gīvalā* ('quickenings'), *na-ghâ-rishâ* ('forsooth-no-harm'), *gīvantī* ('living'), and the *arun-dhatī*, which removes (disease), is full of blossoms,

and rich in honey, do I call to exempt him from injury.

7. Hither shall come the intelligent (plants) that understand my speech, that we may bring this man into safety out of misery!

8. They that are the food of Agni (the fire), the offspring of the waters, that grow ever renewing themselves, the firm (plants) that bear a thousand names, the healing (plants), shall be brought hither!

9. The plants, whose womb is the avakâ (blyxa octandra), whose essence are the waters, shall with their sharp horns thrust aside evil!

10. The plants which release, exempt from Varuṇa (dropsy), are strong, and destroy poison; those, too, that remove (the disease) balâsa, and ward off witchcraft shall come hither!

11. The plants that have been bought, that are right potent, and are praised, shall protect in this village cow, horse, man, and cattle!

12. Honied are the roots of these herbs, honied their tops, honied their middles, honied their leaves, honied their blossoms; they share in honey, are the food of immortality. May they yield ghee, and food, and cattle chief of all!

13. As many in number and in kind the plants here are upon the earth, may they, furnished with a thousand leaves, release me from death and misery!

14. Tiger-like is the amulet (made of) herbs, a saviour, a protector against hostile schemes: may it drive off far away from us all diseases and the Rakshas!

15. As if at the roar of the lion they start with fright, as if (at the roar) of fire they tremble before

the (plants) that have been brought hither. The diseases of cattle and men have been driven out by the herbs : let them pass into navigable streams !

16. The plants release us from Agni Vaisvânara. Spreading over the earth, go ye, whose king is the tree !

17. The plants, descended from Aṅgiras, that grow upon the mountains and in the plains, shall be for us rich in milk, auspicious, comforting to the heart !

18. The herbs which I know, and those which I see with my sight ; the unknown, those which we know, and those which we perceive to be charged with (power),—

19. All plants collectively shall note my words, that we may bring this man into safety out of misfortune,—

20. The asvattha (*ficus religiosa*), and the darbha among the plants ; king Soma, *amṛita* (ambrosia) and the oblation ; rice and barley, the two healing, immortal children of heaven !

21. Ye arise : it is thundering and crashing, ye plants, since Parganya (the god of rain) is favouring you, O children of *Prisni* (the spotted cloud), with (his) seed (water).

22. The strength of this *amṛita* (ambrosia) do we give this man to drink. Moreover, I prepare a remedy, that he may live a hundred years !

23. The boar knows, the ichneumon knows the healing plant. Those that the serpents and Gandharvas know, I call hither for help.

24. The plants, derived from the Aṅgiras, which the eagles and the heavenly *raghats* (falcons) know, which the birds and the flamingos know, which all



winged (creatures) know, which all wild animals know, I call hither for help.

25. As many plants as the oxen and kine, as many as the goats and the sheep feed upon, so many plants, when applied, shall furnish protection to thee!

26. As many (plants), as the human physicians know to contain a remedy, so many, endowed with every healing quality, do I apply to thee!

27. Those that have flowers, those that have blossoms, those that bear fruit, and those that are without fruit, as if from the same mother they shall suck sap, to exempt this man from injury!

28. I have saved thee from a depth of five fathoms, and, too, from a depth of ten fathoms; moreover, from the foot-fetter of Yama, and from every sin against the gods.

#### VI, 96. Plants as a panacea.

1. The many plants of hundredfold aspect, whose king is Soma, which have been begotten by *Brihaspati*, shall free us from calamity!

2. May they free us from (the calamity) consequent upon curses, and also from the (toils) of *Varuṇa*; moreover, from the foot-fetter of Yama, and every sin against the gods!

3. What laws we have infringed upon, with the eye, the mind, and speech, either while awake, or asleep—may Soma by his (divine) nature clear these (sins) away from us!

#### II, 32. Charm to secure perfect health.

1. From thy eyes, thy nostrils, ears, and chin—the disease which is seated in thy head—from thy brain and tongue I do tear it out.

2. From thy neck, nape of the neck, ribs, and spine—the disease which is seated in thy fore-arm—from thy shoulders and arms I do tear it out.

3. From thy heart, thy lungs, viscera, and sides; from thy kidneys, spleen, and liver we do tear out the disease.

4. From thy entrails, canals, rectum, and abdomen; from thy belly, guts, and navel I do tear out the disease.

5. From thy thighs, knees, heels, and the tips of thy feet—from thy hips I do tear out the disease seated in thy buttocks, from thy bottom the disease seated in thy buttocks.

6. From thy bones, marrow, sinews and arteries; from thy hands, fingers, and nails I do tear out the disease.

7. The disease that is in thy every limb, thy every hair, thy every joint; that which is seated in thy skin, with Kasyapa's charm, that tears out, to either side we do tear it out.

#### IX, 8. Charm to procure immunity from all diseases.

1. Headache and suffering in the head, pain in the ears and flow of blood, every disease of the head, do we charm forth from thee.

2. From thy ears, from thy kaṅkūshas the ear-pain, and the neuralgia—every disease of the head do we charm forth from thee.

3. (With the charm) through whose agency disease hastens forth from the ears and the mouth—every disease of the head do we charm forth from thee.

4. (The disease) that renders a man deaf and

blind—every disease of the head do we charm forth from thee.

5. Pain in the limbs, fever in the limbs, the neuralgia that affects every limb—every disease of the head do we charm forth from thee.

6. (The disease) whose frightful aspect makes man tremble, the takman (fever) that comes every autumn, do we charm forth from thee.

7. The disease that creeps along the thighs, and then enters the canals, out of thy inner parts do we charm forth.

8. If from the heart, from love, or from disgust, it arises, from thy heart and from thy limbs the balâsa do we charm forth.

9. Jaundice from thy limbs, diarrhoea from within thy bowels, the core of disease from thy inner soul do we charm forth.

10. To ashes (âsa) the balâsa shall turn; what is diseased shall turn to urine! The poison of all diseases I have charmed forth from thee.

11. Outside the opening (of the bladder) it shall run off; the rumbling shall pass from thy belly! The poison of all diseases I have charmed forth from thee.

12. From thy belly, lungs, navel, and heart—the poison of all diseases I have charmed forth from thee.

13. (The pains) that split the crown (of the head), pierce the head, without doing injury, without causing disease, they shall run off outside the opening (of the bladder)!

14. They that pierce the heart, creep along the ribs, without doing injury, without causing disease, they shall run off outside the opening (of the bladder)!

15. They that pierce the sides, bore along the ribs, without doing injury, without causing disease, they shall run off outside the opening (of the bladder)!

16. They that pierce crosswise, burrow in thy abdomen, without doing injury, without causing disease, they shall run off outside the opening (of the bladder)!

17. They that creep along the rectum, twist the bowels, without doing injury, without causing disease, they shall run off outside the opening (of the bladder)!

18. They that suck the marrow, and split the joints, without doing injury, without causing disease, they shall run off outside the opening (of the bladder)!

19. The diseases and the injuries that paralyse thy limbs, the poison of all diseases I have charmed forth from thee.

20. Of neuralgia, of abscesses, of inflation, or of inflammation of the eyes, the poison of all diseases I have driven forth from thee.

21. From thy feet, knees, thighs, and bottom; from thy spine, and thy neck the piercing pains, from thy head the ache I have removed.

22. Firm are the bones of thy skull, and the beat of thy heart. At thy rising, O sun, thou didst remove the pains of the head, quiet the pangs in the limbs.

## II, 29. Charm for obtaining long life and prosperity by transmission of disease.

1. In the essence of earthly bliss, O ye gods, in strength of body (may he live)! May Agni, Sûrya, Br̥haspati bestow upon him life's vigour!

2. Give life to him, O *Gâtavedas*, bestow in addition progeny upon him, O *Tvashṭar*; procure, O *Savitar*, increase of wealth for him; may this one, who belongs to thee, live a hundred autumns!

3. May our prayer bestow upon us vigour, and possession of sound progeny; ability and property do ye two, (O heaven and earth), bestow upon us! May he, conquering lands with might, (live), O *Indra*, subjecting the others, his enemies!

4. Given by *Indra*, instructed by *Varuna*, sent by the *Maruts*, strong, he has come to us; may he, in the lap of ye two, heaven and earth, not suffer from hunger and not from thirst!

5. Strength may ye two, that are rich in strength, bestow upon him; milk may ye two, that are rich in milk, bestow upon him! Strength heaven and earth did bestow upon him; strength all the gods, the *Maruts*, and the waters.

6. With the gracious (waters) do I delight thy heart, mayest thou, free from disease, full of force, rejoice! Clothed in the same garment do ye two drink this stirred drink, taking on as a magic form the shape of the two *Asvins*!

7. *Indra*, having been wounded, first created this vigour, and this ever fresh divine food: that same belongs to thee. By means of that do thou, full of force, live (a hundred) autumns; may it not flow out of thee: physicians have prepared it for thee!

## II.

### PRAYERS FOR LONG LIFE AND HEALTH (ÂYUSHYÂNI).

#### III, 11. Prayer for health and long life.

1. I release thee unto life by means of (my) oblation, from unknown decline, and from consumption. If Grâhi (seizure) has caught hold (*gagrâha*) of this person here, may Indra and Agni free him from that!

2. If his life has faded, even if he has passed away, if he has been brought to the very vicinity of death, I snatch him from the lap of Nirriti (the goddess of destruction): I have freed him unto a life of a hundred autumns.

3. I have snatched him (from death) by means of an oblation which has a thousand eyes, hundredfold strength, and ensures a hundredfold life, in order that Indra may conduct him through the years across to the other side of every misfortune.

4. Live thou, thriving a hundred autumns, a hundred winters, and a hundred springs! May Indra, Agni, Savitar, *Bṛihaspati* (grant) thee a hundred years! I have snatched him (from death) with an oblation that secures a life of a hundred years.

5. Enter ye, O in-breathing and out-breathing, as two bulls a stable! Away shall go the other deaths, of which, it is said, there are a hundred more!

6. Remain ye here, O in-breathing and out-

breathing, do not go away from here; do ye carry anew to old age his body and his limbs!

7. To old age I make thee over, into old age I urge thee; may a happy old age guide thee! Away shall go the other deaths, of which, it is said, there are a hundred more!

8. Upon thee (life unto) old age has been deposited, as a rope is tied upon a bull. That death which has fettered thee at thy birth with a firm rope, *Brîhaspati* with the hands of the truth did strip off from thee.

II, 28. Prayer for long life pronounced over a boy.

1. For thee alone, O (death from) old age, this (boy) shall grow up: the other hundred kinds of death shall not harm him! Like a provident mother in her lap *Mitra* shall befriend him, shall save him from misfortune!

2. May *Mitra* or *Varuṇa*, the illustrious, co-operating, grant him death from old age! Then *Agni*, the priest, who knows the ways, promulgates all the races of the gods.

3. Thou, (O *Agni*), rulest over all the animals of the earth, those which have been born, and those which are to be born: may not in-breathing leave this one, nor yet out-breathing, may neither friends nor foes slay him!

4. May father *Dyaus* (sky) and mother *Prithivi* (earth), co-operating, grant thee death from old age, that thou mayest live in the lap of *Aditi* a hundred winters, guarded by in-breathing and out-breathing!

5. Lead this dear child to life and vigour, O *Agni*,

Varuna, and king Mitra! As a mother afford him protection, O Aditi, and all ye gods, that he may attain to old age!

III, 31. Prayer for health and long life.

1. The gods are free from decrepitude; thou, O Agni, art removed from the demon of hostility. I free thee from all evil and disease, (and) unite thee with life.

2. (Vāyu), the purifying (wind), shall free thee from misfortune, Sakra (Indra) from evil sorcery! I free thee from all evil and disease, (and) unite thee with life.

3. The tame (village) animals are separate from the wild (forest animals); the water has flowed apart from thirst. I free thee from all evil and disease, (and) unite thee with life.

4. Heaven and earth here go apart; the paths go in every direction. I free thee from all evil and disease, (and) unite thee with life.

5. 'Tvashṭar is preparing a wedding for his daughter,' thus (saying) does this whole world pass through. I free thee from all evil and disease, (and) unite thee with life.

6. Agni unites (life's) breaths, the moon is united with (life's) breath. I free thee from all evil and disease, (and) unite thee with life.

7. By means of (life's) breath the gods aroused the everywhere mighty sun. I free thee from all evil and disease, (and) unite thee with life.

8. Live thou by the (life's) breath of them that have life, and that create life; do not die! I free thee from all evil and disease, (and) unite thee with life.



9. Breathe thou with the (life's) breath of those that breathe; do not die! I free thee from all evil and disease, (and) unite thee with life.

10. Do thou (rise) up with life, unite thyself with life, (rise) up with the sap of the plants! I free thee from all evil and disease, (and) unite thee with life.

11. From the rain of Parganya we have risen up, immortal. I free thee from all evil and disease, (and) unite thee with life.

#### VII, 53. Prayer for long life.

1. When, O *Bṛihaspati*, thou didst liberate (us) from existence in yonder world of *Yama*, (and) from hostile schemes, then did the *Asvins*, the physicians of the gods, with might sweep death from us, O *Agni*!

2. O in-breathing and out-breathing, go along with the body, do not leave it: may they be thy allies here! Live and thrive a hundred autumns; *Agni* shall be thy most excellent shepherd and overseer!

3. Thy vital force that has been dissipated afar, thy in-breathing and thy out-breathing, shall come back again! *Agni* has snatched them from the lap of *Nirriti* (the goddess of destruction), and I again introduce them into thy person.

4. Let not his in-breathing desert him, nor his out-breathing quit him and depart! I commit him to the Seven *Rishis*: may they convey him in health to old age!

5. Enter, O in-breathing and out-breathing, like two bulls into a stable: this person shall here flourish, an unmolested repository for old age!

6. Life's breath we do drive into thee, disease we do drive away from thee. May this excellent Agni endow us with life from every source!

7. Ascending from the darkness of death to the highest firmament, to Sûrya (the sun), the god among gods, we have reached the highest light.

# VIII, 1. Prayer for exemption from the dangers of death.

1. To the 'Ender,' to Death be reverence! May thy in-breathing and thy out-breathing remain here! United here with (life's) spirit this man shall be, sharing in the sun, in the world of immortality (*amṛita*)!

2. Bhaga has raised him up, Soma with his rays (has raised) him up, the Maruts, the gods, (have raised) him up, Indra and Agni (have raised) him up unto well-being.

3. Here (shall be) thy (life's) spirit, here thy in-breathing, here thy life, here thy mind! We rescue thee from the toils of Nirṛiti (destruction) by means of our divine utterance.

4. Rise up hence, O man! Casting off the foot-shackles of death, do not sink down! Be not cut off from this world, from the sight of Agni and the sun!

5. The wind, Mâtarisvan, shall blow for thee, the waters shall shower *amṛita* (ambrosia) upon thee, the sun shall shine kindly for thy body! Death shall pity thee: do not waste away!

6. Thou shalt ascend and not descend, O man! Life and alertness do I prepare for thee. Mount, forsooth, this imperishable, pleasant car; then in old age thou shalt hold converse with thy family!

7. Thy mind shall not go thither, shall not disappear! Do not become heedless of the living, do not follow the Fathers! All the gods shall preserve thee here!

8. Do not long after the departed, who conduct (men) afar! Ascend from the darkness, come to the light! We lay hold of thy hands.

9. The two dogs of Yama, the black and the brindled one, that guard the road (to heaven), that have been despatched, shall not (go after) thee! Come hither, do not long to be away; do not tarry here with thy mind turned to a distance!

10. Do not follow this path: it is terrible! I speak of that by which thou hast not hitherto gone. Darkness is this, O man, do not enter it! Danger is beyond, security here for thee.

11. May the fires that are within the waters guard thee, may (the fire) which men kindle guard thee, may Gâtavedas Vaisvânara (the fire common to all men) guard thee! Let not the heavenly (fire) together with the lightning burn thee!

12. Let not the flesh-devouring (fire) menace thee: move afar from the funeral pyre! Heaven shall guard thee, the earth shall guard thee, the sun and moon shall guard thee, the atmosphere shall guard thee against the divine missile!

13. May the alert and the watchful divinities guard thee, may he that sleeps not and nods not guard thee, may he that protects and is vigilant guard thee!

14. They shall guard thee, they shall protect thee. Reverence be to them. Hail be to them!

15. Into converse with the living Vâyu, Indra, Dhâtâr, and saving Savitar shall put thee; breath

and strength shall not leave thee! Thy (life's) spirit do we call back to thee.

16. Convulsions that draw the jaws together, darkness, shall not come upon thee, nor (the demon) that tears out the tongue (?)! How shalt thou then waste away? The Âdityas and Vasus, Indra and Agni shall raise thee up unto well-being!

17. The heavens, the earth, Pragâpati, have rescued thee. The plants with Soma their king have delivered thee from death.

18. Let this man remain right here, ye gods, let him not depart hence to yonder world! We rescue him from death with (a charm) of thousandfold strength.

19. I have delivered thee from death. The (powers) that furnish strength shall breathe upon thee. The (mourning women) with dishevelled hair, they that wail lugubriously, shall not wail over thee!

20. I have snatched thee (from death), I have obtained thee; thou hast returned with renewed youth. O thou, that art (now) sound of limb, for thee sound sight, and sound life have I obtained.

21. It has shone upon thee, light has arisen, darkness has departed from thee. We remove from thee death, destruction, and disease.

# VIII, 2. Prayer for exemption from the dangers of death.

1. Take hold of this (charm) that subjects to immortality (life), may thy life unto old age not be cut off! I bring to thee anew breath and life: go not to mist and darkness, do not waste away!

2. Come hither to the light of the living; I rescue thee unto a life of a hundred autumns! Loosing the bands of death and imprecation, I bestow upon thee long life extended very far.

3. From the wind thy breath I have obtained, from the sun thine eye; thy soul I hold fast in thee: be together with thy limbs, speak articulating with thy tongue!

4. With the breath of two-footed and four-footed creatures I blow upon thee, as on Agni when he is born (as on fire when kindled). I have paid reverence, O death, to thine eye, reverence to thy breath.

5. This (man) shall live and shall not die: we rouse this man (to life)! I make for him a remedy: O death, do not slay the man!

6. The plant *gṛvalâ* ('quickenings'), *na-ghâ-rishâ* ('forsooth-no-harm'), and *gṛvantî* ('living'), a victorious, mighty saviour-plant do I invoke, that he may be exempt from injury.

7. Befriend him, do not seize him, let him go, (O death); though he be thy very own, let him abide here with unimpaired strength! O Bhava and Sarva, take pity, grant protection; misfortune drive away, and life bestow!

8. Befriend him, death, and pity him: may he from here arise! Unharméd, with sound limbs, hearing perfectly, through old age carrying a hundred years, let him get enjoyment by himself (unaided)!

9. The missile of the gods shall pass thee by! I pass thee across the mist (of death); from death I have rescued thee. Removing far the flesh-devouring Agni, a barrier do I set around thee, that thou mayest live.

10. From thy misty road that cannot be withstood,

O death, from this path (of thine) we guard this (man), and make our charm a protection for him.

11. In-breathing and out-breathing do I prepare for thee, death in old age, long life, and prosperity. All the messengers of Yama, that roam about, dispatched by Vivasvant's son, do I drive away.

12. Arâti (grudge), Nirriti (destruction), Grâhi (seizure), and the flesh-devouring Pisâkas (do we drive) away to a distance, and hurl all wicked Rakshas away into darkness as it were.

13. I crave thy life's breath from the immortal, life-possessing Agni Gâtavedas. That thou shalt not take harm, shalt be immortal in (Agni's) company, that do I procure for thee, and that shall be fulfilled for thee!

14. May heaven and earth, the bestowers of happiness, be auspicious and harmless to thee; may the sun shine, and the wind blow comfort to thy heart; may the heavenly waters, rich in milk, flow upon thee kindly!

15. May the plants be auspicious to thee! I have raised thee from the lower to the upper earth: there may both the Âdityas, the sun and the moon, protect thee.

16. Whatever garment for clothing, or whatever girdle thou makest for thyself, agreeable to thy body do we render it; not rough to thy touch shall it be!

17. When thou, the barber, shearest with thy sharp well-whetted razor our hair and beard, do not, while cleansing our face, rob us of our life!

18. Rice and barley shall be auspicious to thee, causing no balâsa, inflicting no injury! They two drive away disease, they two release from calamity.

19. Whatever thou eatest or drinkest, the grain of the plough-land or milk, whatever is or is not to be eaten, all that food do I render for thee free from poison.

20. To day and to night both do we commit thee : from the demons that seek to devour, do ye preserve this (man) for me !

21. A hundred years, ten thousand years, two, three, four ages (yuga) do we allot to thee ; Indra and Agni, and all the gods without anger shall favour thee !

22. To autumn thee, to winter, spring and summer, do we commit ; the rains in which grow the plants shall be pleasant to thee !

23. Death rules over bipeds, death rules over quadrupeds. From that death, the lord of cattle, do I rescue thee : do not fear !

24. Free from harm thou shalt not die ; thou shalt not die : do not fear ! Verily, they do not die there, they do not go to the nethermost darkness ;—

25. Verily, every creature lives there, the cow, the horse, and man, where this charm is performed, as the (protecting) barrier for life.

26. May it preserve thee from sorcery, from thy equals and thy kin ! Undying be, immortal, exceedingly vital ; thy spirits shall not abandon thy body !

27. From the one and a hundred deaths, from the dangers that are surmountable, from that Agni Vaisvânara (the funeral pyre ?) may the gods deliver thee !

28. Thou, the remedy called pûtudru, art the body of Agni, the deliverer, slayer of Rakshas, slayer of rivals, moreover thou chasest away disease.

V, 30. Prayer for exemption from disease and death.

1. From near thy vicinity, from near thy distance (do I call): remain here, do not follow; do not follow the Fathers of yore! Firmly do I fasten thy life's breath.

2. Whatever sorcery any kinsman or stranger has practised against thee, both release and deliverance with my voice do I declare for thee.

3. If thou hast deceived or cursed a woman or a man in thy folly, both release and deliverance with my voice do I declare for thee.

4. If thou liest (ill) in consequence of a sin committed by thy mother or thy father, both release and deliverance with my voice do I declare for thee.

5. Fight shy of the medicine which thy mother and thy father, thy sister and thy brother let out against thee: I shall cause thee to live unto old age!

6. Remain here, O man, with thy entire soul; do not follow the two messengers of Yama: come to the abodes of the living!

7. Return when called, knowing the outlet of the path (death), the ascent, the advance, the road of every living man!

8. Fear not, thou shalt not die: I shall cause thee to live unto old age! I have charmed away from thy limbs the disease that wastes the limbs.

9. The disease that racks and wastes thy limbs, and the sickness in thy heart, has flown as an eagle to a far distance, overcome by my charm.



10. The two sages Alert and Watchful, the sleepless and the vigilant, these two guardians of thy life's breath, are awake both day and night.

11. Agni here is to be revered; the sun shall rise here for thee: rise thou from deep death, yea from black darkness!

12. Reverence be to Yama, reverence to death; reverence to the Fathers and to those that lead (to them) [death's messengers?]; That Agni who knows the way to save do I engage for this man, that he be exempt from harm!

13. His breath shall come, his soul shall come, his sight shall come, and, too, his strength! His body shall collect itself: then shall he stand firm upon his feet!

14. Unite him, Agni, with breath and sight, provide him with a body and with strength! Thou hast a knowledge of immortality: let him not now depart, let him not now become a dweller in a house of clay!

15. Thy in-breathing shall not cease, thy out-breathing shall not vanish; Sûrya (the sun), the supreme lord, shall raise thee from death with his rays!

16. This tongue (of mine), bound (in the mouth, yet) mobile, speaks within: with it I have charmed away disease, and the hundred torments of the takman (fever).

17. This world is most dear to the gods, unconquered. For whatever death thou wast destined when thou wast born, O man, that (death) and we call after thee: do not die before old age!

#### IV, 9. Salve (*āṅgana*) as a protector of life and limb.

1. Come hither! Thou art the living, protecting eye-ointment of the mountain, given by all the gods as a safeguard, unto life.

2. Thou art a protection for men, a protection for cattle, thou didst stand for the protection of horses and steeds.

3. Thou art, O salve, both a protection that crushes the sorcerers, and thou hast knowledge of immortality (*amṛita*). Moreover, thou art food for the living, and thou art, too, a remedy against jaundice.

4. From him over whose every limb and every joint thou passest, O salve, thou dost, as a mighty interceptor, drive away disease.

5. Him that bears thee, O salve, neither curse, nor sorcery, nor burning pain does reach; nor does the *vishkandha* come upon him.

6. From evil scheme, from troubled dream, from evil deed, and also from foulness; from the evil eye of the enemy, from this protect us, O salve!

7. Knowing this, O salve, I shall speak the truth, avoid falsehood. May I obtain horses and cattle, and thy person, O serving-man!

8. Three are servants of the salve: the *takman* (fever), the *balâsa*, and the serpent. The highest of the mountains, *Trikakud* ('Three-peaks') by name, is thy father.

9. Since the salve of *Trikakud* is born upon the *Himavant*, it shall demolish all the wizards and all the witches.

10. Whether thou art derived from the (mountain) Trikakud, or art said to come from the (river) Yamunâ, both these names of thine are auspicious : with these, O salve, protect us !

IV, 10. The pearl and its shell as an amulet  
bestowing long life and prosperity.

1. Born of the wind, the atmosphere, the lightning, and the light, may this pearl shell, born of gold, protect us from straits !

2. With the shell which was born in the sea, at the head of bright substances, we slay the Rakshas and conquer the Atrins (devouring demons).

3. With the shell (we conquer) disease and poverty ; with the shell, too, the Sadânvâs. The shell is our universal remedy ; the pearl shall protect us from straits !

4. Born in the heavens, born in the sea, brought on from the river (Sindhu), this shell, born of gold, is our life-prolonging amulet.

5. The amulet, born from the sea, a sun, born from Vṛitra (the cloud), shall on all sides protect us from the missiles of the gods and the Asuras !

6. Thou art one of the golden substances, thou art born from Soma (the moon). Thou art sightly on the chariot, thou art brilliant on the quiver. [May it prolong our lives !]

7. The bone of the gods turned into pearl ; that, animated, dwells in the waters. That do I fasten upon thee unto life, lustre, strength, longevity, unto a life lasting a hundred autumns. May the (amulet) of pearl protect thee !

XIX, 26. Gold as an amulet for long life.

1. The gold which is born from fire, the immortal, they bestowed upon the mortals. He who knows this deserves it; of old age dies he who wears it.

2. The gold, (endowed by) the sun with beautiful colour, which the men of yore, rich in descendants, did desire, may it gleaming envelop thee in lustre! Long-lived becomes he who wears it!

3. (May it envelop) thee unto (long) life, unto lustre, unto force, and unto strength, that thou shalt by the brilliancy of the gold shine forth among people!

4. (The gold) which king Varuṇa knows, which god Bṛihaspati knows, which Indra, the slayer of Vṛitra, knows, may that become for thee a source of life, may that become for thee a source of lustre!

### III.

#### IMPRECATIONS AGAINST DEMONS, SORCERERS, AND ENEMIES (ÂBHIKÂRIKÂNI AND KRITYÂPRATIHARANÂNI).

##### I, 7. Against sorcerers and demons.

1. The sorcerer (yâtudhâna) that vaunts himself, and the Kimtdin do thou, O Agni, convey hither! For thou, O god, when lauded, becomest the destroyer of the demon.

2. Partake of the ghee, of the sesame-oil, O Agni Gâtavedas, that standest on high, conquerest by thyself! Make the sorcerers howl!

3. The sorcerers and the devouring (atrin) Kimtdin shall howl! Do ye, moreover, O Agni and Indra, receive graciously this our oblation!

4. Agni shall be the first to seize them, Indra with his (strong) arms shall drive them away! Every wizard, as soon as he comes, shall proclaim himself, saying, 'I am he'!

5. We would see thy might, O Gâtavedas; disclose to us the wizards, O thou that beholdest men! May they all, driven forth by thy fire, disclosing themselves, come to this spot!

6. Seize hold, O Gâtavedas: for our good thou wast born! Become our messenger, O Agni, and make the sorcerers howl!

7. Do thou, O Agni, drag hither the sorcerers, bound in shackles; then Indra with his thunderbolt shall cut off their heads!

I, 8. Against sorcerers and demons.

1. May this oblation carry hither the sorcerers, as a river (carries) foam! The man or the woman who has performed this (sorcery), that person shall here proclaim himself!

2. This vaunting (sorcerer) has come hither: receive him with alacrity! O *Bṛhaspati*, put him into subjection; O *Agni* and *Soma*, pierce him through!

3. Slay the offspring of the sorcerer, O soma-drinking (*Indra*), and subject (him)! Make drop out the farther and the nearer eye of the braggart (demon)!

4. Wherever, O *Agni Gâtavedas*, thou perceivest the brood of these hidden devourers (*atrin*), do thou, mightily strengthened by our charm, slay them: slay their (brood), O *Agni*, piercing them a hundredfold!

I, 16. Charm with lead, against demons and sorcerers.

1. Against the devouring demons who, in the night of the full-moon, have arisen in throngs, may *Agni*, the strong, the slayer of the sorcerers, give us courage!

2. To the lead *Varuṇa* gives blessing, to the lead *Agni* gives help. *Indra* gave me the lead: unfailingly it dispels sorcery.

3. This (lead) overcomes the *vishkandha*, this smites the devouring demons (*atrin*); with this I have overwhelmed all the brood of the *Pisákas*.

4. If thou slayest our cow, if our horse or our

domestic, we pierce thee with the lead, so that thou shalt not slay our heroes.

VI, 2. The soma-oblation directed against demons (rakshas).

1. Press the soma, ye priests, and rinse it (for renewed pressing), in behalf of Indra who shall listen to the song of the worshipper, and to my call!

2. Do thou, O doughty (Indra), whom the drops of soma enter as birds a tree, beat off the hostile brood of the Rakshas!

3. Press ye the soma for Indra, the soma-drinker, who wields the thunderbolt! A youthful victor and ruler is he, praised by many men.

II, 14. Charm against a variety of female demons, conceived as hostile to men, cattle, and home.

1. Nissâlâ, the bold, the greedy demon (? dhi-shana), and (the female demon) with long-drawn howl, the bloodthirsty; all the daughters of *Kanda*, the Sadânvâs do we destroy.

2. We drive you out of the stable, out of the axle (of the wagon), and the body of the wagon; we chase you, O ye daughters of Magundî, from the house.

3. In yonder house below, there the grudging demons (arâyî) shall exist; there ruin shall prevail, and all the witches!

4. May (Rudra), the lord of beings, and Indra, drive forth from here the Sadânvâs; those that are seated on the foundation of the house Indra shall overcome with his thunderbolt!

5. Whether ye belong to (the demons) of inherited disease, whether ye have been dispatched by men, or whether ye have originated from the Dasyus (demon-like aborigines), vanish from here, O ye Sadânvâs!

6. About their dwelling-places I did swiftly course, as if on a race-course. I have won all contests with you: vanish from here, O ye Sadânvâs!

### III, 9. Against vishkandha and kâbava (hostile demons).

1. Of karsapha and visapha heaven is the father and earth the mother. As, ye gods, ye have brought on (the trouble), thus do ye again remove it!

2. Without fastening they (the protecting plants?) held fast, thus it has been arranged by Manu. The vishkandha do I render impotent, like one who gelds cattle.

3. A talisman tied to a reddish thread the active (seers) then do fasten on: may the fastenings render impotent the eager, fiery kâbava!

4. And since, O ye eager (demons), ye walk like gods by the wile of the Asuras, the fastening (of the amulet) is destructive to the kâbava, as the ape to the dog.

5. I revile thee, the kâbava, unto misfortune, (and) shall work harm for thee. Accompanied with curses ye shall go out like swift chariots!

6. A hundred and one vishkandha are spread out along the earth; for these at the beginning they brought out thee, the amulet, that destroys vishkandha.



IV, 20. Charm with a certain plant (*sadampushpâ*)  
which exposes demons and enemies.

1. He sees here, he sees yonder, he sees in the distance, he sees—the sky, the atmosphere as well as the earth, all that, O goddess, he sees.

2. The three heavens, the three earths, and these six directions severally; all creatures may I see through thee, O divine plant!

3. Thou art verily the eyeball of the divine eagle; thou didst ascend the earth as a weary woman a palanquin.

4. The thousand-eyed god shall put this plant into my right hand: with that do I see every one, the *Sûdra* as well as the *Ârya*.

5. Reveal (all) forms, do not hide thy own self; moreover, do thou, O thousand-eyed (plant), look the *Kimîdins* in the face!

6. Reveal to me the wizards, and reveal the witches, reveal all the *Pisâkas*: for this purpose do I take hold of thee, O plant!

7. Thou art the eye of *Kasyapa*, and the eye of the four-eyed bitch. Like the sun, moving in the bright day, make thou the *Pisâka* evident to me!

8. I have dragged out from his retreat the sorcerer and the *Kimîdin*. Through this (charm) do I see every one, the *Sûdra* as well as the *Ârya*.

9. Him that flies in the air, him that moves across the sky, him that regards the earth as his resort, that *Pisâka* do thou reveal (to me)!

IV, 17. Charm with the apâmârga-plant, against sorcery, demons, and enemies.

1. We take hold, O victorious one, of thee, the mistress of remedies. I have made thee a thing of thousandfold strength for every one, O plant!

2. Her, the unfailingly victorious one, that wards off curses, that is powerful and defensive; (her and) all the plants have I assembled, intending that she shall save us from this (trouble)!

3. The woman who has cursed us with a curse, who has arranged dire misfortune (for us), who has taken hold of our children, to rob them of their strength—may she eat (her own) offspring!

4. The magic spell which they have put into the unburned vessel, that which they have put into the blue and red thread, that which they have put into raw flesh, with these slay thou those that have prepared the spell!

5. Evil dreams, troubled life, Rakshas, gruesomeness, and grudging demons (arâyi), all the evil-named, evil-speaking (powers), these do we drive out from us.

6. Death from hunger, and death from thirst, poverty in cattle, and failure of offspring, all that, O apâmârga, do we wipe out (apa mṛigmahe) with thee.

7. Death from thirst, and death from hunger, moreover, ill-luck at dice, all that, O apâmârga, do we wipe out with thee.

8. The apâmârga is sole ruler over all plants, with it do we wipe mishap from thee: do thou then live exempt from disease!

IV, 18. Charm with the apâmârga-plant, against sorcerers and demons.

1. Night is like unto the sun, the (starry) night is similar to day. The truth do I engage for help : the enchantments shall be devoid of force !

2. He, O ye gods, who prepares a spell, and carries it to the house of one that knows not (of it), upon him the spell, returning, shall fasten itself like a suckling calf upon its mother !

3. The person that prepares evil at home, and desires with it to harm another, she is consumed by fire, and many stones fall upon her with a loud crash.

4. Bestow curses, O thou (apâmârga), that hast a thousand homes, upon the (demons) visikha ('crestless'), and vigrîva ('crooked-neck') ! Turn back the spell upon him that has performed it, as a beloved maid (is brought) to her lover !

5. With this plant I have put to naught all spells, those that they have put into thy field, thy cattle, and into thy domestics.

6. He that has undertaken them has not been able to accomplish them : he broke his foot, his toe. He performed a lucky act for us, but for himself an injury.

7. The apâmârga-plant shall wipe out (apamârshu) inherited ills, and curses ; yea, it shall wipe out all witches, and all grudging demons (arâyî) !

8. Having wiped out all sorcerers, and all grudging demons, with thee, O apâmârga, we wipe all that (evil) out.

IV, 19. Mystic power of the apâmârga-plant,  
against demons and sorcerers.

1. On the one hand thou deprivest of kin, on the other thou now procurest kinfolk. Do thou, moreover, cut the offspring of him that practises spells, as a reed that springs up in the rain!

2. By a Brâhmaṇa thou hast been blest, by Kaṇva, the descendant of Nṛishad. Thou goest like a strong army; where thou hast arrived, O plant, there there is no fear.

3. Thou goest at the head of the plants, spreading lustre, as if with a light. Thou art on the one hand the protector of the weak, on the other the slayer of the Rakshas.

4. When of yore, in the beginning, the gods drove out the Asuras with thee, then, O plant, thou wast begotten as apâmârga ('wiping out').

5. Thou cuttest to pieces (vibhindati), and hast a hundred branches; vibhindant ('cutting to pieces') is thy father's name. Do thou (turn) against, and cut to pieces (vi bhindhi) him that is hostile towards us!

6. Non-being arose from the earth, that goes to heaven, (as) a great expansion. Thence, verily, that, spreading vapours, shall turn against the performer (of spells)!

7. Thou didst grow backward, thou hast fruit which is turned backward. Ward off from me all curses, ward off very far destructive weapons!

8. Protect me with a hundredfold, guard me with a thousandfold (strength)! Indra, the strong, shall put strength into thee, O prince of plants!

VII, 65. Charm with the apâmârga-plant, against curses, and the consequences of sinful deeds.

1. With fruit turned backward thou verily didst grow, O apâmârga : do thou drive all curses quite far away from here !

2. The evil deeds and foul, or the sinful acts which we have committed, with thee, O apâmârga, whose face is turned to every side, do we wipe them out (apa *mrigmahe*).

3. If we have sat together with one who has black teeth, or diseased nails, or one who is deformed, with thee, O apâmârga, we wipe all that out (apa *mrigmahe*).

X, 1. Charm to repel sorceries or spells.

1. The (spell) which they skilfully prepare, as a bride for the wedding, the multiform (spell), fashioned by hand, shall go to a distance : we drive it away !

2. The (spell) that has been brought forward by the fashioner of the spell, that is endowed with head, endowed with nose, endowed with ears, and multiform, shall go to a distance : we drive it away !

3. (The spell) that has been prepared by a Sûdra, prepared by a Râga, prepared by a woman, prepared by Brahmans, as a wife rejected by her husband, shall recoil upon her fabricator, (and) his kin !

4. With this herb have I destroyed all spells, that which they have put into thy field, into thy cattle, and into thy men.

5. Evil be to him that prepares evil, the curse shall recoil upon him that utters curses : back do we hurl

it against him, that it may slay him that fashions the spell.

6. *Pratīkṣa* ('Back-hurler'), the descendant of *Angiras*, is our overseer and officiator (*purohita*): do thou drive back again (*pratīkṣ*) the spells, and slay yonder fashioners of the spells!

7. He that has said to thee (the spell): 'go on'! upon that enemy, that antagonist do thou turn, O spell: do not seek out us, that are harmless!

8. He that has fitted together thy joints with skill, as the wagoner (*Rābhu*) the joints of a chariot, to him go, there is thy course: this person here shall remain unknown to thee!

9. They that have prepared thee and taken hold of thee, the cunning wizards—this is what cures it, destroys the spell, drives it back the opposite way: with it do we bathe thee.

10. Since we have come upon the wretched (spell), as upon (a cow) with a dead calf, flooded away (by a river), may all evil go away from me, and may possessions come to me!

11. If (thy enemies) have made (offerings) to thy Fathers, or have called thy name at the sacrifice, may these herbs free thee from every indigenous evil!

12. From the sin of the gods, and that of the fathers, from mentions of (thy) name, from (evil schemes) concocted at home, may the herbs free thee with might, through (this) charm, (and these) stanzas, (that are) the milk of the *R̥ṣhis*!

13. As the wind stirs up the dust from the earth, and the cloud from the atmosphere, thus may all misfortune, driven by my charm, go away from me!

14. Stride away (O spell), like a loudly braying

she-ass, that has been loosened (from the tether); reach those that have fabricated thee, driven from here by (my) forceful charm!

15. 'This is the way, O spell,' with these words do we lead thee. Thee that hast been sent out against us do we send back again. Go this way like a crushing army, with heavy carts, thou that art multiform, and crowned by a crest (?)!

16. In the distance there is light for thee, hitherward there is no road for thee; away from us take thy course! By another road cross thou ninety navigable streams, hard to cross! Do not injure, go away!

17. As the wind the trees, crush down and fell (the enemy), leave them neither cow, nor horse, nor serving-man! Turn from here upon those that have fabricated thee, O spell, awaken them to childlessness!

18. The spell or the magic which they have buried against thee in the sacrificial straw (barhis), in the field, (or) in the burial-ground, or if with superior skill they have practised sorcery against thee, that art simple and innocent, in thy household fire,—

19. The hostile, insidious instrument which they have brought hither has been discovered; that which has been dug in we have detected. It shall go whence it has been brought hither; there, like a horse, it shall disport itself, and slay the offspring of him that has fashioned the spell!

20. Swords of good brass are in our house: we know how many joints thou hast, O spell! Be sure to rise, go away from hence! O stranger, what seekest thou here?

21. I shall hew off, O spell, thy neck, and thy feet : run away ! May Indra and Agni, to whom belong the children (of men), protect us !

22. King Soma, who guards and pities us, and the lords of the beings shall take pity on us !

23. May Bhava and Sarva cast the lightning, the divine missile, upon him that performs evil, fashions a spell, and does wrong !

24. If thou art come two-footed, (or) four-footed, prepared by the fashioner of the spell, multiform, do thou, having become eight-footed, again go away from here, O misfortune !

25. Anointed, ornamented, and well equipped, go away, carrying every misfortune ! Know, O spell, thy maker, as a daughter her own father !

26. Go away, O spell, do not stand still, track (the enemy) as a wounded (animal) ! He is the game, thou the hunter : he is not able to put thee down.

27. Him that first hurls (the arrow), the other, laying on in defence, slays with the arrow, and while the first deals the blow, the other returns the blow.

28. Hear, verily, this speech of mine, and then return whence thou camest, against the one that fashioned thee !

29. Slaughter of an innocent is heinous, O spell : do not slay our cow, horse, or serving-man ! Wherever thou hast been put down, thence thee do we remove. Be lighter than a leaf !

30. If ye are enveloped in darkness, covered as if by a net—we tear all spells out from here, send them back again to him that fashioned them.

31. The offspring of them that fashion the spell, practise magic, or plot against us, crush thou, O spell,



leave none of them! Slay those that fashion the spell!

32. As the sun is released from darkness, abandons the night, and the streaks of the dawn, thus every misery, (every) device prepared by the fashioner of the spell, (every) misfortune, do I leave behind, as an elephant the dust.

V, 31. Charm to repel sorceries or spells.

1. The spell which they have put for thee into an unburned vessel, that which they have put into mixed grain, that which they have put into raw meat, that do I hurl back again.

2. The spell which they have put for thee into a cock, or that which (they have put) into a goat, into a crested animal, that which they have put into a sheep, that do I hurl back again.

3. The spell which they have put for thee into solipeds, into animals with teeth on both sides, that which they have put into an ass, that do I hurl back again.

4. The magic which they have put for thee into moveable property, or into personal possession, the spell which they have put into the field, that do I hurl back again.

5. The spell which evil-scheming persons have put for thee into the gârhapatya-fire, or into the house-fire, that which they have put into the house, that do I hurl back again.

6. The spell which they have put for thee into the assembly-hall, that which (they have put) into the gaming-place, that which they have put into the dice, that do I hurl back again.

7. The spell which they have put for thee into the army, that which they have put into the arrow and the weapon, that which they have put into the drum, that do I hurl back again.

8. The spell which they have placed down for thee in the well, or have buried in the burial-ground, that which they have put into (thy) home, that do I hurl back again.

9. That which they have put for thee into human bones, that which (they have put) into the funeral fire, to the consuming, burning, flesh-eating fire do I hurl that back again.

10. By an unbeaten path he has brought it (the spell) hither, by a (beaten) path we drive it out from here. The fool in his folly has prepared (the spell) against those that are surely wise.

11. He that has undertaken it has not been able to accomplish it: he broke his foot, his toe. He, luckless, performed an auspicious act for us, that are lucky.

12. Him that fashions spells, practises magic, digs after roots, sends out curses, Indra shall slay with his mighty weapon, Agni shall pierce with his hurled (arrow)!

#### V, 14. Charm to repel sorceries or spells.

1. An eagle found thee out, a boar dug thee out with his snout. Seek thou, O plant, to injure him that seeks to injure (us), strike down him that prepares spells (against us)!

2. Strike down the wizards, strike down him that prepares spells (against us); slay thou, moreover, O plant, him that seeks to injure us!

3. Cutting out from the skin (of the enemy) as if (from the skin) of an antelope, do ye, O gods, fasten the spell upon him that prepares it, as (one fastens) an ornament!

4. Take hold by the hand and lead away the spell back to him that prepares it! Place it in his very presence, so that it shall slay him that prepares the spell!

5. The spells shall take effect upon him that prepares the spells, the curse upon him that pronounces the curse! As a chariot with easy-going wheels, the spell shall turn back upon him that prepares the spell!

6. Whether a woman, or whether a man has prepared the spell for evil, we lead that spell to him as a horse with the halter.

7. Whether thou hast been prepared by the gods, or hast been prepared by men, we lead thee back with the help of Indra as an ally.

8. O Agni, gainer of battles, do thou gain the battles! With a counter-charm do we hurl back the spell upon him that prepares the spell.

9. Hold ready, (O plant,) thy weapon, and strike him, slay the very one that has prepared (the spell)! We do not whet thee for the destruction of him that has not practised (spells).

10. Go as a son to his father, bite like an adder that has been stepped upon. Return thou, O spell, to him that prepares the spell, as one who overcomes his fetters!

11. As the shy deer, the antelope, goes out to the mating (buck), thus the spell shall reach him that prepares it!

12. Straighter than an arrow may it (the spell) fly

against him, O ye heaven and earth ; may that spell take hold again of him that prepares it, as (a hunter) of his game !

13. Like fire (the spell) shall progress in the teeth of obstacles, like water along its course ! As a chariot with easy-going wheels the spell shall turn back upon him that prepares the spell !

VIII, 5. Prayer for protection addressed to a talisman made from wood of the *sraktya*-tree.

1. This attacking talisman, (itself) a man, is fastened upon the man : it is full of force, slays enemies, makes heroes of men, furnishes shelter, provides good luck.

2. This talisman slays enemies, makes strong men, is powerful, lusty, victorious, strong ; as a man it advances against sorceries and destroys them.

3. With this talisman Indra slew *Vṛitra*, with it he, full of device, destroyed the *Asuras*, with it he conquered both the heaven and earth, with it he conquered the four regions of space.

4. This talisman of *sraktya* assails and attacks. With might controlling the enemies, it shall protect us on all sides !

5. *Agni* has said this, and *Soma* has said this ; *Bṛihaspati*, *Savitar*, *Indra* (have said) this. These divine *purohitas* (chaplains) shall turn back for me (upon the sorcerer) the sorceries with aggressive amulets !

6. I have interposed heaven and earth, also the day, and also the sun. These divine *purohitas* (chaplains) shall turn back for me (upon the sorcerer) the sorceries with aggressive amulets !

7. (For) the folk that make an armour of the talisman of sraktya—like the sun ascending the sky, it subjects and beats off the sorceries.

8. With the amulet of sraktya, as if with a seer of powerful spirit, I have gained all battles, I slay the enemies, the Rakshas.

9. The sorceries that come from the Aṅgiras, the sorceries that come from the Asuras, the sorceries that prepare themselves, and those that are prepared by others, both these shall go away to a distance across ninety navigable streams!

10. As an armour upon him the gods shall tie the amulet, Indra, Vishṇu, Savitar, Rudra, Agni, Pragâpati, Parameshthin, Virâg, Vaisvânara, and the seers all.

11. Thou art the most superb of plants, as if a steer among the cattle, as if a tiger among beasts of prey. (The amulet) that we did seek, that have we found, a guardian at our side.

12. He that wears this talisman, verily is a tiger, a lion as well, and, too, a bull; moreover a curtailer of enemies.

13. Him slay not the Apsaras, nor the Gandharvas, nor mortal men; all regions does he rule, that wears this talisman.

14. Kasyapa has created thee, Kasyapa has produced thee. Indra wore thee in human (battle); wearing thee in the close combat he conquered. The gods did make the talisman an armour of thousandfold strength.

15. He that plans to harm thee with sorceries, with (unholy) consecrations and sacrifices—him beat thou back, O Indra, with thy thunderbolt that hath a hundred joints!

16. This talisman verily does assail, full of might,

victorious. Offspring and wealth it shall protect, provide defence, abound in luck!

17. Remove our enemies in the south, remove our enemies in the north; remove, O Indra, our enemies in the west: light, O hero, place in front (east) of us!

18. An armour for me be heaven and earth, an armour day, an armour the sun! An armour for me be Indra and Agni; Dhâtar shall bestow (dadhâtu) an armour upon me!

19. The armour of Indra and Agni, that is thick and strong, all the gods united do not pierce. This great (armour) shall protect my body on all sides, that I may obtain long life, and reach old age!

20. The divine talisman has ascended upon me unto complete exemption from injury. Assemble about this post that protects the body, furnishes threefold defence, in order to (secure) strength!

21. Into it Indra shall deposit manliness: do ye, O gods, assemble about it for long life, for life lasting a hundred autumns, that he may reach old age.

22. May Indra who bestows welfare, the lord of the people, the slayer of *Vṛitra*, the controller of enemies, he that conquereth and is unconquered, the soma-drinking bull that frees from danger, fasten the amulet upon thee: may it protect thee on each and every side, by day and by night!

### X, 3. Praise of the virtues of an amulet derived from the *varāṇa*-tree.

1. Here is my *varāṇa*-amulet, a bull that destroys the rivals: with it do thou close in upon thy enemies, crush them that desire to injure thee!

2. Break them, crush them, close in upon them : the amulet shall be thy van-guard in front ! With the *varana* the Devas (gods) did ward off (*avāra-yanta*) the onslaught of the Asuras (demons) day after day.

3. This thousand-eyed, yellow, golden *varana*-amulet is a universal cure ; it shall lay low thy enemies : be thou the first to injure those that hate thee !

4. This *varana* will ward off (*vārayishyate*) the spell that has been spread against thee ; this will protect thee from human danger, this will protect thee from all evil !

5. This divine tree, the *varana*, shall shut out (*vārayâtâi*) ! The gods, too, have shut out (*avīvaran*) the disease that has entered into this (man).

6. If when asleep thou shalt behold an evil dream ; as often as a wild beast shall run an inauspicious course ; from (ominous) sneezing, and from the evil shriek of a bird, this *varana*-amulet will protect thee (*vārayishyate*).

7. From *Arāti* (grudge), *Nirriti* (misfortune), from sorcery, and from danger ; from death and over-strong weapons the *varana* will protect thee.

8. The sin that my mother, that my father, that my brothers and my sister have committed ; the sin that we (ourselves) have committed, from that this divine tree will protect us.

9. Through the *varana* are confused my enemies and my (rival) kin. To untraversed gloom they have gone : they shall go to the nethermost darkness !

10. (May) I (be) unharmed, with cows unharmed, long-lived, with undiminished men ! This *varana*-amulet shall guard me in every region (of space) !

11. This *varana* upon my breast, the kingly, divine tree, shall smite asunder my enemies, as Indra the *Dasyus*, the *Asuras* (demons)!

12. Long-lived, a hundred autumns old, do I wear this *varana* : kingdom and rule, cattle and strength, this shall bestow upon me!

13. As the wind breaks with might the trees, the lords of the forest, thus do thou break my rivals, those formerly born, and the latter born! The *varana* shall watch over thee!

14. As the wind and the fire consume the trees, the lords of the forest, thus do thou consume my rivals, those formerly born, and the latter born! The *varana* shall watch over thee!

15. As, ruined by the wind, the trees lie prostrate, thus do thou ruin and prostrate my rivals, those formerly born, and the latter born! The *varana* shall watch over thee!

16. Do thou cut off, O *varana*, before their appointed time and before old age, those that aim to injure him in his cattle, and threaten his sovereignty!

17. As the sun is resplendent, as in him brilliance has been deposited, thus shall the amulet of *varana* hold fast for me reputation and prosperity, shall sprinkle me with brilliance, and anoint me with splendour!

18. As splendour is in the moon, and in the sun, the beholder of men, thus shall the amulet of *varana* hold fast, &c.

19. As splendour is in the earth, as in this *Gâta-vedas* (the fire), thus shall the amulet of *varana* hold fast, &c.

20. As splendour is in the maiden, as in this



appointed chariot, thus shall the amulet of *varana* hold fast, &c.

21. As splendour is in the soma-draught, as splendour is in the honey-mixture (for guests), thus shall the amulet of *varana* hold fast, &c.

22. As splendour is in the agnihotra-oblation, as splendour is in the call *vashaṭ*, thus shall the amulet of *varana* hold fast, &c.

23. As splendour is in the sacrificer, as (splendour) has been deposited in the sacrifice, thus shall the amulet of *varana* hold fast, &c.

24. As splendour is in *Pragâpati*, as in this *Parameshthin* (the lord on high), thus shall the amulet of *varana* hold fast, &c.

25. As immortality is in the gods, as truth has been deposited in them, thus shall the amulet of *varana* hold fast, &c.

X, 6. Praise of the virtues of amulet of *khadira*-wood in the shape of a ploughshare.

1. The head of the hostile rival, of the enemy that hates me, do I cut off with might.

2. This amulet, produced by the ploughshare, will prepare an armour for me : full of stirred drink it has come to me, together with sap and lustre.

3. If the skilful workman has injured thee with his hand or with his knife, the living bright waters shall purify thee from that, (so that thou shalt be) bright!

4. This amulet has a golden wreath, bestows faith and sacrifice and might; in our house as a guest it shall dwell!

5. Before it (the amulet as a guest) ghee, *surâ*

(liquor), honey, and every kind of food we place. The amulet having gone to the gods shall, as a father for his sons, plan for us growing good, more and more day after day!

6. The amulet which *Bṛihaspati* tied, the plough-share dripping with ghee, the strong khadira, unto strength, that *Agni* did fasten on; that yields him ghee more and more day after day: with it those that hate me do thou slay!

7. This amulet which *Bṛihaspati* tied . . . that *Indra* did fasten on, for strength and heroism; that yields him might more and more, &c.

8. The amulet which *Bṛihaspati* tied . . . that *Soma* did fasten on unto perfect hearing and seeing; that verily yields him lustre more and more, &c.

9. The amulet which *Bṛihaspati* tied . . . that *Sūrya* did fasten on, with that he conquered these directions of space; that yields him prosperity more and more, &c.

10. The amulet which *Bṛihaspati* tied . . . wearing that amulet *Kāndramas* (the moon) conquered the golden cities of the *Asuras* and the *Dānavas*; that yields him fortune more and more, &c.

11. The amulet which *Bṛihaspati* tied for swift *Vāta* (wind), that yields him strength more and more, &c.

12. The amulet which *Bṛihaspati* tied for swift *Vāta*, with that amulet, O *Asvins*, do ye guard this plough-land; that yields the two physicians (the *Asvins*) might more and more, &c.

13. The amulet which *Bṛihaspati* tied for swift *Vāta*, wearing that, *Savitar* through it conquered this light; that yields him abundance more and more, &c.

14. The amulet which *Bṛihaspati* tied for swift *Vâta*, wearing that, the waters ever run undiminished; that verily yields them ambrosia more and more, &c.

15. The amulet which *Bṛihaspati* tied for swift *Vâta*, that comforting amulet king *Varuṇa* did fasten on; that verily yields him truth more and more, &c.

16. The amulet which *Bṛihaspati* tied for swift *Vâta*, wearing that the gods did conquer all the worlds in battle; that verily yields them conquest more and more, &c.

17. The amulet which *Bṛihaspati* tied for swift *Vâta*, that comforting amulet the divinities did fasten on; that verily yields them all more and more, &c.

18. The seasons did fasten it on; the divisions (of the year) did fasten it on. Since the year did fasten it on, it guards every being.

19. The intermediate directions did fasten it on; the directions did fasten it on. The amulet created by *Pragâpati* has subjected those that hate me.

20. The *Atharvans* did tie it on, the descendants of the *Atharvans* did tie it on; with these allied, the *Âṅgiras* cleft the castles of the *Dasyus*. With it those that hate me do thou slay!

21. That *Dhâtar* did fasten on: (then) he shaped the being. With it those that hate me do thou slay!

22. The amulet which *Bṛihaspati* tied for the gods, destructive of the *Asuras*, that has come to me together with sap and lustre.

23. The amulet . . . has come to me together with cows, goats, and sheep, together with food and offspring.

24. The amulet . . . has come to me together with rice and barley, together with might and prosperity.

25. The amulet . . . has come to me with a stream of honey and ghee together with sweet drink.

26. The amulet . . . has come to me together with nourishment and milk, together with goods and fortune.

27. The amulet . . . has come to me together with brilliance and strength, together with glory and reputation.

28. The amulet . . . has come to me together with all kinds of prosperity.

29. This amulet the gods shall give me unto prosperity, the mighty amulet that strengthens sovereignty and injures the rivals!

30. An (amulet) auspicious for me thou shalt fasten upon (me), together with brahma (spiritual exaltation) and brilliance! Free from rivals, slaying rivals, it has subjected my rivals.

31. This god-born amulet, the sap milked from which these three worlds revere, shall render me superior to him that hates me; it shall ascend upon my head unto excellence!

32. The amulet upon which the gods, the Fathers, and men ever live, shall ascend upon my head unto excellence!

33. As the seed grows in the field, in the furrow drawn by the ploughshare, thus in me offspring, cattle, and every kind of food shall grow up!

34. Upon whom, O thou amulet that prosperest the sacrifice, I have fastened thee (that art) propitious, him, O amulet, that yieldest a hundredfold sacrificial reward, thou shalt inspire unto excellence!

35. This fire-wood that has been laid on together with the oblations do thou, Agni, gladly accept: may we in this kindled *Gâtavedas* (fire), through (this) charm, find favour, well-being, offspring, sight, and cattle!

IV, 16. Prayer to *Varuṇa* for protection against treacherous designs.

1. The great guardian among these (gods) sees as if from anear. He that thinketh he is moving stealthily—all this the gods know.

2. If a man stands, walks, or sneaks about, if he goes slinking away, if he goes into his hiding-place; if two persons sit together and scheme, king *Varuṇa* is there as a third, and knows it.

3. Both this earth here belongs to king *Varuṇa*, and also yonder broad sky whose boundaries are far away. Moreover these two oceans are the loins of *Varuṇa*; yea, he is hidden in this small (drop of) water.

4. He that should flee beyond the heaven far away would not be free from king *Varuṇa*. His spies come hither (to the earth) from heaven, with a thousand eyes do they watch over the earth.

5. King *Varuṇa* sees through all that is between heaven and earth, and all that is beyond. He has counted the winkings of men's eyes. As a (winning) gamester puts down his dice, thus does he establish these (laws).

6. May all thy fateful toils which, seven by seven, threefold, lie spread out, ensnare him that speaks falsehood: him that speaks the truth they shall let go!

7. With a hundred snares, O Varuṇa, surround him, let the liar not go free from thee, O thou that observest men! The rogue shall sit, his belly hanging loose, like a cask without hoops, bursting all about!

8. With (the snare of) Varuṇa which is fastened lengthwise, and that which (is fastened) broadwise, with the indigenous and the foreign, with the divine and the human,—

9. With all these snares do I fetter thee, O N. N., descended from N. N., the son of the woman N. N.: all these do I design for thee.

## II, 12. Imprecation against enemies thwarting holy work.

1. Heaven and earth, the broad atmosphere, the goddess of the field, and the wonderful, far-striding (Vishṇu); moreover, the broad atmosphere guarded by Vāta (the wind): may these here be inflamed, when I am inflamed!

2. Hear this, O ye revered gods! Let Bharadvāja recite for me songs of praise! May he who injures this our plan be bound in the fetter (of disease) and joined to misfortune!

3. Hear, O soma-drinking Indra, what with burning heart I shout to thee! I cleave, as one cleaves a tree with an axe, him that injures this our plan.

4. With (the aid of) thrice eighty sâman-singers, with (the aid of) the Âdityas, Vasus, and Aṅgiras—may our father's sacrifices and gifts to the priests aid us—do I seize this one with fateful fervour.

5. May heaven and earth look after me, may all the gods support me! O ye Aṅgiras, O ye fathers

devoted to Soma, may he who does harm enter into misfortune !

6. He who perchance despises us, O ye Maruts, he who abuses the holy practice which is being performed by us, may his evil deeds be firebrands to him, may the heavens surround with fire the hater of holy practices !

7. Thy seven in-breathings and thy eight marrows, these do I cut for thee by means of my charm. Thou shalt go to the seat of Yama, fitly prepared, with Agni as thy guide !

8. I set thy footstep upon the kindled fire. May Agni surround thy body, may thy voice enter into breath !

## VII, 70. Frustration of the sacrifice of an enemy.

1. Whenever yonder person in his thought, and with his speech, offers sacrifice accompanied by oblations and benedictions, may Nirṛiti (the goddess of destruction), allying herself with death, smite his offering before it takes effect !

2. May sorcerers, Nirṛiti, as well as Rakshas, mar his true work with error ! May the gods, despatched by Indra, scatter (churn) his sacrificial butter ; may that which yonder person offers not succeed !

3. The two agile supreme rulers, like two eagles pouncing down, shall strike the sacrificial butter of the enemy, whosoever plans evil against us !

4. Back do I tie both thy two arms, thy mouth I shut. With the fury of god Agni have I destroyed thy oblation.

5. I tie thy two arms, I shut thy mouth. With the fury of terrible Agni have I destroyed thy oblation.

II, 7. Charm against curses and hostile plots,  
undertaken with a certain plant.

1. The god-begotten plant, hated by the wicked, which wipes away the curses (of the enemies), like water a foul spot it has washed away all curses from me.

2. The curse of the rival and the curse of the kinswoman, the curse which the Brahman shall utter in wrath, all that (do thou put) under our feet!

3. From heaven her root is suspended, from the earth it rises up; with her that has a thousand shoots do thou protect us on all sides!

4. Protect me, protect my offspring, protect our goods; let not ill-will overcome us, let not hostile schemes overcome us!

5. The curse shall go to the curser; joint possession shall we have with the friend. Of the enemy who bewitches with (his) eye we hew off the ribs.

III, 6. The asvattha-tree as a destroyer of  
enemies.

1. A male has sprung from a male, the asvattha (ficus religiosa) from the khadira (acacia catechu). May this slay my enemies, those whom I hate and those who hate me!

2. Crush the enemies, as they rush on, O asvattha, 'displacer,' allied with Indra, the slayer of Vritra, (allied) with Mitra and Varuna!

3. As thou didst break forth, O asvattha, into the great flood (of the air), thus do thou break up all those whom I hate and those who hate me!

4. Thou that goest conquering as a conquering



bull, with thee here, O asvattha, may we conquer our rivals!

5. May Nirriti (the goddess of destruction), O asvattha, bind in the toils of death that cannot be loosened those enemies of mine whom I hate and who hate me!

6. As thou climbest up the trees, O asvattha, and renderest them subordinate, thus do thou split in two the head of my enemy, and overcome him!

7. They (the enemies) shall float down like a ship cut loose from its moorings! There is no returning again for those that have been driven out by the 'displacer.'

8. I drive them out with my mind, drive them out with my thought, and also with my incantation. We drive them out with a branch of the asvattha-tree.

## VI, 75. Oblation for the suppression of enemies (nairbâdhyam haviḥ).

1. Forth from his home do I drive that person yonder, who as a rival contends with us: through the oblation devoted to suppression Indra has broken him to pieces.

2. Indra, the slayer of Vṛitra, shall drive him to the remotest distance, from which in all successive years he shall not again return!

3. He shall go to the three distances, he shall go beyond the five peoples; he shall go beyond the three ethers, whence he shall not again in all successive years return, while the sun is upon the heavens!

VI, 37. Curse against one that practises hostile charms.

1. The thousand-eyed curse having yoked his chariot has come hither, seeking out him that curses me, as a wolf the house of him that owns sheep.

2. Avoid us, O curse, as a burning fire (avoids) a lake! Strike here him that curses us, as the lightning of heaven the tree!

3. He that shall curse us when we do not curse, and he that shall curse us when we do curse, him do I hurl to death as a bone to a dog upon the ground.

VII, 13. Charm to deprive enemies of their strength.

1. As the rising sun takes away the lustre of the stars, thus do I take away the strength of both the women and the men that hate me.

2. As many enemies as ye are, looking out against me, as I come on—of those that hate me do I take away the strength, as the sun takes away the strength of persons asleep (while it rises).

## IV.

### CHARMS PERTAINING TO WOMEN (STRÎKARMÂMI).

#### II, 36. Charm to obtain a husband.

1. May, O Agni, a suitor after our own heart come to us, may he come to this maiden with our fortune! May she, agreeable to suitors, charming at festivals, promptly obtain happiness through a husband!

2. Agreeable to Soma, agreeable to Brahma, arranged by Aryaman, with the unfailing certainty of god Dhâtar, do I bestow upon thee good fortune, the acquisition of a husband.

3. This woman shall obtain a husband, since king Soma makes her lovely! May she, begetting sons, become a queen; may she, going to her husband, shine in loveliness!

4. As this comfortable cave, O Maghavan (Indra), furnishing a safe abode, hath become pleasing to animals, thus may this woman be a favourite of fortune (Bhaga), beloved, not at odds with her husband!

5. Do thou ascend the full, inexhaustible ship of Bhaga (fortune); upon this bring hither the suitor who shall be agreeable (to thee)!

6. Bring hither by thy shouts, O lord of wealth, the suitor, bend his mind towards her; turn thou the right side of every agreeable suitor towards (her)!

7. This gold and bdellium, this balsam, and

Bhaga (fortune), too; these have prepared thee for husbands, that thou mayest obtain the one that is agreeable.

8. Hither to thee Savitar shall lead the husband that is agreeable! Do thou, O herb, bestow (him) upon her!

#### VI, 60. Charm for obtaining a husband.

1. This Aryaman (wooer) with loosened crest of hair comes hither in front (of the procession), seeking a husband for this spinster, and a wife for this wifeless man.

2. This maid, O Aryaman, has wearied of going to the wedding-feasts of other women. Now shall, without fail, O Aryaman, other women go to her wedding-feast!

3. Dhâtar (the creator) supports (dâdhâra) this earth, Dhâtar supports the heavens, and the sun. May Dhâtar furnish this spinster with a husband after her own heart!

#### VI, 82. Charm for obtaining a wife.

1. I call the name of him that comes here, that hath come here, and is arriving; I crave (the name) of Indra, Vṛitra's slayer, the Vâsava of hundred-fold strength.

2. The road by which the Asvins carried away as a bride Sûryâ, Savitar's daughter, 'by that road,' Bhaga (fortune) told me, 'thou shalt bring here a wife'!

3. With thy wealth-procuring, great, golden hook, O Indra, husband of Sañi, procure a wife for me that desireth a wife!

## VI, 78. Blessing for a married couple.

1. Through this oblation, that causes prosperity, may this man flourish anew; may he excel the wife that they have brought to him with his sap!

2. May he excel in strength, excel in royalty! May this couple be inexhaustible in wealth that bestows thousandfold lustre!

3. Tvashṭar begot (for thee) a wife, Tvashṭar for her begot thee as a husband. May Tvashṭar bestow upon you two a thousand lives, may he bestow upon you long life!

## VII, 36. Love-charm spoken by a bridal couple.

The eyes of us two shine like honey, our foreheads gleam like ointment. Place me within thy heart; may one mind be in common to us both!

## VII, 37. Charm pronounced by the bride over the bridegroom.

I envelope thee in my garment that was produced by Manu (the first man), that thou shalt be mine alone, shalt not even discourse of other women!

## VI, 81. A bracelet as an amulet to ensure conception.

1. A holder art thou, holdest both hands, drivest off the Rakshas. An acquirer of offspring and wealth this bracelet hath become!

2. O bracelet, open up the womb, that the embryo be put (into it)! Do thou, O limit (-setting bracelet),

furnish a son, bring him here (â gamaya), thou that comest here (âgame)!

3. The bracelet that Aditi wore, when she desired a son, Tvashar shall fasten upon this woman, intending that she shall beget a son.

### III, 23. Charm for obtaining a son (*pumsavanam*).

1. That which has caused thee to miscarry do we drive away from thee, that very thing do we deposit outside of thee, away in a far place.

2. Into thy womb shall enter a male germ, as an arrow into a quiver! May a man be born there, a son ten months old!

3. A male son do thou produce, and after him a male shall be born! Thou shalt be the mother of sons, of those who are born, and those whom thou shalt bear!

4. By the effective seed which bulls put forth do thou obtain a son; be a fruitful milch-cow!

5. Pragâpati's (the lord of creatures) work do I perform for thee: may the germ enter into thy womb! Obtain thou, woman, a son who shall bring prosperity to thee, and bring thou prosperity to him!

6. The plants whose father was the sky, whose mother the earth, whose root the (heavenly) ocean—may those divine herbs aid thee in obtaining a son!

### VI, 11. Charm for obtaining a son (*pumsavanam*).

1. The asvattha (*ficus religiosa*) has mounted the samī (*mimosa suma*): then a male child was produced. That, forsooth, is the way to obtain a son; that do we bring to (our) wives.

2. In the male, forsooth, seed doth grow, that is poured into the female. That, forsooth, is the way to obtain a son ; that has been told by Pragâpati.

3. Pragâpati, Anumati, and Sinvâl have fashioned him. May he (Pragâpati) elsewhere afford the birth of a female, but here he shall bestow a man !

### VII, 35. An incantation to make a woman sterile.

1. The other enemies conquer with might ; beat back, O Gâtavedas, those that are not yet born ! Enrich this kingdom unto happiness, may all the gods acclaim this man !

2. Of these hundred entrails of thine, as well as of the thousand canals, of all these have I closed the openings with a stone.

3. The upper part of the womb do I place below, there shall come to thee neither offspring nor birth ! I render thee sterile and devoid of offspring ; a stone do I make into a cover for thee.

### VI, 17. Charm to prevent miscarriage.

1. As this great earth conceives the germs of the beings, thus shall thy embryo be held fast, to produce a child after pregnancy !

2. As this great earth holds these trees, thus shall thy embryo be held fast, to produce a child after pregnancy !

3. As this great earth holds the mountains and the peaks, thus shall thy embryo be held fast, to produce a child after pregnancy !

4. As this great earth holds the animals scattered

far, thus shall thy embryo be held fast, to produce a child after pregnancy!

I, 11. Charm for easy parturition.

1. Aryaman as active hotar-priest shall utter for thee the vasha<sup>1</sup>-call at this (soma-) pressing, O Pûshan! May (this) woman, (herself) begotten in the proper way, be delivered, may her joints relax, that she shall bring forth!

2. Four directions has the heaven, and also four the earth: (from these) the gods created the embryo. May they open her, that she shall bring forth!

3. May Sûshan open: her womb do we cause to gape. Do thou, O Sûshanâ, loosen the womb, do thou, O Bishkalâ, let go (the embryo)!

4. Attached not at all to the flesh, nor to the fat, not at all to the marrow, may the spotted, moist, placenta come down to be eaten by a dog! May the placenta fall down!

5. I split open thy vagina, thy womb, thy canals; I separate the mother and the son, the child along with the placenta. May the placenta fall down!

6. As flies the wind, as flies the mind, as fly the winged birds, so do thou, O embryo, ten months old, fall along with the placenta! May the placenta fall down!

I, 34. Charm with licorice, to secure the love of a woman.

1. This plant is born of honey, with honey do we dig for thee. Of honey thou art begotten, do thou make us full of honey!

2. At the tip of my tongue may I have honey, at my tongue's root the sweetness of honey! In my



power alone shalt thou then be, thou shalt come up to my wish!

3. Sweet as honey is my entrance, sweet as honey my departure. With my voice do I speak sweet as honey, may I become like honey!

4. I am sweeter than honey, fuller of sweetness than licorice. Mayest thou, without fail, long for me alone, (as a bee) for a branch full of honey!

5. I have surrounded thee with a clinging sugar-cane, to remove aversion, so that thou shalt not be averse to me!

## II, 30. Charm to secure the love of a woman.

1. As the wind tears this grass from the surface of the earth, thus do I tear thy soul, so that thou, woman, shalt love, shalt not be averse to me!

2. If ye, O two Asvins, shall unite and bring together the loving pair—united are the fortunes of both of you (lovers), united the thoughts, united the purposes!

3. When birds desire to chirp, lustily desire to chirp, may my call go there, as an arrow-point upon the shaft!

4. What is within shall be without, what is without shall be within! Take captive, O herb, the soul of the maidens endowed with every charm!

5. Longing for a husband this woman hath come, I have come longing for a wife. As a loudly neighing horse I have attained to my good fortune!

## VI, 8. Charm to secure the love of a woman.

1. As the creeper embraces the tree on all sides, thus do thou embrace me, so that thou, woman,

shalt love me, so that thou shalt not be averse to me !

2. As the eagle when he flies forth presses his wings against the earth, thus do I fasten down thy mind, so that thou, woman, shalt love me, so that thou shalt not be averse to me.

3. As the sun day by day goes about this heaven and earth, thus do I go about thy mind, so that thou, woman, shalt love me, so that thou shalt not be averse to me.

#### VI, 9. Charm to secure the love of a woman.

1. Hanker thou after my body, my feet, hanker after my eyes, my thighs! The eyes of thee, as thou lustest after me, and thy hair shall be parched with love!

2. I make thee cling to my arm, cling to my heart, so that thou shalt be in my power, shalt come up to my wish!

3. The cows, the mothers of the ghee, who lick their young, in whose heart love is planted, shall make yonder woman bestow love upon me!

#### VI, 102. Charm to secure the love of a woman.

1. As this draught animal, O ye Asvins, comes on, and proceeds, thus may thy soul come on, and proceed to me!

2. I draw to myself thy mind, as the leading stallion the female side-horse. As the stalk of grass torn by the wind, thus shall thy mind fasten itself upon me!

3. A coaxing mixture of salve, of sweet wood, of kusht<sup>h</sup>ha, and of spikenard, do I deftly pick out with the hands of Bhaga (good fortune).

III, 25. Charm to arouse the passionate love  
of a woman.

1. May (love), the disquieter, disquiet thee; do not hold out upon thy bed! With the terrible arrow of Kâma (love) do I pierce thee in the heart.

2. The arrow, winged with longing, barbed with love, whose shaft is undeviating desire, with that, well-aimed, Kâma shall pierce thee in the heart!

3. With that well-aimed arrow of Kâma which parches the spleen, whose plume flies forward, which burns up, do I pierce thee in the heart.

4. Consumed by burning ardour, with parched mouth, do thou (woman) come to me, pliant, (thy) pride laid aside, mine alone, speaking sweetly and to me devoted!

5. I drive thee with a goad from thy mother and thy father, so that thou shalt be in my power, shalt come up to my wish.

6. All her thoughts do ye, O Mitra and Varuna, drive out of her! Then, having deprived her of her will, put her into my power alone!

VI, 139. Charm to arouse the passionate love  
of a woman.

1. Clinging to the ground thou didst grow, (O plant), that producest bliss for me; a hundred branches extend from thee, three and thirty grow down from thee: with this plant of a thousand leaves thy heart do I parch.

2. Thy heart shall parch (with love) for me, and thy mouth shall parch (with love for me)! Languish,

moreover, with love for me, with parched mouth pass thy days!

3. Thou that causest affection, kindest (love), brown, lovely (plant), draw (us) together; draw together yonder woman and myself, our hearts make the same!

4. As the mouth of him that hath not drunk dries up, thus languish thou with love for me, with parched mouth pass thy days!

5. As the ichneumon tears the serpent, and joins him together again, thus, O potent (plant), join together what hath been torn by love!

#### VII, 38. Charm to secure the love of a man.

1. This potent herb do I dig out: it draws toward me the eye, causes (love's) tears. It brings back him who has gone to a distance, rejoices him that approaches me.

2. By (the plant) with which the Âsurt allured Indra away from the gods, by that do I subject thee, that I may be well-beloved of thee!

3. Thy face is turned towards Soma (the moon), thy face is turned towards Sûrya (the sun), thy face is turned towards all the gods: 't is thee here that we do invoke.

4. My speech, not thine, (in this matter) hath weight: in the assembly, forsooth, do thou speak! To me alone shalt thou belong, shalt not even discourse of other women!

5. Whether thou art beyond the haunts of men, or whether across the river, this very herb, as if a captive bound, shall bring thee back to me!

VI, 130. Charm to arouse the passionate love  
of a man.

1. This yearning love comes from the Apsaras, the victorious, imbued with victory. Ye gods, send forth the yearning love: may yonder man burn after me!

2. My wish is, he shall long for me, devoted he shall long for me! Ye gods, send forth the yearning love: may yonder man burn after me!

3. That yonder man shall long for me, (but) I for him nevermore, ye gods, send forth the yearning love: may yonder man burn after me!

4. Do ye, O Maruts, intoxicate him (with love); do thou, O mid-air, intoxicate him; do thou, O Agni, intoxicate him! May yonder man burn after me!

VI, 131. Charm to arouse the passionate love  
of a man.

1. From thy head unto thy feet do I implant (love's) longing into thee. Ye gods, send forth the yearning love: may yonder man burn after me!

2. Favour this (plan), Anumati; fit it together, Âkûti! Ye gods, send forth the yearning love: may yonder man burn after me!

3. If thou dost run three leagues away, (or even) five leagues, the distance coursed by a horseman, from there thou shalt again return, shalt be the father of our sons!

VI, 132. Charm to arouse the passionate love  
of a man.

1. Love's consuming longing, together with yearn-

ing, which the gods have poured into the waters, that do I kindle for thee by the law of Varuṇa!

2. Love's consuming longing, together with yearning, which the all-gods (*visve devâḥ*) have poured into the waters, that do I kindle for thee by the law of Varuṇa!

3. Love's consuming longing, together with yearning, which Indrâṇī has poured into the waters, that do I kindle for thee by the law of Varuṇa!

4. Love's consuming longing, together with yearning, which Indra and Agni have poured into the waters, that do I kindle for thee by the law of Varuṇa!

5. Love's consuming longing, together with yearning, which Mitra and Varuṇa have poured into the waters, that do I kindle for thee by the law of Varuṇa!

#### IV, 5. Charm at an assignation.

1. The bull with a thousand horns who rose out of the sea, with the aid of him, the mighty one, do we put the folks to sleep.

2. The wind blows not over the earth. No one looks on. Do thou then, befriended of Indra, put all women and dogs to sleep!

3. The women that lie upon couches and upon beds, and they that rest in litters, the women all that exhale sweet fragrance, do we put to sleep.

4. Every moving thing I have held fast. Eye and breath I have held fast. I have held fast all limbs in the deep gloom of the night.

5. Of him that sits, and him that walks, of him that stands and looks about, of these the eyes we do shut, just as these premises (are shut).

6. The mother shall sleep, the father shall sleep, the dog shall sleep, the lord of the house shall sleep ! All her relations shall sleep, and these people round about shall sleep !

7. O sleep, put thou to sleep all people with the magic that induces sleep ! Put the others to sleep until the sun rises ; may I be awake until the dawn appears, like Indra, unharmed, uninjured !

VI, 77. Charm to cause the return of a truant woman.

1. The heavens have stood, the earth has stood, all creatures have stood. The mountains have stood upon their foundation, the horses in the stable I have caused to stand.

2. Him that has control of departure, that has control of coming home, return, and turning in, that shepherd do I also call.

3. O *Gâtavedas* (Agni), cause thou to turn in ; a hundred ways hither shall be thine, a thousand modes of return shall be thine : with these do thou restore us again !

VI, 18. Charm to allay jealousy.

1. The first impulse of jealousy, moreover the one that comes after the first, the fire, the heart-burning, that do we waft away from thee.

2. As the earth is dead in spirit, in spirit more dead than the dead, and as the spirit of him that has died, thus shall the spirit of the jealous (man) be dead !

3. Yon fluttering little spirit that has been fixed

into thy heart, from it the jealousy do I remove, as air from a water-skin.

VII, 45. Charm to allay jealousy.

1. From folk belonging to all kinds of people, from the Sindhu (Indus) thou hast been brought hither: from a distance, I ween, has been fetched the very remedy for jealousy.

2. As if a fire is burning him, as if the forest-fire burns in various directions, this jealousy of his do thou quench, as a fire (is quenched) with water!

I, 14. A woman's incantation against her rival.

1. I have taken unto myself her fortune and her glory, as a wreath off a tree. Like a mountain with broad foundation may she sit a long time with her parents!

2. This woman shall be subjected to thee as thy wife, O king Yama; (till then) let her be fixed to the house of her mother, or her brother, or her father!

3. This woman shall be the keeper of thy house, O king (Yama), and her do we make over to thee! May she long sit with her relatives, until (her hair) drops from her head!

4. With the incantation of Asita, of Kasyapa, and of Gaya do I cover up thy fortune, as women cover (something) within a chest.

III, 18. Charm of a woman against a rival or co-wife.

1. I dig up this plant, of herbs the most potent, by whose power rival women are overcome, and husbands are obtained.



2. O thou (plant) with erect leaves, lovely, do thou, urged on by the gods, full of might, drive away my rival, make my husband mine alone!

3. He did not, forsooth, call thy name, and thou shalt not delight in this husband! To the very farthest distance do we drive our rival.

4. Superior am I, O superior (plant), superior, truly, to superior (women). Now shall my rival be inferior to those that are inferior!

5. I am overpowering, and thou, (O plant), art completely overpowering. Having both grown full of power, let us overpower my rival!

6. About thee (my husband) I have placed the overpowering (plant), upon thee placed the very overpowering one. May thy mind run after me as a calf after the cow, as water along its course!

#### VI, 138. Charm for depriving a man of his virility.

1. As the best of the plants thou art reputed, O herb: turn this man for me to-day into a eunuch that wears his hair dressed!

2. Turn him into a eunuch that wears his hair dressed, and into one that wears a hood! Then Indra with a pair of stones shall break his testicles both!

3. O eunuch, into a eunuch thee I have turned; O castrate, into a castrate thee I have turned; O weakling, into a weakling thee I have turned! A hood upon his head, and a hair-net do we place.

4. The two canals, fashioned by the gods, in which man's power rests, in thy testicles . . . . .  
. . . . . I break them with a club.

5. As women break reeds for a mattress with a stone, thus do I break thy member . . .  
 . . . . .

I, 18. Charm to remove evil bodily characteristics from a woman.

1. The (foul) mark, the *lalâmt* (with spot on the forehead), the *Arâti* (grudging demon), do we drive out. Then the (signs) that are auspicious (shall remain) with us; (yet) to beget offspring do we bring the *Arâti*!

2. May Savitar drive out uncouthness from her feet, may *Varuna*, *Mitra*, and *Aryaman* (drive it) out from her hands; may *Anumati* kindly drive it out for us! For happiness the gods have created this woman.

3. The fierceness that is in thyself, in thy body, or in thy look, all that do we strike away with our charm. May god Savitar prosper thee!

4. The goat-footed, the bull-toothed, her who scares the cattle, the snorting one, the *vildâti* (the driveling one), the *lalâmt* (with spot on the forehead), these do we drive from us.

VI, 110. Expiatory charm for a child born under an unlucky star.

1. Of yore, (O Agni), thou wast worthy of supplication at the sacrifice; thou wast the priest in olden times, and now anew shalt sit (at our sacrifice)! Delight, O Agni, thy own body, and, sacrificing, bring good fortune here to us!

2. Him that hath been born under the (constellation) *gyesh/haghnt* ('she that slays the oldest'), or

under the *vikritâu* ('they that uproot'), save thou from being torn up by the root by Yama (death)! May he (Agni) guide him across all misfortunes to long life, to a life of a hundred autumns!

3. On a tiger (-like) day the hero was born; born under a (good) constellation he becometh a mighty hero. Let him not slay, when he grows up, his father, let him not injure the mother that hath begotten him!

VI, 140. Expiation for the irregular appearance of the first pair of teeth.

1. Those two teeth, the tigers, that have broken forth, eager to devour father and mother, do thou, O Brahmanaspati Gâtavedas, render auspicious!

2. Do ye eat rice, eat barley, and eat, too, beans, as well as sesamum! That, O teeth, is the share deposited for your enrichment. Do not injure father and mother!

3. Since ye have been invoked, O teeth, be ye in unison kind and propitious! Elsewhere, O teeth, shall pass away the fierce (qualities) of your body! Do not injure father and mother!

## V.

### CHARMS PERTAINING TO ROYALTY (RÂGAKARMÂNT).

#### IV, 8. Prayer at the consecration of a king.

1. Himself prosperous (bhûto), he does put strength into the beings (bhûteshu); he became the chief lord of the beings (bhûtânâm). To his consecration death does come: may he, the king, favour this kingdom!

2. Come forth hither—do not glance away—as a mighty guardian, slayer of enemies! Step hither, thou who prosperest thy friends: the gods shall bless thee!

3. As he did step hither all (men) did attend him. Clothed in grace, he moves, shining by his own lustre. This is the great name of the manly Asura; endowed with every form (quality) he entered upon immortal (deeds).

4. Thyself a tiger, do thou upon this tiger-skin stride (victorious) through the great regions! All the clans shall wish for thee, and the heavenly waters, rich in sap!

5. The heavenly waters, rich in sap, flow joyously, (and too) those in the sky and upon the earth: with the lustre of all of these do I sprinkle thee.

6. They have sprinkled thee with their lustre, the heavenly waters rich in sap. May Savitar thus fashion thee, that thou shalt prosper thy friends!

7. (The waters) thus embracing him, the tiger, promote him, the lion, to great good fortune. Him, the leopard in the midst of the waters, as though standing in the ocean, the beneficent (floods, or the vigorous priests) cleanse thoroughly!

### III, 3. Charm for the restoration of an exiled king.

1. (Agni) has shouted loud: may he here well perform his work! Spread thyself out, O Agni, over the far-reaching hemispheres of the world! The all-possessing Maruts shall engage thee: bring hither that (king) who devoutly spends the offering!

2. However far he be, the red (steeds) shall urge hither Indra, the seer, to friendship, since the gods, (chanting) for him the gâyatṛī, the bṛīhatī, and the arka (songs), infused courage into him with the sautrâmanī-sacrifice!

3. From the waters king Varuṇa shall call thee, Soma shall call thee from the mountains, Indra shall cite thee to these clans! Turn into an eagle and fly to these clans!

4. An eagle shall bring hither from a distance him that is fit to be called, (yet) wanders exiled in a strange land! The Asvins shall prepare for thee a path, easy to travel! Do ye, his kinfolk, gather close about him!

5. Thy opponents shall call thee; thy friends have chosen thee! Indra, Agni, and all the gods have kept prosperity with this people.

6. The kinsman or the stranger that opposes thy call, him, O Indra, drive away; then render this (king) accepted here!

## III, 4. Prayer at the election of a king.

1. (Thy) kingdom hath come to thee: arise, endowed with lustre! Go forth as the lord of the people, rule (shine) thou, a universal ruler! All the regions of the compass shall call thee, O king; attended and revered be thou here!

2. Thee the clans, thee these regions, goddesses five, shall choose for empire! Root thyself upon the height, the pinnacle of royalty: then do thou, mighty, distribute goods among us!

3. Thy kinsmen with calls shall come to thee; agile Agni shall go with them as messenger! Thy wives, thy sons shall be devoted to thee; being a mighty (ruler) thou shalt behold rich tribute!

4. The Asvins first, Mitra and Varuṇa both, all the gods, and the Maruts, shall call thee! Then fix thy mind upon the bestowal of wealth, then do thou, mighty, distribute wealth among us!

5. Hither hasten forth from the farthest distance; heaven and earth, both, shall be propitious to thee! Thus did this king Varuṇa (as if, 'the chooser') decree that; he himself did call thee: 'come thou hither'!

6. O Indra, Indra, come thou to the tribes of men, for thou hast agreed, concordant with the Varuṇas (as if, 'the electors'). He did call thee to thy own domain (thinking): 'let him revere the gods, and manage, too, the people'!

7. The rich divinities of the roads, of manifold diverse forms, all coming together have given thee a broad domain. They shall all concordantly call

thee ; rule here, a mighty, benevolent (king), up to the tenth decade (of thy life) !

III, 5. Praise of an amulet derived from the *parṇa*-tree, designed to strengthen royal power.

1. Hither hath come this amulet of *parṇa*-wood, with its might mightily crushing the enemy. (It is) the strength of the gods, the sap of the waters ; may it assiduously enliven me with energy !

2. The power to rule thou shalt hold fast in me, O amulet of *parṇa*-wood ; wealth (thou shalt hold fast) in me ! May I, rooted in the domain of royalty, become the chief !

3. Their very own amulet which the gods deposited secretly in the tree, that the gods shall give us to wear, together with life !

4. The *parṇa* has come hither as the mighty strength of the soma, given by Indra, instructed by Varuṇa. May I, shining brilliantly, wear it, unto long life, during a hundred autumns !

5. The amulet of *parṇa*-wood has ascended upon me unto complete exemption from injury, that I may rise superior (even) to friends and alliances !

6. The skilful builders of chariots, and the ingenious workers of metal, the folk about me all, do thou, O *parṇa*, make my aids !

7. The kings who (themselves) make kings, the charioteers, and leaders of hosts, the folk about me all, do thou, O *parṇa*, make my aids !

8. Thou art the body-protecting *parṇa*, a hero, brother of me, the hero. Along with the brilliancy of the year do I fasten thee on, O amulet !

IV, 22. Charm to secure the superiority of  
a king.

1. This warrior, O Indra, do thou strengthen for me, do thou install this one as sole ruler (bull) of the Vis (the people); emasculate all his enemies, subject them to him in (their) contests!

2. To him apportion his share of villages, horses, and cattle; deprive of his share the one that is his enemy! May this king be the pinnacle of royalty; subject to him, O Indra, every enemy!

3. May this one be the treasure-lord of riches, may this king be the tribal lord of the Vis (the people)! Upon this one, O Indra, bestow great lustre, devoid of lustre render his enemy!

4. For him shall ye, O heaven and earth, milk ample good, as two milch-cows yielding warm milk! May this king be favoured of Indra, favoured of cows, of plants, and cattle!

5. I unite with thee Indra who has supremacy, through whom one conquers and is not (himself) conquered, who shall install thee as sole ruler of the people, and as chief of the human kings.

6. Superior art thou, inferior are thy rivals, and whatsoever adversaries are thine, O king! Sole ruler, befriended of Indra, victorious, bring thou hither the supplies of those who act as thy enemies!

7. Presenting the front of a lion do thou devour all (their) people, presenting the front of a tiger do thou strike down the enemies! Sole ruler, befriended of Indra, victorious, seize upon the supplies of those who act as thy enemies!



I, 9. Prayer for earthly and heavenly success.

1. Upon this (person) the Vasus, Indra, Pûshan, Varuna, Mitra, and Agni, shall bestow goods (vasu)! The Âdityas, and, further, all the gods shall hold him in the higher light!

2. Light, ye gods, shall be at his bidding : Sûrya (the sun), Agni (fire), or even gold! Inferior to us shall be our rivals! Cause him to ascend to the highest heaven!

3. With that most potent charm with which, O Gâtavedas (Agni), thou didst bring to Indra the (soma-) drink, with that, O Agni, do thou here strengthen this one; grant him supremacy over his kinsmen!

4. Their sacrifice and their glory, their increase of wealth and their thoughtful plans, I have usurped, O Agni. Inferior to us shall be our rivals! Cause him to ascend to the highest heaven!

VI, 38. Prayer for lustre and power.

1. The brilliancy that is in the lion, the tiger, and the serpent; in Agni, the Brâhmaṇa, and Sûrya (shall be ours)! May the lovely goddess that bore Indra come to us, endowed with lustre!

2. (The brilliancy) that is in the elephant, panther, and in gold; in the waters, cattle, and in men (shall be ours)! May the lovely goddess that bore Indra come to us, endowed with lustre!

3. (The brilliancy) that is in the chariot, the dice, in the strength of the bull; in the wind, Parganya, and in the fire of Varuna (shall be ours)! May the

lovely goddess that bore Indra come to us, endowed with lustre!

4. (The brilliancy) that is in the man of royal caste, in the stretched drum, in the strength of the horse, in the shout of men (shall be ours)! May the lovely goddess that bore Indra come to us, endowed with lustre!

#### VI, 39. Prayer for glory (yajas).

1. The oblation that yields glory, sped on by Indra, of thousandfold strength, well offered, prepared with might, shall prosper! Cause me, that offers the oblation, to continue long beholding (light), and to rise to supremacy!

2. (That he may come) to us, let us honour with obeisance glory-owning Indra, the glorious one with glory-yielding (oblations)! Do thou (the oblation) grant us sovereignty sped on by Indra; may we in thy favour be glorious!

3. Glorious was Indra born, glorious Agni, glorious Soma. Glorious, of all beings the most glorious, am I.

#### VIII, 8. Battle-charm.

1. May Indra churn (the enemy), he, the churning, Sakra (mighty), the hero, that pierces the forts, so that we shall slay the armies of the enemies a thousandfold!

2. May the rotten rope, wafting itself against yonder army, turn it into a stench. When the enemies see from afar our smoke and fire, fear shall they lay into their hearts!

3. Tear asunder those (enemies), O asvattha

(*ficus religiosa*), devour (*khâda*) them, O *khadira* (*acacia catechu*) in lively style! Like the *tâgad-bhaṅga* (*ricinus communis*) they shall be broken (*bhagyantâm*), may the *vadhaka* (a certain kind of tree) slay them with his weapons (*vadhaiḥ*)!

4. May the knotty *âhva*-plant put knots upon yonder (enemies), may the *vadhaka* slay them with his weapons! Bound up in (our) great trap-net, they shall quickly be broken as an arrow-reed!

5. The atmosphere was the net, the great regions (of space) the (supporting) poles of the net: with these *Sakra* (mighty *Indra*) did surround and scatter the army of the *Dasyus*.

6. Great, forsooth, is the net of great *Sakra*, who is rich in steeds: with it infold thou all the enemies, so that not one of them shall be released!

7. Great is the net of thee, great *Indra*, hero, that art equal to a thousand, and hast hundredfold might. With that (net) *Sakra* slew a hundred, thousand, ten thousand, a hundred million foes, having surrounded them with (his) army.

8. This great world was the net of great *Sakra*: with this net of *Indra* I infold all those (enemies) yonder in darkness.

9. With great dejection, failure, and irrefragable misfortune; with fatigue, lassitude, and confusion, do I surround all those (enemies) yonder.

10. To death do I hand them over, with the fetters of death they have been bound. To the evil messengers of death do I lead them captive.

11. Guide ye those (foes), ye messengers of death; ye messengers of *Yama*, infold them! Let more than thousands be slain; may the club of *Bhava* crush them!

12. The Sâdhyas (blessed) go holding up with might one support of the net, the Rudras another, the Vasus another. (Still) another is upheld by the Âdityas.

13. All the gods shall go pressing from above with might; the Ângiras shall go on the middle (of the net), slaying the mighty army!

14. The trees, and (growths) that are like trees, the plants and the herbs as well; two-footed and four-footed creatures do I impel, that they shall slay yonder army!

15. The Gandharvas and Apsaras, the serpents and the gods, holy men and (deceased) Fathers, the visible and invisible (beings), do I impel, that they shall slay yonder army!

16. Scattered here are the fetters of death; when thou steppest upon them thou shalt not escape! May this hammer slay (the men) of yonder army by the thousand!

17. The gharma (sacrificial hot drink) that has been heated by the fire, this sacrifice (shall) slay thousands! Do ye, Bhava and Sarva, whose arms are mottled, slay yonder army!

18. Into the (snare of) death they shall fall, into hunger, exhaustion, slaughter, and fear! O Indra and Sarva, do ye with trap and net slay yonder army!

19. Conquered, O foes, do ye flee away; repelled by (our) charm, do ye run! Of yonder host, repulsed by *Bṛihaspati*, not one shall be saved!

20. May their weapons fall from their (hands), may they be unable to lay the arrow on (the bow)! And then (our) arrows shall smite them, badly frightened, in their vital members!

21. Heaven and earth shall shriek at them, and

the atmosphere, along with the divine powers! Neither aider, nor support did they find; smiting one another they shall go to death!

22. The four regions are the she-mules of the god's chariot, the *puroḍāsas* (sacrificial rice-cakes) the hoofs, the atmosphere the seat (of the wagon). Heaven and earth are its two sides, the seasons the reins, the intermediate regions the attendants, *Vāk* (speech) the road.

23. The year is the chariot, the full year is the body of the chariot, *Virâg* the pole, *Agni* the front part of the chariot. *Indra* is the (combatant) standing on the left of the chariot, *Kandramas* (the moon) the charioteer.

24. Do thou win here, do thou conquer here, overcome, win, hail! These here shall conquer, those yonder be conquered! Hail to these here, perdition to those yonder! Those yonder do I envelop in blue and red!

### I, 19. Battle-charm against arrow-wounds.

1. The piercing (arrows) shall not hit us, nor shall the striking arrows hit us! Far away from us, O *Indra*, to either side, cause the arrow-shower to fall!

2. To either side of us the arrows shall fall, those that have been shot and shall be shot! Ye divine and ye human arrows, pierce ye mine enemies!

3. Be he our own, or be he strange, the kinsman, or the foreigner, who bear enmity towards us, those enemies of mine *Rudra* shall pierce with a shower of arrows!

4. Him that rivals us, or does not rival us, him

that curses us with hate, may all the gods injure :  
my charm protects me from within !

### III, 1. Battle-charm for confusing the enemy.

1. Agni shall skilfully march against our opponents, burning against their schemes and hostile plans ; *Gâtavedas* shall confuse the army of our opponents and deprive them (of the use) of their hands !

2. Ye Maruts are mighty in such matters : advance ye, crush ye, conquer ye (the enemy) ! These Vasus when implored did crush (them). Agni, verily, as their vanguard shall skilfully attack !

3. O Maghavan, the hostile army which contends against us—do ye, O Indra, *Vṛitra's* slayer, and Agni, burn against them !

4. Thy thunderbolt, O Indra, who hast been driven forward swiftly by thy two bay steeds, shall advance, crushing the enemies. Slay them that resist, pursue, or flee, deprive their schemes of fulfilment !

5. O Indra, confuse the army of the enemy ; with the impact of the fire and the wind scatter them to either side !

6. Indra shall confuse the army, the Maruts shall slay it with might ! Agni shall rob it of its sight ; vanquished it shall turn about !

### III, 2. Battle-charm for confusing the enemy.

1. Agni, our skilful vanguard, shall attack, burning against their schemes and hostile plans ! *Gâtavedas* shall bewilder the plans of the enemy, and deprive them (of the use) of their hands !

2. This fire has confused the schemes that are in

your mind ; it shall blow you from your home, blow you away from everywhere !

3. O Indra, bewildering their schemes, come hither with thy (own) plan : with the impact of the fire and the wind scatter them to either side !

4. O ye plans of theirs, fly ye away ; O ye schemes, be ye confused ! Moreover, what now is in their mind, do thou drive that out of them !

5. Do thou, O (goddess) Apvâ, confusing their plans, go forth (to them), and seize their limbs ! Attack them, burn with flames into their hearts ; strike the enemy with fits, (strike our) opponents with darkness !

6. That army yonder of the enemy, that comes against us fighting with might, do ye, O Maruts, strike with planless darkness, that one of them shall not know the other !

#### VI, 97. Battle-charm of a king upon the eve of battle.

1. Superior is the sacrifice, superior Agni, superior Soma, superior Indra. To the end that I shall be superior to all hostile armies do we thus, offering the agnihotra, reverently present this oblation !

2. Hail be, ye wise Mitra and Varuṇa : with honey swell ye our kingdom here, (so that it shall) abound in offspring ! Drive far to a distance misfortune, strip off from us sin, even after it has been committed !

3. With inspiration follow ye this strong hero ; cling close, ye friends, to Indra (the king), who conquers villages, conquers cattle, has the thunderbolt in his arm, overcomes the host arrayed (against him), crushing it with might !

VI, 99. Battle-charm of a king on the eve of battle.

1. I call upon thee, O Indra, from afar, upon thee for protection against tribulation. I call the strong avenger that has many names, and is of unequalled birth.

2. Where the hostile weapon now rises against us, threatening to slay, there do we place the two arms of Indra round about.

3. The two arms of Indra, the protector, do we place round about us: let him protect us! O god Savitar, and king Soma, render me of confident mind, that I may prosper!

XI, 9. Prayer to Arbudi and Nyarbudi for help in battle.

1. The arms, the arrows, and the might of the bows; the swords, the axes, the weapons, and the artful scheme that is in our mind; all that, O Arbudi, do thou make the enemies see, and spectres also make them see!

2. Arise, and arm yourselves; friends are ye, O divine folk! May our friends be perceived and protected by you, O Arbudi (and Nyarbudi)!

3. Arise (ye two), and take hold! With fetters and shackles surround ye the armies of the enemy, O Arbudi (and Nyarbudi)!

4. The god whose name is Arbudi, and the lord Nyarbudi, by whom the atmosphere and this great earth has been infolded, with these two companions of Indra do I pursue the conquered (king) with my army.



5. Arise, thou divine person, O Arbudi, together with thy army! Crushing the army of the enemy, encompass them with thy embraces!

6. Thou, Arbudi, makest appear the sevenfold spectral brood. Do thou, when the oblation has been poured, rise up with all these, together with the army!

7. (The female mourner), beating herself, with tear-stained face, with short (mutilated?) ears, with dishevelled hair, shall lament, when a man has been slain, pierced by thee, O Arbudi!

8. She curves her spine while longing in her heart for her son, her husband, and her kin, when (a man) has been pierced by thee, O Arbudi!

9. The aliklavas and the *gâshkamadas*, the vultures, the strong-winged hawks, the crows, and the birds (of prey) shall obtain their fill! Let them make evident to the enemy, when (a man) has been pierced by thee, O Arbudi!

10. Then, too, every wild beast, insect, and worm shall obtain his fill on the human carcass, when (a man) has been pierced by thee, O Arbudi!

11. Seize ye, and tear out in-breathing and out-breathing, O Nyarbudi (and Arbudi): deep-sounding groans shall arise! Let them make it evident to the enemy, when (a man) has been pierced by thee, O Arbudi!

12. Scare them forth, let them tremble; bewilder the enemies with fright! With thy broad embrace, with the clasp of thy arms crush the enemies, O Nyarbudi!

13. May their arms, and the artful scheme that is in their mind be confused! Not a thing shall remain of them, pierced by thee, O Arbudi!

14. May (the mourning women) beating themselves, run together, smiting their breasts and their thighs, not anointed, with dishevelled hair, howling, when a man has been slain, has been pierced by thee, O Arbudi !

15. The dog-like Apsaras, and also the Rûpakâs (phantoms), the plucking sprite, that eagerly licks within the vessel, and her that seeks out what has been carelessly hidden, all those do thou, O Arbudi, make the enemies see, and spectres also make them see !

16. (And also make them see) her that strides upon the mist, the mutilated one, who dwells with the mutilated ; the vapoury spooks that are hidden, and the Gandharvas and Apsaras, the serpents, and other brood, and the Rakshas !

17. (And also) the spooks with fourfold teeth, black teeth, testicles like a pot, bloody faces, who are inherently frightful, and terrifying !

18. Frighten thou, O Arbudi, yonder lines of the enemy ; the conquering and the victorious (Arbudi and Nyarbudi), the two comrades of Indra, shall conquer the enemies !

19. Dissolved, crushed, slain the enemy shall lie, O Nyarbudi ! May victorious sprites, with fiery tongues and smoky crests, go with (our) army !

20. Of the enemies repulsed by this (army), O Arbudi, Indra, the spouse of Sañi, shall slay each picked man : not a single one of those yonder shall escape !

21. May their hearts burst, may their life's breath escape upward ! May dryness of the mouth overtake (our) enemies, but not (our) allies !

22. Those who are bold and those who are

cowardly, those who turn (in flight) and those who are deaf (to danger?), those who are (like) dark goats, and those, too, who bleat like goats, all those, do thou, O Arbudi, make the enemies see, and spectres also make them see!

23. Arbudi and Trisham̐dhi shall pierce our enemies, so that, O Indra, slayer of *Vṛitra*, spouse of *Saṁtī*, we may slay the enemy by thousands!

24. The trees, and (growths) that are like trees, the plants and the herbs as well, the Gandharvas and the Apsaras, the serpents, gods, pious men, and (departed) Fathers, all those, O Arbudi, do thou make the enemies see, and spectres also make them see!

25. The Maruts, god *Āditya*, *Brahmanaspati* did rule over you; *Indra* and *Agni*, *Dhātār*, *Mitra*, and *Pragāpati* did rule over you; the seers did rule over you. Let them make evident to the enemies when (a man) has been pierced by thee, O Arbudi!

26. Ruling over all these, rise ye and arm yourselves! Ye divine folk are (our) friends: win ye the battle, and disperse to your various abodes!

# XI, 10. Prayer to Trisham̐dhi for help in battle.

1. Arise and arm yourselves, ye nebulous spectres together with fiery portents; ye serpents, other brood, and *Rakshas*, run ye after the enemy!

2. He knows how to rule your kingdom together with the red portents (of the heavens). The evil brood that is in the air and the heaven, and the human (powers) upon the earth, shall be obedient to the plans of Trisham̐dhi!

3. The brazen-beaked (birds of prey), those with beaks pointed as a needle, and those, too, with thorny beaks, flesh-devouring, swift as the wind, shall fasten themselves upon the enemies, together with the Trisham̐dhi-bolt (the bolt with three joints)!

4. Make away with, O Gâtavedas Âditya, many carcasses! This army of Trisham̐dhi shall be devoted to my bidding!

5. Arise thou divine person, O Arbudi, together with thy army! This tribute has been offered to you (Arbudi and Trisham̐dhi), an offering pleasing to Trisham̐dhi.

6. This white-footed, four-footed arrow shall fetter (?). Do thou, O magic spell, operate, together with the army of Trisham̐dhi, against the enemies!

7. May (the mourning woman) with suffused eyes hurry on, may she that hath short (mutilated ?) ears shout when (a man) has been overcome by the army of Trisham̐dhi! Red portents shall be (visible)!

8. May the winged birds that move in the air and in the sky descend; beasts of prey and insects shall seize upon them; the vultures that feed upon raw flesh shall hack into (their) carcasses!

9. By virtue of the compact which thou, O Brihaspati, didst close with Indra and Brahman, by virtue of that agreement with Indra, do I call hither all the gods: on this side conquer, not over yonder!

10. Brihaspati, the descendant of Ângiras, and the seers, inspired by (our) song, did fix the three-jointed (Trisham̐dhi) weapon upon the sky for the destruction of the Asuras.

11. Trisham̐dhi, by whom both yonder Âditya

(the sun) and Indra are protected, the gods did destine for (our) might and strength.

12. All the worlds the gods did conquer through this oblation, (and) by the bolt which *Br̥haspati*, the descendant of *Āṅgiras*, did mould into a weapon for the destruction of the *Asuras*.

13. With the bolt which *Br̥haspati*, the descendant of *Āṅgiras*, did mould into a weapon for the destruction of the *Asuras* do I, O *Br̥haspati*, annihilate yonder army: I smite the enemies with force.

14. All the gods that eat the oblation offered with the call *vashaṭ* are coming over. Receive this oblation graciously; conquer on this side, not over yonder!

15. May all the gods come over: the oblation is pleasing to *Trisham̐dhi*. Adhere to the great compact under which of yore the *Asuras* were conquered!

16. *Vāyu* (the wind) shall bend the points of the enemies' bows, *Indra* shall break their arms, so that they shall be unable to lay on their arrows, *Āditya* (the sun) shall send their missiles astray, and *Kandramas* (the moon) shall bar the way of (the enemy) that has not (as yet) started!

17. If they have come on as citadels of the gods, if they have constituted an inspired charm as their armour, if they have gathered courage through the protections for the body and the bulwarks which they have made, render all that devoid of force!

18. Placing (our) *purohita* (chaplain), together with the flesh-devourer (*Agni*) and death, in thy train, do thou, O *Trisham̐dhi*, go forth with thy army, conquer the enemies, advance!

19. O *Trisham̐dhi*, envelop thou the enemies in

darkness; may not a single one of those, driven forth by the speckled ghee, be saved!

20. May the white-footed (arrow?) fly to yonder lines of the enemy, may yonder armies of the enemies be to-day put to confusion, O Nyarbudi!

21. The enemies have been confused, O Nyarbudi: slay each picked man among them, slay them with this army!

22. The enemy with coat-of-mail, he that has no coat-of-mail, and he that stands in the battle-throng, throttled by the strings of their bows, by the fastenings of their coats-of-mail, by the battle-throng, they shall lie!

23. Those with armour and those without armour, the enemies that are shielded by armour, all those, O Arbudi, after they have been slain, dogs shall devour upon the ground!

24. Those that ride on chariots, and those that have no chariots, those that are mounted, and those that are not mounted, all those, after they have been slain, vultures and strong-winged hawks shall devour!

25. Counting its dead by thousands, the hostile army, pierced and shattered in the clash of arms, shall lie!

26. Pierced in a vital spot, shrieking in concert with the birds of prey, wretched, crushed, prostrate, (the birds of prey) shall devour the enemy who attempts to hinder this oblation of ours directed against (him)!

27. With (the oblation) to which the gods flock, which is free from failure, with it Indra, the slayer of *Vṛitra*, shall slay, and with the *Trishamdhī*-bolt (the bolt with three joints)!

## V, 20. Hymn to the battle-drum.

1. High sounds the voice of the drum, that acts the warrior, the wooden (drum), equipped with the skin of the cow. Whetting thy voice, subduing the enemy, like a lion sure of victory, do thou loudly thunder against them!

2. The wooden (instrument) with fastened (covering) has thundered as a lion, as a bull roars to the cow that longs to mate. Thou art a bull, thy enemies are eunuchs; thou ownest Indra's foe-subduing fire!

3. Like a bull in the herd, full of might, lusty, do thou, O snatcher of booty, roar against them! Pierce with fire the heart of the enemy; with broken ranks the foe shall run and scatter!

4. In victorious battles raise thy roar! What may be captured, capture; sound in many places! Favour, O drum, (our deeds) with thy divine voice; bring to (us) with strength the property of the enemy!

5. When the wife of the enemy hears the voice of the drum, that speaks to a far distance, may she, aroused by the sound, distressed, snatch her son to her arms, and run, frightened at the clash of arms!

6. Do thou, O drum, sound the first sound, ring brilliantly over the back of the earth! Open wide thy maw at the enemies host; resound brightly, joyously, O drum!

7. Between this heaven and earth thy noise shall spread, thy sounds shall quickly part to every side! Shout thou and thunder with swelling sound; make

music at thy friend's victory, having (chosen) the good side!

8. Manipulated with care, its voice shall resound! Make bristle forth the weapons of the warriors! Allied to Indra do thou call hither the warriors; with thy friends beat vigorously down the enemies!

9. A shouting herald, followed by a bold army, spreading news in many places, sounding through the village, eager for success, knowing the way, do thou distribute glory to many in the battle!

10. Desiring advantage, gaining booty, full mighty, thou hast been made keen by (my) song, and winnest battles. As the press-stone on the gathering skin dances upon the soma-shoots, thus do thou, O drum, lustily dance upon the booty!

11. A conqueror of enemies, overwhelming, foe-subduing, eager for the fray, victoriously crushing, as a speaker his speech do thou carry forth thy sound; sound forth here strength for victory in battle!

12. Shaking those that are unshaken, hurrying to the strife, a conqueror of enemies, an unconquerable leader, protected by Indra, attending to the hosts, do thou that crusheth the hearts of the enemies, quickly go!

V, 21. Hymn to the battle-drum, the terror  
of the enemy.

1. Carry with thy voice, O drum, lack of heart, and failure of courage among the enemies! Disagreement, dismay, and fright, do we place into the enemies: beat them down, O drum!

2. Agitated in their minds, their sight, their



hearts, the enemies shall run, frightened with terror, when our oblation has been offered !

3. Made of wood, equipped with the skin of the cow, at home with every clan, put thou with thy voice terror into the enemies, when thou hast been anointed with ghee !

4. As the wild animals of the forest start in fear from man, thus do thou, O drum, shout against the enemies, frighten them away, and bewilder their minds !

5. As goats and sheep run from the wolf, badly frightened, thus do thou, O drum, shout against the enemies, frighten them away, and bewilder their minds !

6. As birds start in fear from the eagle, as by day and by night (they start) at the roar of the lion, thus do thou, O drum, shout against the enemies, frighten them away, and bewilder their minds !

7. With the drum and the skin of the antelope all the gods, that sway the battle, have scared away the enemies.

8. At the noise of the beat of the feet when Indra disports himself, and at his shadow, our enemies yonder, that come in successive ranks, shall tremble !

9. The whirring of the bowstring and the drums shall shout at the directions where the conquered armies of the enemies go in successive ranks !

10. O sun, take away their sight ; O rays, run after them ; clinging to their feet, fasten yourselves upon them, when the strength of their arms is gone !

11. Ye strong Maruts, *Prisni's* children, with Indra

as an ally, crush ye the enemies; Soma the king (shall crush them), Varuṇa the king, Mahâdeva, and also Mrityu (death), and Indra!

12. These wise armies of the gods, having the sun as their ensign, shall conquer our enemies! Hail!

## VI.

### CHARMS TO SECURE HARMONY, INFLUENCE IN THE ASSEMBLY, AND THE LIKE (SÂMMANASYÂNI, ETC.).

#### III, 30. Charm to secure harmony.

1. Unity of heart, and unity of mind, freedom from hatred, do I procure for you. Do ye take delight in one another, as a cow in her (new-) born calf!

2. The son shall be devoted to his father, be of the same mind with his mother ; the wife shall speak honied, sweet, words to her husband!

3. The brother shall not hate the brother, and the sister not the sister! Harmonious, devoted to the same purpose, speak ye words in kindly spirit!

4. That charm which causes the gods not to disagree, and not to hate one another, that do we prepare in your house, as a means of agreement for your folk.

5. Following your leader, of (the same) mind, do ye not hold yourselves apart! Do ye come here, co-operating, going along the same wagon-pole, speaking agreeably to one another! I render you of the same aim, of the same mind.

6. Identical shall be your drink, in common shall be your share of food! I yoke you together in the same traces: do ye worship Agni, joining together, as spokes around about the hub!

7. I render you of the same aim, of the same

mind, all paying deference to one (person) through my harmonising charm. Like the gods that are guarding the ambrosia, may he (the leader) be well-disposed towards you, night and day!

### VI, 73. Charm to allay discord.

1. Hither shall come Varuna, Soma, Agni; Brihaspati with the Vasus shall come hither! Come together, O ye kinsmen all, of one mind, to the glory of this mighty guardian!

2. The fire that is within your souls, the scheme that hath entered your minds, do I frustrate with my oblation, with my ghee: delight in me shall ye take, O kinsmen!

3. Remain right here, go not away from us; (the roads) at a distance Pûshan shall make impassable for you! Vâstoshpati shall urgently call you back: delight in me shall ye take, O kinsmen!

### VI, 74. Charm to allay discord.

1. May your bodies be united, may your minds and your purposes (be united)! Brahmanaspati here has brought you together, Bhaga has brought you together.

2. Harmony of mind (I procure) for you, and also harmony of heart. Moreover with the aid of Bhaga's exertions do I cause you to agree.

3. As the Âdityas are united with the Vasus, as the fierce (Rudras), free from grudge, with the Maruts, thus, O three-named (Agni), without grudge, do thou render these people here of the same mind!

## VII, 52. Charm against strife and bloodshed.

1. May we be in harmony with our kinfolk, in harmony with strangers; do ye, O Asvins, establish here agreement among us!

2. May we agree in mind and thought, may we not struggle with one another, in a spirit displeasing to the gods! May not the din of frequent battle-carnage arise, may the arrow not fly when the day of Indra has arrived!

## VI, 64. Charm to allay discord.

1. Do ye agree, unite yourselves, may your minds be in harmony, just as the gods of old in harmony sat down to their share!

2. Same be their counsel, same their assembly, same their aim, in common their thought! The 'same' oblation do I sacrifice for you: do ye enter upon the same plan!

3. Same be your intention, same your hearts! Same be your mind, so that it may be perfectly in common to you!

## VI, 42. Charm to appease anger.

1. As the bowstring from the bow, thus do I take off thy anger from thy heart, so that, having become of the same mind, we shall associate like friends!

2. Like friends we shall associate—I take off thy anger. Under a stone that is heavy do we cast thy anger.

3. I step upon thy anger with my heel and my fore-foot, so that, bereft of will, thou shalt not speak, shalt come up to my wish!

## VI, 43. Charm to appease anger.

1. This darbha-grass removes the anger of both kinsman and of stranger. And this remover of wrath, 'appeaser of wrath' it is called.

2. This darbha-grass of many roots, that reaches down into the ocean, having risen from the earth, 'appeaser of wrath' it is called.

3. Away we take the offensiveness that is in thy jaw, away (the offensiveness) in thy mouth, so that, bereft of will, thou shalt not speak, shalt come up to my wish!

## II, 27. Charm against opponents in debate, undertaken with the pā/ā-plant.

1. May the enemy not win the debate! Thou art mighty and overpowering. Overcome the debate of those that debate against us, render them devoid of force, O plant!

2. An eagle found thee out, a boar dug thee out with his snout. Overcome the debate of those that debate against us, render them devoid of force, O plant!

3. Indra placed thee upon his arm in order to overthrow the Asuras. Overcome the debate of those that debate against us, render them devoid of force, O plant!

4. Indra did eat the pā/ā-plant, in order to overthrow the Asuras. Overcome the debate of those that debate against us, render them devoid of force, O plant!

5. By means of thee I shall conquer the enemy,

as Indra (conquered) the Sálāvrikas. Overcome the debate of those that debate against us, render them devoid of force, O plant!

6. O Rudra, whose remedy is the urine, with black crest of hair, performer of (strong) deeds—overcome thou the debate of those that debate against us, render them devoid of force, O plant!

7. Overcome thou the debate of him that is hostile to us, O Indra! Encourage us with thy might! Render me superior in debate!

VII, 12. Charm to procure influence in the assembly.

1. May assembly and meeting, the two daughters of Pragâpati, concurrently aid me! May he with whom I shall meet co-operate with me; may I, O ye Fathers, speak agreeably to those assembled!

2. We know thy name, O assembly: 'mirth,' verily, is thy name; may all those that sit assembled in thee utter speech in harmony with me!

3. Of them that are sitting together I take to myself the power and the understanding: in this entire gathering render, O Indra, me successful!

4. If your mind has wandered to a distance, or has been enchained here or there, then do we turn it hither: may your mind take delight in me!

VI, 94. Charm to bring about submission to one's will.

1. Your minds, your purposes, your plans, do we cause to bend. Ye persons yonder, that are devoted to other purposes, we cause you to comply!

2. With my mind do I seize your minds: do ye

with your thoughts follow my thought ! I place your hearts in my control : come ye, directing your way after my course !

3. I have called upon heaven and earth, I have called upon the goddess Sarasvatī, I have called upon both Indra and Agni : may we succeed in this, O Sarasvatī !



## VII.

### CHARMS TO SECURE PROSPERITY IN HOUSE, FIELD, CATTLE, BUSINESS, GAMBLING, AND KINDRED MATTERS.

#### III, 12. Prayer at the building of a house.

1. Right here do I erect a firm house: may it stand upon a (good) foundation, dripping with ghee! Thee may we inhabit, O house, with heroes all, with strong heroes, with uninjured heroes!

2. Right here, do thou, O house, stand firmly, full of horses, full of cattle, full of abundance! Full of sap, full of ghee, full of milk, elevate thyself unto great happiness!

3. A supporter art thou, O house, with broad roof, containing purified grain! To thee may the calf come, to thee the child, to thee the milch-cows, when they return in the evening!

4. May Savitar, Vâyu, Indra, Br̥haspati cunningly erect this house! May the Maruts sprinkle it with moisture and with ghee; may king Bhaga let our ploughing take root!

5. O mistress of dwelling, as a sheltering and kindly goddess thou wast erected by the gods in the beginning; clothed in grass, be thou kindly disposed; give us, moreover, wealth along with heroes!

6. Do thou, O cross-beam, according to regulation ascend the post, do thou, mightily ruling, hold off the enemies! May they that approach thee rever-

ently, O house, not suffer injury, may we with all our heroes live a hundred autumns!

7. Hither to this (house) hath come the tender child, hither the calf along with (the other) domestic animals; hither the vessel (full) of liquor, together with bowls of sour milk!

8. Carry forth, O woman, this full jar, a stream of ghee mixed with ambrosia! Do thou these drinkers supply with ambrosia; the sacrifice and the gifts (to the Brahmans) shall it (the house) protect!

9. These waters, free from disease, destructive of disease, do I carry forth. The chambers do I enter in upon together with the immortal Agni (fire).

#### VI, 142. Blessing during the sowing of seed.

1. Raise thyself up, grow thick by thy own might, O grain! Burst every vessel! The lightning in the heavens shall not destroy thee!

2. When we invoke thee, god grain, and thou dost listen, then do thou raise thyself up like the sky, be inexhaustible as the sea!

3. Inexhaustible shall be those that attend to thee, inexhaustible thy heaps! They who give thee as a present shall be inexhaustible, they who eat thee shall be inexhaustible!

#### VI, 79. Charm for procuring increase of grain.

1. May this bounteous Nabhasapati (the lord of the cloud) preserve for us (possessions) without measure in our house!

2. Do thou, O Nabhasapati, keep strengthening

food in our house, may prosperity and goods come hither!

3. O bounteous god, thou dost command thousandfold prosperity: of that do thou bestow upon us, of that do thou give us, in that may we share with thee!

#### VI, 50. Exorcism of vermin infesting grain in the field.

1. Slay ye the *tarda* ('borer'), the *samañka* ('hook'), and the mole, O *Asvins*; cut off their heads, and crush their ribs! Shut their mouths, that they shall not eat the barley; free ye, moreover, the grain from danger!

2. Ho *tarda* ('borer'), ho locust, ho *gabhya* ('snapper'), *upakvasa*! As a Brahman (eats not) an uncompleted sacrifice, do ye, not eating this barley, without working injury, get out!

3. O husband of the *tardâ* (-female), O husband of the *vaghâ* (-female), ye of the sharp teeth, listen to me! The *vyadvaras* ('rodents') of the forest, and whatever other *vyadvaras* (there are), all these we do crush.

#### VII, 11. Charm to protect grain from lightning.

With thy broad thunder, with the beacon, elevated by the gods that pervade this all, with the lightning do thou not destroy our grain, O god; nor do thou destroy it with the rays of the sun!

#### II, 26. Charm for the prosperity of cattle.

1. Hither shall come the cattle which have strayed to a distance, whose companionship *Vāyu*

(the wind) enjoys! (The cattle) whose structure of form Tvashṭar knows, Savitar shall hold in place in this stable!

2. To this stable the cattle shall flow together, Brīhaspati skilfully shall conduct them hither! Sintvāli shall conduct hither their van: do thou, O Anumati, hold them in place after they have arrived!

3. May the cattle, may the horses, and may the domestics flow together; may the increase of the grain flow together! I sacrifice with an oblation that causeth to flow together!

4. I pour together the milk of the cows, I pour together strength and sap with the ghee. Poured together shall be our heroes, constant shall be the cows with me the owner of the cows!

5. I bring hither the milk of the cows, I have brought hither the sap of the grain. Brought hither are our heroes, brought hither to this house are our wives!

### III, 14. Charm for the prosperity of cattle.

1. With a firmly founded stable, with wealth, with well-being, with the name of that which is born on a lucky day do we unite you (O cattle)!

2. May Aryaman unite you, may Pūshan, Brīhaspati, and Indra, the conqueror of booty, unite you! Do ye prosper my possessions!

3. Flocking together without fear, making ordure in this stable, holding honey fit for soma, free from disease, ye shall come hither!

4. Right here come, ye cows, and prosper here like the sakā-bird! And right here do ye beget (your young)! May ye be in accord with me!

5. May your stable be auspicious to you, prosper ye like the sâri-birds and parrots ! And right here do ye beget (your young) ! With us do we unite you.

6. Attach yourselves, O cows, to me as your possessor ; may this stable here cause you to prosper ! Upon you, growing numerous, and living, may we, increasing in wealth, alive, attend !

VI, 59. Prayer to the plant arundhatti for protection to cattle.

1. Thy foremost protection, O Arundhatti, do thou bestow upon steer and milch-kine, upon (cattle of) the age when weaned from their mother, upon (all) four-footed creatures !

2. May Arundhatti, the herb, bestow protection along with the gods, render full of sap the stable, free from disease our men !

3. The variegated, lovely, life-giving (plant) do I invoke. May she carry away for us, far from the cattle, the missile hurled by Rudra !

VI, 70. Charm to secure the attachment of a cow to her calf.

1. As meat, and liquor, and dice (abound) at the gambling-place, as the heart of the lusty male hankers after the woman, thus shall thy heart, O cow, hanker after the calf !

2. As the elephant directs his steps after the steps of the female, as the heart of the lusty male hankers after the woman, thus shall thy heart, O cow, hanker after the calf !

3. As the fellowe, and as the spokes, and as the

nave (of the wheel is joined) to the fellow, as the heart of the lusty male hankers after the woman, thus shall thy heart, O cow, hanker after the calf!

III, 28. Formula in expiation of the birth of twin-calves.

1. Through one creation at a time this (cow) was born, when the fashioners of the beings did create the cows of many colours. (Therefore), when a cow doth beget twins portentously, growling and cross she injureth the cattle.

2. This (cow) doth injure our cattle : a flesh-eater, devourer, she hath become. Hence to a Brahman he shall give her ; in this way she may be kindly and auspicious !

3. Auspicious be to (our) men, auspicious to (our) cows and horses, auspicious to this entire field, auspicious be to us right here !

4. Here be prosperity, here be sap ! Be thou here one that especially gives a thousandfold ! Make the cattle prosper, thou mother of twins !

5. Where our pious friends live joyously, having left behind the ailments of their bodies, to that world the mother of twins did attain : may she not injure our men and our cattle !

6. Where is the world of our pious friends, where the world of them that sacrifice with the agnihotra, to that world the mother of twins did attain : may she not injure our men and our cattle !

VI, 92. Charm to endow a horse with swiftness.

1. Swift as the wind be thou, O steed, when joined (to the chariot) ; at Indra's urging go, fleet as

the mind! The Maruts, the all-possessing, shall harness thee, Tvashtar shall put fleetness into thy feet!

2. With the fleetness, O runner, that has been deposited in thee in a secret place, (with the fleetness) that has been made over to the eagle, the wind, and moves in them, with that, O steed, strong with strength, do thou win the race, reaching the goal in the contest!

3. Thy body, O steed, leading (our) body, shall run, a pleasure to ourselves, delight to thyself! A god, not stumbling, for the support of the great, he shall, as if upon the heaven, found his own light!

### III, 13. Charm for conducting a river into a new channel.

1. Because of yore, when the (cloud-) serpent was slain (by Indra), ye did rush forth and shout (anadatâ), therefore is your name 'shouters' (nadyaḥ 'rivers'): that is your designation, ye streams!

2. Because, when sent forth by Varuṇa, ye then quickly did bubble up; then Indra met (âpnot) you, as ye went, therefore anon are ye 'meeters' (âpaḥ 'waters')!

3. When reluctantly ye flowed, Indra, forsooth, did with might choose (avivarata) you as his own, ye goddesses! Therefore 'choice' (vâr 'water') has been given you as your name!

4. One god stood upon you, as ye flowed according to will. Up breathed (ud ânishuḥ) they who are known as 'the great' (mahtḥ). Therefore 'up-breather' (udakam 'water') are they called!

5. The waters are kindly, the waters in truth were ghee. These waters, truly, do support Agni and

Soma. May the readily flowing, strong sap of the honey-dripping (waters) come to me, together with life's breath and lustre!

6. Then do I see them and also do I hear them; their sound, their voice doth come to me. When, ye golden-coloured, I have refreshed myself with you, then I ween, ambrosia (*amṛita*) am I tasting!

7. Here, ye waters, is your heart, here is your calf, ye righteous ones! Come ye, mighty ones, by this way here, by which I am conducting you here!

#### VI, 106. Charm to ward off danger from fire.

1. Where thou comest, (O fire), and where thou goest away, the blooming *dûrvâ*-plant shall grow: a well-spring there shall rise up, or a lotus-laden pool!

2. Here (shall be) the gathering place of the waters, here the dwelling-place of the sea! In the midst of a pond our house shall be: turn, (O fire), away thy jaws!

3. With a covering of coolness do we envelop thee, O house; cool as a pond be thou for us! Agni shall furnish the remedy!

#### IV, 3. Shepherd's charm against wild beasts and robbers.

1. Three have gone away from here, the tiger, man, and wolf. Out of sight, forsooth, go the rivers, out of sight (grows) the divine tree (the banyan-tree?): out of sight the enemies shall retreat!

2. The wolf shall tread a distant path, and the robber one still more distant! On a distant path shall move the biting rope (the serpent), on a distant path the plotter of evil!



3. Thy eyes and thy jaw we crush, O tiger, and also all thy twenty claws.

4. We crush the tiger, the foremost of animals, armed with teeth. Next, too, the thief, and then the serpent, the wizard, and also the wolf.

5. The thief that approacheth to-day, crushed to pieces he goeth away. Where the paths are precipitate he shall go, Indra shall slay him with his bolt!

6. The teeth of the wild beast are dulled, and broken are his ribs. Out of thy sight the dragon shall go, down shall tumble the hare-hunting beast!

7. The (jaw, O beast,) that thou shuttest together, thou shalt not open up; that which thou openest up, thou shalt not shut together!—Born of Indra, born of Soma, thou, (my charm), art Atharvan's crusher of tigers.

### III, 15. A merchant's prayer.

1. Indra, the merchant, do I summon: may he come to us, may he be our van; driving away the demon of grudge, the waylayers, and wild beasts, may he, the possessor, bestow wealth upon me!

2. May the many paths, the roads of the gods, which come together between heaven and earth, gladden me with milk and ghee, so that I may gather in wealth from my purchases!

3. Desirous do I, O Agni, with firewood and ghee offer oblations (to thee), for success and strength; according to ability praising (thee) with my prayer, do I sing this divine song, that I may gain a hundredfold!

4. (Pardon, O Agni, this sin of ours [incurred

upon] the far road which we have travelled !) May our purchases and our sales be successful for us ; may what I get in barter render me a gainer ! May ye two (Indra and Agni) in accord take pleasure in this oblation ! May our transactions and the accruing gain be auspicious to us !

5. The wealth with which I go to purchase, desiring, ye gods, to gain wealth through wealth, may that grow more, not less ! Drive away, O Agni, in return for the oblation, the gods who shut off gain !

6. The wealth with which I go to purchase, desiring, ye gods, to gain wealth through wealth, may Indra, Pragâpati, Savitar, Soma, Agni, place lustre into it for me !

7. We praise with reverence thee, O priest (Agni) Vaisvânara. Do thou over our children, selves, cattle, and life's breath watch !

8. Daily, never failing, shall we bring (oblations to thee), O Gâtavedas, (as if fodder) to a horse standing (in the stable). In growth of wealth and nutriment rejoicing, may we, O Agni, thy neighbours, not take harm !

#### IV, 38. A. Prayer for success in gambling.

1. The successful, victorious, skilfully gaming Apsarâ, that Apsarâ who makes the winnings in the game of dice, do I call hither.

2. The skilfully gaming Apsarâ who sweeps and heaps up (the stakes), that Apsarâ who takes the winnings in the game of dice, do I call hither.

3. May she, who dances about with the dice, when she takes the stakes from the game of dice, when she desires to win for us, obtain the advantage

by (her) magic! May she come to us full of abundance! Let them not win this wealth of ours!

4. The (Apsarâs) who rejoice in dice, who carry grief and wrath—that joyful and exulting Apsarâ, do I call hither.

B. Prayer to secure the return of calves that have strayed to a distance.

5. They (the cattle) who wander along the rays of the sun, or they who wander along the flood of light, they whose bull (the sun), full of strength, from afar protecting, with the day wanders about all the worlds—may he (the bull), full of strength, delighting in this offering, come to us together with the atmosphere!

6. Together with the atmosphere, O thou who art full of strength, protect the white (karkî) calf, O thou swift steed (the sun)! Here are many drops (of ghee) for thee; come hither! May this white calf (karkî) of thine, may thy mind, be here!

7. Together with the atmosphere, O thou who art full of strength, protect the white (karkî) calf, O thou swift steed (the sun)! Here is the fodder, here the stall, here do we tie down the calf. Whatever (are your) names, we own you. Hail!

VII, 50. Prayer for success at dice.

1. As the lightning at all times smites irresistibly the tree, thus would I to-day irresistibly beat the gamesters with my dice!

2. Whether they be alert, or not alert, the fortune of (these) folks, unresisting, shall assemble from all sides, the gain (collect) within my hands!

3. I invoke with reverence Agni, who has his own riches; here attached he shall heap up gain for us! I procure (wealth) for myself, as if with chariots that win the race. May I accomplish auspiciously the song of praise to the Maruts!

4. May we by thy aid conquer the (adversary's) troop; help us (to obtain) our share in every contest! Make for us, O Indra, a good and ample road; crush, O Maghavan, the lusty power of our enemies!

5. I have conquered and cleaned thee out (?); I have also gained thy reserve. As the wolf plucks to pieces the sheep, thus do I pluck thy winnings.

6. Even the strong hand the bold player conquers, as the skilled gambler heaps up his winnings at the proper time. Upon him that loves the game (the god), and does not spare his money, (the game, the god) verily bestows the delights of wealth.

7. Through (the possession of) cattle we all would suppress (our) wretched poverty, or with grain our hunger, O thou oft implored (god)! May we foremost among rulers, unharmed, gain wealth by our cunning devices!

8. Gain is deposited in my right hand, victory in my left. Let me become a conqueror of cattle, horses, wealth, and gold!

9. O dice, yield play, profitable as a cow that is rich in milk! Bind me to a streak of gain, as the bow (is bound) with the string!

## VI, 56. Exorcism of serpents from the premises.

1. May the serpent, ye gods, not slay us along with our children and our men! The closed (jaw)

shall not snap open, the open one not close! Reverence (be) to the divine folk!

2. Reverence be to the black serpent, reverence to the one that is striped across! To the brown svaga reverence; reverence to the divine folk!

3. I clap thy teeth upon thy teeth, and also thy jaw upon thy jaw; I press thy tongue against thy tongue, and close up, O serpent, thy mouth.

X, 4. Charm against serpents, invoking the horse of Pedu that slays serpents.

1. To Indra belongs the first chariot, to the gods the second chariot, to Varuṇa, forsooth, the third. The serpents' chariot is the last: it shall hit a post, and come to grief!

2. The young darbha-grass burns (the serpents?), the tail of the horse, the tail of the shaggy one, the seat of the wagon (burns the serpents?).

3. Strike down, O white (horse), with thy fore-foot and thy hind-foot! As timber floating in water, the poison of the serpents, the fierce fluid, is devoid of strength.

4. Neighing loudly he dived down, and, again diving up, said: 'As timber floating in water, the poison of the serpents, the fierce fluid, is devoid of strength.'

5. The horse of Pedu slays the kasarnīla, the horse of Pedu slays the white (serpent), and also the black. The horse of Pedu cleaves the head of the ratharvī, the adder.

6. O horse of Pedu, go thou first: we come after thee! Thou shalt cast out the serpents from the road upon which we come!

7. Here the horse of Pedu was born; from here

is his departure. Here are the tracks of the serpent-killing, powerful steed!

8. May the closed (serpent's jaw) not snap open, may the open one not close! The two serpents in this field, man and wife, they are both bereft of strength.

9. Without strength here are the serpents, those that are near, and those that are far. With a club do I slay the *vriskika* (scorpion), with a staff the serpent that has approached.

10. Here is the remedy for both the aghâsva and the svaga! Indra (and) Pedu's horse have put to naught the evil-planning (aghâyantam) serpent.

11. The horse of Pedu do we remember, the strong, with strong footing: behind lie, staring forth, these adders.

12. Deprived are they of life's spirit, deprived of poison, slain by Indra with his bolt. Indra hath slain them: we have slain them.

13. Slain are they that are striped across, crushed are the adders! Slay thou the one that produces a hood, (slay) the white and the black in the darbha-grass!

14. The maiden of the Kirâta-tribe, the little one digs up the remedy, with golden spades, on the mountain's back.

15. Hither has come a youthful physician: he slays the speckled (serpent), is irresistible. He, forsooth, crushes the svaga and the *vriskika* both.

16. Indra did set at naught for me the serpent, (and so did) Mitra and Varuna, Vâta and Parganya both.

17. Indra did set at naught for me the serpent, the adder, male and female, the svaga, (the serpent)

that is striped across, the *kasarnīla*, and the *dasonasi*.

18. Indra slew thy first ancestor, O serpent, and since they are crushed, what strength, forsooth, can be theirs?

19. I have gathered up their heads, as the fisherman the *karvara* (fish). I have gone off into the river's midst, and washed out the serpent's poison.

20. The poison of all serpents the rivers shall carry off! Slain are they that are striped across, crushed are the adders!

21. As skilfully I cull the fibre of the plants, as I guide the mares, (thus), O serpent, shall thy poison go away!

22. The poison that is in the fire, in the sun, in the earth, and in the plants, the *kândâ-poison*, the *kanaknaka*, thy poison shall go forth, and come!

23. The serpents that are sprung from the fire, that are sprung from the plants, that are sprung from the water, and originate from the lightning; they from whom great brood has sprung in many ways, those serpents do we revere with obeisance.

24. Thou art, (O plant), a maiden, *Taudī* by name; *Ghrītâkī*, forsooth, is thy name. Underfoot is thy place: I take in hand what destroys the poison.

25. From every limb make the poison start; shut it out from the heart! Now the force that is in thy poison shall go down below!

26. The poison has gone to a distance: he has shut it out; he has fused the poison with poison. Agni has put away the poison of the serpent, Soma has led it out. The poison has gone back to the biter. The serpent is dead!

XI, 2. Prayer to Bhava and Sarva for protection from dangers.

1. O Bhava and Sarva, be merciful, do not attack (us); ye lords of beings, lords of cattle, reverence be to you twain! Discharge not your arrow even after it has been laid on (the bow), and has been drawn! Destroy not our bipeds and our quadrupeds!

2. Prepare not our bodies for the dog, or the jackal; for the aliklavas, the vultures, and the black birds! Thy greedy insects, O lord of cattle (pasu-pate), and thy birds shall not get us to devour!

3. Reverence we offer, O Bhava, to thy roaring, to thy breath, and to thy injurious qualities; reverence to thee, O Rudra, thousand-eyed, immortal!

4. We offer reverence to thee from the east, from the north, and from the south; from (every) domain, and from heaven. Reverence be to thy atmosphere!

5. To thy face, O lord of cattle, to thy eyes, O Bhava, to thy skin, to thy form, thy appearance, (and to thy aspect) from behind, reverence be!

6. To thy limbs, to thy belly, to thy tongue, to thy mouth, to thy teeth, to thy smell (nose), reverence be!

7. May we not conflict with Rudra, the archer with the dark crest, the thousand-eyed, powerful one, the slayer of Ardhaka!

8. Bhava shall steer clear from us on all sides, Bhava shall steer clear from us, as fire from water! May he not bear malice towards us: reverence be to him!

9. Four times, eight times, be reverence to Bhava,



ten times be reverence to thee, O lord of cattle !  
To thy (charge) have been assigned these five  
(kinds of) cattle : cows, horses, men, goats and  
sheep.

10. Thine, O strong god (ugra), are the four  
regions, thine the sky, thine the earth, and thine  
this broad atmosphere ; thine is this all that has  
a spirit and has breath upon the earth.

11. Thine is this broad, treasure-holding receptacle  
within which all worlds are contained. Do thou  
spare us, O lord of cattle : reverence be to thee !  
Far from us shall go the jackals, evil omens, dogs ;  
far shall go (the mourning women) who bewail mis-  
fortune with dishevelled hair !

12. Thou, O crested (god), carriest in (thy hand),  
that smites thousands, a yellow, golden bow that slays  
hundreds ; Rudra's arrow, the missile of the gods,  
flies abroad : reverence be to it, in whatever direc-  
tion from here (it flies) !

13. The adversary who lurks and seeks to over-  
come thee, O Rudra, upon him thou dost fasten  
thyself from behind, as (the hunter) that follows the  
trail of a wounded (animal).

14. Bhava and Rudra, united and concordant,  
both strong (ugrau), ye advance to deeds of heroism :  
reverence be to both of them, in whatever direction  
(they are) from here !

15. Reverence be to thee coming, reverence to  
thee going ; reverence, O Rudra, be to thee standing,  
and reverence, also, to thee sitting !

16. Reverence in the evening, reverence in the  
morning, reverence by night, reverence by day ! I have  
offered reverence to Bhava and to Sarva, both.

17. Let us not with our tongue offend Rudra, who

rushes on, thousand-eyed, overseeing all, who hurls (his shafts) forward, who is manifoldly wise!

18. We approach first the (god) that has dark horses, is black, sable, destructive, terrible, who casts down the car of Keshin : reverence be to him !

19. Do not hurl at us thy club, thy divine bolt ; be not incensed at us, O lord of cattle ! Shake over some other than us the celestial branch !

20. Injure us not, interpose for us, spare us, be not angry with us ! Let us not contend with thee !

21. Do not covet our cattle, our men, our goats and sheep ! Bend thy course elsewhere, O strong god (ugra), slay the offspring of the blasphemers !

22. He whose missile, fever and cough, assails the single (victim), as the snorting of a stallion, who snatches away (his victims) one by one, to him be reverence !

23. He who dwells fixed in the atmosphere, smiting the blasphemers of the god that do not sacrifice, to him be reverence with ten sakvari-stanzas !

24. For thee the wild beasts of the forest have been placed in the forest : flamingoes, eagles, birds of prey, and fowls. Thy spirit, O lord of cattle, is within the waters, to strengthen thee the heavenly waters flow.

25. The dolphins, great serpents (boas), purtikayas (water-animals), sea-monsters, fishes, ragasas, at which thou shootest—there exists for thee, O Bhava, no distance, and no barrier. At a glance thou lookest around the entire earth ; from the eastern thou slayest in the northern ocean.

26. Do not, O Rudra, contaminate us with fever, or with poison, or with heavenly fire : cause this lightning to descend elsewhere than upon us !

27. Bhava rules the sky, Bhava rules the earth ; Bhava has filled the broad atmosphere. Reverence be to him in whatever direction from here (he abides) !

28. O king Bhava, be merciful to thy worshipper, for thou art the lord of living beasts ! He who believes the gods exist, to his quadruped and biped be merciful !

29. Slay neither our great nor our small ; neither those of us that are riding, nor those that shall ride ; neither our father, nor our mother. Cause no injury, O Rudra, to our own persons !

30. To Rudra's howling dogs, who swallow their food without blessing, who have wide jaws, I have made this obeisance.

31. Reverence, O god, be to thy shouting hosts, reverence to thy long-haired, reverence to thy revered, reverence to thy devouring hosts ! May well-being and security be to us !

#### IV, 28. Prayer to Bhava and Sarva for protection from calamities.

1. O Bhava and Sarva, I am devoted to you. Take note of that, ye under whose control is all this which shines (the visible universe) ! Ye who rule all these two-footed and four-footed creatures, deliver us from calamity !

2. Ye to whom belongs all that is near by, yea, all that is far ; ye who are known as the most skilful archers among bowmen ; ye who rule all these two-footed and four-footed creatures, deliver us from calamity !

3. The thousand-eyed slayers of *Vritra* both do

I invoke. I go praising the two strong gods (ugrau) whose pastures extend far. Ye who rule all these two-footed and four-footed creatures, deliver us from calamity!

4. Ye who, united, did undertake many (deeds) of old, and, moreover, did visit portents upon the people; ye who rule all these two-footed and four-footed creatures, deliver us from calamity!

5. Ye from whose blows no one either among gods or men escapes; ye who rule all these two-footed and four-footed creatures, deliver us from calamity!

6. The sorcerer who prepares a spell, or manipulates the roots (of plants) against us, against him, ye strong gods, launch your thunderbolt! Ye who rule all these two-footed and four-footed creatures, deliver us from calamity.

7. Ye strong gods, favour us in battles, bring into contact with your thunderbolt the Kimidin! I praise you, O Bhava and Sarva, call fervently upon you in distress: deliver us from calamity!

#### VII, 9. Charm for finding lost property.

1. On the distant path of the paths Pûshan was born, on the distant path of heaven, on the distant path of the earth. Upon the two most lovely places both he walks hither and away, knowing (the way).

2. Pûshan knows these regions all; he shall lead us by the most dangerless (way). Bestowing well-being, of radiant glow, keeping our heroes undiminished, he shall, alert and skilful, go before us!

3. O Pûshan, under thy law may we never suffer harm: as praisers of thee are we here!

4. Pûshan shall from the east place his right hand

about us, shall bring again to us what has been lost : we shall come upon what has been lost !

#### VI, 128. Propitiation of the weather-prophet.

1. When the stars made Sakadhûma their king they bestowed good weather upon him : ' This shall be his dominion,' they said.

2. Let us have good weather at noon, good weather at eve, good weather in the early morning, good weather in the night !

3. For day and night, for the stars, for sun and moon, and for us prepare good weather, O king Sakadhûma !

4. To thee, O Sakadhûma, ruler of the stars, that gavest us good weather in the evening, in the night, and by day, let there ever be obeisance !

#### XI, 6. Prayer for deliverance from calamity, addressed to the entire pantheon.

1. To Agni we speak and to the trees, to the plants and to the herbs ; to Indra, Brîhaspati, and Sûrya : they shall deliver us from calamity !

2. We speak to king Varuṇa, to Mitra, Vishṇu and Bhaga. To Aṃsa and Vivasvant do we speak : they shall deliver us from calamity !

3. We speak to Savitar, the god, to Dhâtâr, and to Pûshan ; to first-born Tvashṭar do we speak : they shall deliver us from calamity !

4. We speak to the Gandharvas and the Apsaras, to the Asvins and to Brahmanaspati, to the god whose name is Aryaman : they shall deliver us from calamity !

5. Now do we speak to day and night, to Sûrya

(sun) and to *Kandramas* (moon), the twain; to all the *Âdityas* we speak: they shall deliver us from calamity!

6. We speak to *Vâta* (wind) and *Parganya*, to the atmosphere and the directions of space. And to all the regions do we speak: they shall deliver us from calamity!

7. Day and night, and *Ushas* (dawn), too, shall deliver thee from curses! Soma the god, whom they call *Kandramas* (moon), shall deliver me!

8. To the animals of the earth and those of heaven, to the wild beasts of the forest, to the winged birds, do we speak: they shall deliver us from calamity!

9. Now do we speak to *Bhava* and *Sarva*, to *Rudra* and *Pasupati*; their arrows do we know well: these (arrows) shall be ever propitious to us!

10. We speak to the heavens, and the stars, to earth, the *Yakshas*, and the mountains; to the seas, the rivers, and the lakes: they shall deliver us from calamity!

11. To the seven *Rishis* now do we speak, to the divine waters and *Pragâpati*. To the Fathers with *Yama* at their head: they shall deliver us from calamity!

12. The gods that dwell in heaven, and those that dwell in the atmosphere; the mighty (gods) that are fixed upon the earth, they shall deliver us from calamity!

13. The *Âdityas*, *Rudras*, *Vasus*, the divine *Atharvans* in heaven, and the wise *Âṅgiras*: they shall deliver us from calamity!

14. We speak to the sacrifice and the sacrificer, to the *ṛiks*, the *sâmans*, and the healing (*Atharvan*) charms; we speak to the *yagus*-formulas and the

invocations (to the gods): they shall deliver us from calamity!

15. We speak to the five kingdoms of the plants with soma the most excellent among them. The darbha-grass, hemp, and mighty barley: they shall deliver us from calamity!

16. We speak to the Arâyas (demons of grudge), Rakshas, serpents, pious men, and Fathers; to the one and a hundred deaths: they shall deliver us from calamity!

17. To the seasons we speak, to the lords of the seasons, and to the sections of the year; to the half-years, years, and months: they shall deliver us from calamity!

18. Come, ye gods, from the south and the west; ye gods in the east come forth! From the east, from the north the mighty gods, all the gods assembled: they shall deliver us from calamity!

19, 20. We speak here to all the gods that hold to their agreements, promote the order (of the universe), together with all their wives: they shall deliver us from calamity!

21. We speak to being, to the lord of being, and also to him that controls the beings; to the beings all assembled: they shall deliver us from calamity!

22. The five divine regions, the twelve divine seasons, the teeth of the year, they shall ever be propitious to us!

23. The amṛita (ambrosia), bought for the price of a chariot, which Mâtali knows as a remedy, that Indra stored away in the waters: that, O ye waters, furnish ye as a remedy!

## VIII.

### CHARMS IN EXPIATION OF SIN AND DEFILEMENT.

#### VI, 45. Prayer against mental delinquency.

1. Pass far away, O sin of the mind! Why dost thou utter things not to be uttered? Pass away, I love thee not! To the trees, the forests go on! With the house, the cattle, is my mind.

2. What wrongs we have committed through imprecation, calumny, and false speech, either awake, or asleep—Agni shall put far away from us all offensive evil deeds!

3. What, O Indra Brahmanaspati, we do falsely—may Praketas ('care-taker') Ângirasa protect us from misfortune, and from evil!

#### VI, 26. Charm to avert evil.

1. Let me go, O evil; being powerful, take thou pity on us! Set me, O evil, unharmed, into the world of happiness!

2. If, O evil, thou dost not abandon us, then do we abandon thee at the fork of the road. May evil follow after another (man)!

3. Away from us may thousand-eyed, immortal (evil) dwell! Him whom we hate may it strike, and him whom we hate do thou surely smite!



VI, 114. Expiatory formula for imperfections in the sacrifice.

1. The god-angering (deed), O ye gods, that we, the (Brahman) gods, have committed, from that do ye, O Âdityas, release us, by virtue of the order of the universe!

2. By virtue of the order of the universe do ye, O reverend Âdityas, release us here, if, O ye carriers of the sacrifice, though desirous of accomplishing (the sacrifice), we did not accomplish (it)!—

3. (If), when sacrificing with the fat (animal), when offering oblations of ghee with the spoon, when desiring to benefit you, O all ye gods, we have contrary to desire, not succeeded!

VI, 115. Expiatory formulas for sins.

1. From the sins which knowingly or unknowingly we have committed, do ye, all gods, of one accord, release us!

2. If awake, or if asleep, to sin inclined, I have committed a sin, may what has been, and what shall be, as if from a wooden post, release me!

3. As one released from a wooden post, as one in a sweat by bathing (is cleansed) of filth, as ghee is clarified by the sieve, may all (the gods) clear me from sin!

VI, 112. Expiation for the precedence of a younger brother over an older.

1. May this (younger brother) not slay the oldest one of them, O Agni; protect him that he be not torn out by the root! Do thou here cunningly

loosen the fetter of Grâhi (attack of disease); may all the gods give thee leave!

2. Free these three, O Agni, from the three fetters with which they have been shackled! Do thou cunningly loosen the fetters of Grâhi; release them all, father, sons, and mother!

3. The fetters with which the older brother, whose younger brother has married before him, has been bound, with which he has been encumbered and shackled limb by limb, may they be loosened; since fit for loosening they are! Wipe off, O Pûshan, the misdeeds upon him that practiseth abortion!

#### VI, 113. Expiation for certain heinous crimes.

1. On *Tṛita* the gods wiped off this sin, *Tṛita* wiped it off on human beings; hence if Grâhi (attack of disease) has seized thee, may these gods remove her by means of their charm!

2. Enter into the rays, into smoke, O sin; go into the vapours, and into the fog! Lose thyself on the foam of the river! Wipe off, O Pûshan, the misdeeds upon him that practiseth abortion!

3. Deposited in twelve places is that which has been wiped off *Tṛita*, the sins belonging to humanity. Hence if Grâhi has seized thee, may these gods remove her by means of their charm!

#### VI, 120. Prayer for heaven after remission of sins.

1. If air, or earth and heaven, if mother or father, we have injured, may this Agni Gârhapatya (household fire) without fail lead us out from this (crime) to the world of well-doing!

2. The earth is our mother, Aditi (the universe) our kin, the air our protector from hostile schemes. May father sky bring prosperity to us from the world of the Fathers; may I come to my (departed) kin, and not lose heaven!

3. In that bright world where our pious friends live in joy, having cast aside the ailments of their own bodies, free from lameness, not deformed in limb, there may we behold our parents and our children!

VI, 27. Charm against pigeons regarded as ominous birds.

1. O ye gods, if the pigeon, despatched as the messenger of Nirṛiti (the goddess of destruction), hath come here seeking (us out), we shall sing his praises, and prepare (our) ransom. May our two-footed and four-footed creatures be prosperous!

2. Auspicious to us shall be the pigeon that has been despatched; harmless, ye gods, the bird shall be to our house! The sage Agni shall verily take pleasure in our oblation; the winged missile shall avoid us!

3. The winged missile shall not do us injury: upon our hearth, our fireplace he (the pigeon) takes his steps! Propitious he shall be to our cattle and our domestics; may not, ye gods, the pigeon here do harm to us!

VI, 29. Charm against ominous pigeons and owls.

1. Upon those persons yonder the winged missile shall fall! If the owl shrieks, futile shall this be, or if the pigeon takes his steps upon the fire!

2. To thy two messengers, O Nirṛiti, who come here, despatched or not despatched, to our house, to the pigeon and to the owl, this shall be no place to step upon!

3. He shall not fly hither to slaughter (our) men; to keep (our) men sound he shall settle here! Charm him very far away unto a distant region, that (people) shall behold you (i.e. him) in Yama's house devoid of strength, that they shall behold you bereft of power!

VII, 64. Expiation when one is defiled by a black bird of omen.

1. What this black bird flying forth towards (me) has dropped here—may the waters protect me from all that misfortune and evil!

2. What this black bird has brushed here with thy mouth, O Nirṛiti (goddess of misfortune)—may Agni Gārhapatya (the god of the household fire) free me from this sin!

VI, 46. Exorcism of evil dreams.

1. Thou who art neither alive nor dead, the immortal child of the gods art thou, O Sleep! Varuṇāṅī is thy mother, Yama (death) thy father, Araru is thy name.

2. We know, O Sleep, thy birth, thou art the son of the divine women-folk, the instrument of Yama (death)! Thou art the ender, thou art death! Thus do we know thee, O Sleep: do thou, O Sleep, protect us from evil dreams!

3. As one pays off a sixteenth, an eighth, or an (entire) debt, thus do we transfer every evil dream upon our enemy.

VII, 115. Charm for the removal of evil characteristics, and the acquisition of auspicious ones.

1. Fly forth from here, O evil mark, vanish from here, fly forth to yonder place! Upon him that hates us do we fasten thee with a brazen hook.

2. The unsavoury mark which flying has alighted upon me, as a creeper upon a tree, that mayest thou put away from us, away from here, O golden-handed (golden-rayed) Savitar (the sun), bestowing goods upon us!

3. Together with the body of the mortal, from his birth, one and a hundred marks are born. Those that are most foul do we drive away from here; the auspicious ones, O Gâtavedas (Agni), do thou hold fast for us!

4. These (marks) here I have separated, as cows scattered upon the heather. The pure marks shall remain, the foul ones I have made to disappear!

## IX.

### PRAYERS AND IMPRECATIONS IN THE INTEREST OF THE BRAHMANS.

#### V, 18. Imprecation against the oppressors of Brahmans.

1. The gods, O king, did not give to thee this (cow) to eat. Do not, O prince, seek to devour the cow of the Brâhmaṇa, which is unfit to be eaten !

2. The prince, beguiled by dice, the wretched one who has lost as a stake his own person, he may, perchance, eat the cow of the Brâhmaṇa, (thinking), 'let me live to-day (if) not to-morrow' !

3. Enveloped (is she) in her skin, as an adder with evil poison ; do not, O prince, (eat the cow) of the Brâhmaṇa : sapless, unfit to be eaten, is that cow !

4. Away does (the Brâhmaṇa) take regal power, destroys vigour ; like fire which has caught does he burn away everything. He that regards the Brâhmaṇa as fit food drinks of the poison of the taimâta-serpent.

5. He who thinks him (the Brahman) mild, and slays him, he who reviles the gods, lusts after wealth, without thought, in his heart Indra kindles a fire ; him both heaven and earth hate while he lives.

6. The Brâhmaṇa must not be encroached upon,

any more than fire, by him that regards his own body! For Soma is his (the Brâhmaṇa's) heir, Indra protects him from hostile plots.

7. He swallows her (the cow), bristling with a hundred hooks, (but) is unable to digest her, he, the fool who, devouring the food of the Brahmins, thinks, 'I am eating a luscious (morsel).'

8. (The Brahman's) tongue turns into a bow-string, his voice into the neck of an arrow; his windpipe, his teeth are bedaubed with holy fire: with these the Brahman strikes those who revile the gods, by means of bows that have the strength to reach the heart, discharged by the gods.

9. The Brâhmaṇas have sharp arrows, are armed with missiles, the arrow which they hurl goes not in vain; pursuing him with their holy fire and their wrath, even from afar, do they pierce him.

10. They who ruled over a thousand, and were themselves ten hundred, the Vaitahavya, when they devoured the cow of the Brâhmaṇa, perished.

11. The cow herself, when slaughtered, came down upon the Vaitahavyas, who had roasted for themselves the last she-goat of Kesaraprâbandhâ.

12. The one hundred and one persons whom the earth did cast off, because they had injured the offspring of a Brâhmaṇa, were ruined irretrievably.

13. As a reviler of the gods does he live among mortals, having swallowed poison, he becomes more bone (than flesh). He that injureth a Brâhmaṇa, whose kin are the gods, does not reach heaven by the road of the Fathers.

14. Agni is called our guide, Soma our heir, Indra slays those who curse (us): that the strong (sages) know.

15. Like a poisoned arrow, O king, like an adder, O lord of cattle, is the terrible arrow of the Brâhmaṇa: with that he smites those who revile (the gods).

V, 19. Imprecation against the oppressors of Brahman.

1. Beyond measure they waxed strong, just fell short of touching the heavens. When they infringed upon Bhrigu they perished, the *Sriṅgaya* Vaitahavyas.

2. The persons who pierced *Brîhatsâman*, the descendant of *Aṅgiras*, the Brâhmaṇa—a ram with two rows of teeth, a sheep devoured their offspring.

3. They who spat upon the Brâhmaṇa, who desired tribute from him, they sit in the middle of a pool of blood, chewing hair.

4. The cow of the Brahman, when roasted, as far as she reaches does she destroy the lustre of the kingdom; no lusty hero is born (there).

5. A cruel (sacrilegious) deed is her slaughter, her meat, when eaten, is sapless; when her milk is drunk, that surely is accounted a crime against the Fathers.

6. When the king, weening himself mighty, desires to destroy the Brâhmaṇa, then royal power is dissipated, where the Brâhmaṇa is oppressed.

7. Becoming eight-footed, four-eyed, four-eared, four-jawed, two-mouthed, two-tongued, she dispels the rule of the oppressor of the Brahman.

8. That (kingdom) surely she swamps, as water a leaking ship; misfortune strikes that kingdom, in which they injure a Brâhmaṇa.

9. The trees chase away with the words: 'do not



come within our shade,' him who covets the wealth that belongs to a Brâhmaṇa, O Nârada !

10. King Varuṇa pronounced this (to be) poison, prepared by the gods : no one who has devoured the cow of a Brâhmaṇa retains the charge of a kingdom.

11. Those full nine and ninety whom the earth did cast off, because they had injured the offspring of a Brâhmaṇa, were ruined irretrievably.

12. The kûḍī-plant (Christ's thorn) that wipes away the track (of death), which they fasten to the dead, that very one, O oppressor of Brahman, the gods did declare (to be) thy couch.

13. The tears which have rolled from (the eyes of) the oppressed (Brahman), as he laments, these very ones, O oppressor of Brahman, the gods did assign to thee as thy share of water.

14. The water with which they bathe the dead, with which they moisten his beard, that very one, O oppressor of Brahman, the gods did assign to thee as thy share of water.

15. The rain of Mitra and Varuṇa does not moisten the oppressor of Brahman; the assembly is not complacent for him, he does not guide his friend according to his will.

#### V, 7. Prayer to appease Arâti, the demon of grudge and avarice.

1. Bring (wealth) to us, do not stand in our way, O Arâti; do not keep from us the sacrificial reward as it is being taken (to us)! Adoration be to the power of grudge, the power of failure, adoration to Arâti!

2. To thy advising minister, whom thou, Arâti, didst make thy agent, do we make obeisance. Do not bring failure to my wish!

3. May our wish, instilled by the gods, be fulfilled by day and night! We go in quest of Arâti. Adoration be to Arâti!

4. Sarasvatî (speech), Anumati (favour), and Bhaga (fortune) we go to invoke. Pleasant, honied, words I have spoken on the occasions when the gods were invoked.

5. Him whom I implore with Vâṣṭ Sarasvatî (the goddess of speech), the yoke-fellow of thought, faith shall find to-day, bestowed by the brown soma!

6. Neither our wish nor our speech do thou frustrate! May Indra and Agni both bring us wealth! Do ye all who to-day desire to make gifts to us gain favour with Arâti!

7. Go far away, failure! Thy missile do we avert. I know thee (to be) oppressive and piercing, O Arâti!

8. Thou dost even transform thyself into a naked woman, and attach thyself to people in their sleep, frustrating, O Arâti, the thought and intention of man.

9. To her who, great, and of great dimension, did penetrate all the regions, to this golden-locked Nirrîti (goddess of misfortune), I have rendered obeisance.

10. To the gold-complexioned, lovely one, who rests upon golden cushions, to the great one, to that Arâti who wears golden robes, I have rendered obeisance.

## XII, 4. The necessity of giving away sterile cows to the Brahmans.

1. 'I give,' he shall surely say, 'the sterile cow to the begging Brahmans'—and they have noted her—that brings progeny and offspring!

2. With his offspring does he trade, of his cattle is he deprived, that refuses to give the cow of the gods to the begging descendants of the *Rishis*.

3. Through (the gift of) a cow with broken horns his (cattle) breaks down, through a lame one he tumbles into a pit, through a mutilated one his house is burned, through a one-eyed one his property is given away.

4. Flow of blood attacks the cattle-owner from the spot where her dung is deposited: this understanding there is about the *vaśā* (the sterile cow); for thou (sterile cow) art said to be very difficult to deceive!

5. From the resting-place of her feet the (disease) called *viklindu* overtakes (the owner, or the cattle). Without sickness breaks down (the cattle) which she sniffs upon with her nose.

6. He that pierces her ears is estranged from the gods. He thinks: 'I am making a mark (upon her),' (but) he diminishes his own property.

7. If any one for whatsoever purpose cuts her tail then do his colts die, and the wolf tears his calves.

8. If a crow has injured her hair, as long as she is with her owner then do his children die: decline overtakes them without (noticeable) sickness.

9. If the serving-maid sweeps together her dung,

that bites as lye, there arises from this sin disfigurement that passeth not away.

10. The sterile cow in her very birth is born for the gods and Brâhmanas. Hence to the Brahmins she is to be given : that, they say, guarantees the security of one's own property.

11. For those that come requesting her the cow has been created by the gods. Oppression of Brahmins it is called, if he keeps her for himself.

12. He that refuses to give the cow of the gods to the descendants of the *Rishis* who ask for it, infringes upon the gods, and the wrath of the Brâhmanas.

13. Though he derives benefit from this sterile cow, another (cow) then shall he seek ! When kept she injures (his) folk, if he refuses to give her after she has been asked for !

14. The sterile cow is as a treasure deposited for the Brâhmanas : they come here for her, with whomsoever she is born.

15. The Brâhmanas come here for their own, when they come for the sterile cow. The refusal of her is, as though he were oppressing them in other concerns.

16. If she herds up to her third year, and no disease is discovered in her, and he finds her to be a sterile cow, O Nârada, then must he look for the Brâhmanas.

17. If he denies that she is sterile, a treasure deposited for the gods, then Bhava and Sarva, both, come upon him, and hurl their arrow upon him.

18. Though he does not perceive upon her either udder, or tits, yet both yield him milk, if he has prevailed upon himself to give away the sterile cow.

19. Hard to cheat, she oppresses him, if, when asked for, he refuses to give her. His desires are not fulfilled, if he aims to accomplish them without giving her away.

20. The gods did ask for the sterile cow, making the Brāhmaṇa their mouthpiece. The man that does not give (her) enters into the wrath of all of these.

21. Into the wrath of the cattle enters he that gives not the sterile cow to the Brāhmaṇas; if he, the mortal, appropriates the share deposited for the gods.

22. Even if a hundred other Brāhmaṇas beg the owner for the sterile cow, yet the gods did say anent her: 'The cow belongs to him that knoweth thus.'

23. He that refuses the sterile cow to him that knoweth thus, and gives her to others, difficult to dwell upon is for him the earth with her divinities.

24. The gods did beg the sterile cow of him with whom she was born at first. That very one Nârada recognised and drove forth in company with the gods.

25. The sterile cow renders childless, and poor in cattle, him that yet appropriates her, when she has been begged for by the Brāhmaṇas.

26. For Agni and Soma, for Kâma, for Mitra, and for Varuṇa, for these do the Brāhmaṇas beg her: upon these he infringes, if he gives her not.

27. As long as the owner does not himself hear the stanzas referring to (the giving away of) her, she may herd among his cattle; (only) if he has not heard (them) may she pass the night in his house.

28. He that has listened to the stanzas, yet has

permitted her to herd among the cattle, his life and prosperity the angry gods destroy.

29. The sterile cow, even when she rambles freely, is a treasure deposited for the gods. Make evident thy true nature when thou desirest to go to thy (proper) stable!

30. She makes evident her nature when she desires to go to her (proper) stable. Then indeed the sterile cow puts it into the minds of the Brahmans to beg (for her).

31. She evolves it in her mind, that (thought) reaches the gods. Then do the Brahmans come to beg for the sterile cow.

32. The call *svadhâ* befriends him with the Fathers, the sacrifice with the gods. Through the gift of the sterile cow the man of royal caste incurs not the anger of (her), his mother.

33. The sterile cow is the mother of the man of royal caste: thus was it from the beginning. It is said to be no (real) deprivation if she is given to the Brahmans.

34. As if he were to rob the ghee ladled up for Agni (the fire) from the (very) spoon, thus, if he gives not the sterile cow to the Brahmans, does he infringe upon Agni.

35. The sterile cow has the *puroḍasa* (sacrificial cake) for her calf, she yields plentiful milk, helps in this world, and fulfils all wishes for him that gives her (to the Brahmans).

36. The sterile cow fulfils all wishes in the kingdom of Yama for him that gives her. But they say that hell falls to the lot of him that withholds her, when she has been begged for.

37. The sterile cow, even if she should become

fruitful, lives in anger at her owner : 'since he did regard me as sterile (without giving me to the Brahmans), he shall be bound in the fetters of death !'

38. He who thinks that the cow is sterile, and (yet) roasts her at home, even his children and grandchildren *Bṛihaspati* causes to be importuned (for her).

39. Fiercely does the (supposed) sterile cow burn when she herds with the cattle, though she be a (fruitful) cow. She verily, too, milks poison for the owner that does not present her.

40. It pleases the cattle when she is given to the Brahmans ; moreover, the sterile cow is pleased, when she is made an offering to the gods (Brahmans).

41. From the sterile cows which the gods, returning from the sacrifice, created, *Nârada* picked out as (most) terrible the *viliptî*.

42. In reference to her the gods reflected : 'Is she a sterile cow, or not ?' And *Nârada* in reference to her said : 'Of sterile cows she is the most sterile !'

43. 'How many sterile cows (are there), O *Nârada*, which thou knowest to be born among men ?' About these do I ask thee, that knowest : 'Of which may the non-*Brâhmaṇa* not eat ?'

44. Of the *viliptî*, of her that has born a sterile cow, and of the sterile cow (herself), the non-*Brâhmaṇa*, that hopes for prosperity, shall not eat !

45. Reverence be to thee, O *Nârada*, that knowest thoroughly which sterile cow is the most terrible, by withholding which (from the Brahmans) destruction is incurred.

46. The *viliptî*, O *Bṛihaspati*, her that has begotten a sterile cow, and the sterile cow (herself),

the non-Brāhmaṇa, that hopes for prosperity, shall not eat!

47. Three kinds, forsooth, of sterile cows are there: the vilipti, she that has begotten a sterile cow, and the sterile cow (herself). These he shall give to the Brahmans; (then) does he not estrange himself from Pragāpati.

48. 'This is your oblation, O Brāhmaṇas,' thus shall he reflect, if he is supplicated, if they ask him for the sterile cow, terrible in the house of him that refuses to give her.

49. The gods animadverted in reference to Bheda and the sterile cow, angry because he had not given her, in these verses—and therefore he (Bheda) perished.

50. Bheda did not present the sterile cow, though requested by Indra: for this sin the gods crushed him in battle.

51. The counsellors that advise the withholding (of the sterile cow), they, the rogues, in their folly, conflict with the wrath of Indra.

52. They who lead the owner of cattle aside, then say to him: 'do not give,' in their folly they run into the missile hurled by Rudra.

53. And if he roasts the sterile cow at home, whether he makes a sacrifice of her, or not, he sins against the gods and Brāhmaṇas, and as a cheat falls from heaven.

XI, 1. The preparation of the brahmaudana, the porridge given as a fee to the Brahmans.

1. O Agni, come into being! Aditi here in her throes, longing for sons, is cooking the porridge for the Brahmans. The seven Ṛishis, that did



create the beings, shall here churn thee, along with progeny !

2. Produce the smoke, ye lusty friends ; unharmed by wiles go ye into the contest ! Here is the Agni (fire) who gains battles, and commands powerful warriors, with whom the gods did conquer the demons.

3. O Agni, to a great heroic deed thou wast aroused, to cook the Brahman's porridge, O *Gâta-vedas* ! The seven *Rishis*, that did create the beings, have produced thee. Grant her (the wife) wealth together with undiminished heroes !

4. Burn, O Agni, after having been kindled by the firewood, bring skilfully hither the gods that are to be revered ! Causing the oblation to cook for these (Brahmans), do thou raise this (sacrificer) to the highest firmament !

5. The threefold share which was of yore assigned to you (belongs) to the gods, the (departed) Fathers, and to the mortals (the priests). Know your shares ! I divide them for you : the (share) of the gods shall protect this (woman) !

6. O Agni, possessed of might, superior, thou dost without fail prevail ! Bend down to the ground our hateful rivals !—This measure, that is being measured, and has been measured, may constitute thy kin into (people) that render thee tribute !

7. Mayest thou together with thy kin be endowed with sap ! Elevate her (the wife) to great heroism ! Ascend on high to the base of the firmament, which they call ' the world of brightness ' !

8. This great goddess earth, kindly disposed, shall receive the (sacrificial) skin ! Then may we go to the world of well-doing (heaven) !

9. Lay these two press-stones, well coupled, upon the skin ; crush skilfully the (soma-) shoots for the sacrificer ! Crush down, (O earth), and beat down, those who are hostile to her (the wife) ; lift up high, and elevate her offspring !

10. Take into thy hands, O man, the press-stones that work together : the gods that are to be revered have come to thy sacrifice ! Whatever three wishes thou dost choose, I shall here procure for thee unto fulfilment.

11. This, (O winnowing-basket), is thy purpose, and this thy nature : may Aditi, mother of heroes, take hold of thee ! Winnow out those who are hostile to this (woman) ; afford her wealth and undiminished heroes !

12. Do ye, (O grains), remain in the (winnowing-) basket, while (the wind) blows over you ; be separated, ye who are fit for the sacrifice, from the chaff ! May we in happiness be superior to all our equals ! I bend down under our feet those that hate us.

13. Retire, O woman, and return promptly ! The stable of the waters (water-vessel) has settled upon thee, that thou mayest carry it : of these (the waters) thou shalt take such as are fit for sacrifice ; having intelligently divided them off, thou shalt leave the rest behind !

14. These bright women, (the waters), have come hither. Arise, thou woman, and gather strength ! To thee, that art rendered by thy husband a true wife, (and) by thy children rich in offspring, the sacrifice has come : receive the (water-) vessel !

15. The share of food that belongs to you of yore has been set aside for you. Instructed by the *Rishis* bring thou (woman) hither this water ! May this

sacrifice win advancement for you, win protection, win offspring for you ; may it be mighty, win cattle, and heroes for you !

16. O Agni, the sacrificial pot has settled upon thee: do thou shining, brightly glowing, heat it with thy glow ! May the divine descendants of the *Rishis*, assembled about their share (of the porridge), full of fervour, heat this (pot) at the proper time !

17. Pure and clear may these sacrificial women, the waters bright, flow into the pot ! They have given us abundant offspring and cattle. May he that cooks the porridge go to the world of the pious (heaven) !

18. Purified by (our) prayer, and clarified by the ghee are the soma-shoots, (and) these sacrificial grains. Enter the water ; may the pot receive you ! When ye have cooked this (porridge) go ye to the world of the pious (heaven) !

19. Spread out far unto great extent, with a thousand surfaces, in the world of the pious ! Grand-fathers, fathers, children, grandchildren—I am the fifteenth one that did cook thee.

20. The porridge has a thousand surfaces, a hundred streams, and is indestructible ; it is the road of the gods, leads to heaven. Yonder (enemies) do I place upon thee : injure them and their offspring ; (but) to me that brings gifts thou shalt be merciful !

21. Step upon the altar (vedi) ; make this woman thrive in her progeny ; repel the demons ; advance her ! May we in happiness be superior to all our equals ! I bend down under our feet all those that hate us.

22. Turn towards her with cattle, (thou pot), face towards her, together with the divine powers !

Neither curses nor hostile magic shall reach thee ;  
rule in thy dwelling free from disease !

23. Properly built, placed with care, this altar (vedi) has been arranged of yore for the Brahman porridge. Put it, O woman, upon the purified *amsadhrt* ; place there the porridge for the divine (Brâhmanas) !

24. May this sacrificial ladle (*sruṣṭi*), the second hand of Aditi, which the seven *Rishis*, the creators of the beings, did fashion, may this spoon, knowing the limbs of the porridge, heap it upon the altar !

25. The divine (Brâhmanas) shall sit down to thee, the cooked sacrifice : do thou again descending from the fire, approach them ! Clarified by soma settle in the belly of the Brâhmanas ; the descendants of the *Rishis* who eat thee shall not take harm !

26. O king Soma, infuse harmony into the good Brâhmanas who shall sit about thee ! Eagerly do I invite to the porridge the *Rishis*, descended from *Rishis*, that are born of religious fervour, and gladly obey the call.

27. These pure and clear sacrificial women (the waters) I put into the hands of the Brâhmanas severally. With whatever wish I pour this upon you, may Indra accompanied by the Maruts grant this to me !

28. This gold is my immortal light, this ripe fruit of the field is my wish-granting cow. This treasure I present to the Brâhmanas : I prepare for myself a road that leads to the Fathers in the heavens.

29. Scatter the spelt into Agni Gâtavedas (the fire), sweep away to a far distance the chaff ! This (chaff) we have heard, is the share of the ruler of the house (Agni), and we know, too, what belongs to Nirṛiti (destruction) as her share.

30. Note, (O porridge), him that takes pains, and cooks and presses the soma; lift him up to the heavenly road, upon which, after he has reached the fullest age, he shall ascend to the highest firmament, the supreme heavens!

31. Anoint (with ghee), O *adhvaryu* (priest), the surface of this sustaining (porridge), make skilfully a place for the melted butter; with ghee do thou anoint all its limbs! I prepare for myself a road that leads to the Fathers in the heavens.

32. O sustaining (porridge), cast destruction and strife among such as are sitting about thee, and are not *Brâhmaṇas*! (But) the descendants of the *Rishis*, that eat thee, being full of substance, spreading forth, shall not take harm!

33. To the descendants of the *Rishis* I make thee over, O porridge; those who are not descended from *Rishis* have no share in it! May *Agni* as my guardian, may all the *Maruts*, and all the gods watch over the cooked food!

34. Thee (the porridge) that milkest the sacrifice, art evermore abundant, the male milch-cow, the seat of wealth, we beseech for immortality of offspring and long life with abundance of wealth.

35. Thou art a lusty male, penetratest heaven: go thou to the *Rishis*, descended from *Rishis*! Dwell in the world of the pious: there is a well-prepared (place) for us two!

36. Pack thyself up, go forth! O *Agni*, prepare the roads, that lead to the gods! By these well-prepared (roads) may we reach the sacrifice, standing upon the firmament (that shines) with seven rays!

37. With the light with which the gods, having cooked the porridge for the *Brâhmaṇas*, ascended

to heaven, to the world of the pious, with that would we go to the world of the pious, ascending to the light, to the highest firmament!

XII, 3. The preparation of the brahmaudana, the porridge given as a fee to the Brahmans.

1. (Thyself) a male, step thou upon the hide of the male (steer): go, call thither all that is dear to thee! At whatever age ye two formerly did first unite (in marriage), may that age be your common lot in Yama's kingdom!

2. Your sight shall be as clear (as formerly), your strength as abundant, your lustre as great, your vitality as manifold! When Agni, the (funeral-) pyre, fastens himself upon the corpse, then as a pair ye shall rise from the (cooked) porridge!

3. Come ye together in this world, upon the road to the gods, and in Yama's realms! By purifications purified call ye together the offspring that has sprung from you!

4. Around the water united, sit ye down, O children; around this living (father) and the waters that refresh the living! Partake of these (waters), and of that porridge which the mother of you two cooks, and which is called *amṛita* (ambrosia)!

5. The porridge which the father of you two, and which the mother cooks, unto freedom from defilement and foulness of speech, that porridge with a hundred streams (of ghee), leading to heaven, has penetrated with might both the hemispheres of the world.

6. In that one of the two hemispheres and the two heavenly worlds, conquered by the pious, which especially abounds in light, and is rich in honey, in

that do ye in the fulness of time come together with your children !

7. Keep ever on in an easterly direction : this is the region that the faithful cling to ! When your cooked porridge has been prepared on the fire, hold together, O man and wife, that ye may guard it !

8. When ye shall have reached the southerly direction, turn ye to this vessel ! In that Yama, associated with the fathers, shall give abundant protection to your cooked porridge !

9. This westerly direction is especially favoured : in it Soma is ruler and consoler. To this hold, attach yourselves to the pious : then as a pair ye shall rise from the cooked porridge !

10. The northerly direction shall make our realm the very uppermost, in offspring uppermost ! The purusha is the metre pañkti : with all (our kin), endowed with all their limbs, may we be united !

11. This 'firm' direction (nadir) is Virâg (brilliance) : reverence be to her ; may she be kind to my children and to me ! Mayest thou, O goddess Aditi, who holdest all treasures, as an alert guardian guard the cooked porridge !

12. As a father his children do thou, (O earth), embrace us ; may gentle winds blow upon us here on earth ! Then the porridge which the two divinities (the sacrificer and his wife) are here preparing for us shall take note of our religious fervour and our truth !

13. Whatever the black bird, that has come hither stealthily, has touched of that which has stuck to the rim, or whatever the wet-handed slave-girl does pollute—may ye, O waters, purify (that) mortar and pestle !

14. May this sturdy press-stone, with broad bottom, purified by the purifiers, beat away the Rakshas ! Settle upon the skin, afford firm protection ; may man and wife not come to grief in their children !

15. The (pestle of) wood has come to us together with the gods : it drives away the Rakshas and Pisākas. Up it shall rise, shall let its voice resound : through it let us conquer all the worlds !

16. The cattle clothed itself in sevenfold strength, those among them that are sleek and those that are poor. The thirty-three gods attend them : mayest thou, (O cattle), guide us to the heavenly world !

17. To the bright world of heaven thou shalt lead us ; (there) let us be united with wife and children ! I take her hand, may she follow me there ; neither Nirṛiti (destruction), nor Arāti (grudge), shall gain mastery over us !

18. May we get past the evil Grāhi (seizure) ! Casting aside darkness do thou, (O pestle), let thy lovely voice resound ; do not, O wooden tool, when raised, do injury ; do not mutilate the grain devoted to the gods !

19. All-embracing, about to be covered with ghee, enter, (O pot), as a co-dweller this space !—Take hold of the winnowing-basket, that has been grown by the rain : the spelt and the chaff it shall sift out !

20. Three regions are constructed after the pattern of the Brāhmaṇa : yonder heaven, the earth, and the atmosphere.—Take the (soma-) shoots, and hold one another, (O man and wife) ! They (the shoots) shall swell (with moisture), and again go back into the winnowing-basket !

21. Of manifold variegated colours are the



animals, one colour hast thou, (O porridge), when successfully prepared.—Push these (soma-) shoots upon this red skin; the press-stone shall purify them as the washer-man his clothes!

22. Thee, the (pot of) earth, I place upon the earth: your substance is the same, though thine, (O pot), is modified. Even though a blow has cracked or scratched thee, do not therefore burst: with this verse do I cover that up!

23. Gently as a mother embrace the son: I unite thee, (pot of) earth, with the earth! Mayest thou, the hollow pot, not totter upon the altar, when thou art pressed by the tools of sacrifice and the ghee!

24. May Agni who cooks thee protect thee on the east, Indra with the Maruts protect thee on the south! May Varuṇa on the west support thee upon thy foundation, may Soma on the north hold thee together!

25. Purified by the purifiers, the (waters) flow pure from the clouds, they reach to the spaces of heaven, and of the earth. They are alive, refresh the living, and are firmly rooted: may Agni heat them, after they have been poured into the vessel!

26. From heaven they come, into the earth they penetrate; from the earth they penetrate into the atmosphere. May they, now pure, yet purify themselves further; may they conduct us to the heavenly world!

27. Whether ye are over-abundant or just sufficient, ye are surely clear, pure, and immortal: cook, ye waters, instructed by the husband and wife, obliging and helpful, the porridge!

28. Counted drops penetrate into the earth, commensurate with the breaths of life and the plants. The uncounted golden (drops), that are poured into

(the porridge), have, (themselves) pure, established complete purity.

29. The boiling waters rise and sputter, cast up foam and many bubbles. Unite, ye waters, with this grain, as a woman who beholds her husband in the proper season!

30. Stir up (the grains) as they settle at the bottom: let them mingle their inmost parts with the waters! The water here I have measured with cups; measured was the grain, so as to be according to these regulations.

31. Hand over the sickle, with haste bring promptly (the grass for the barhis); without giving pain let them cut the plants at the joints! They whose kingdom Soma rules, the plants, shall not harbour anger against us!

32. Strew a new barhis for the porridge: pleasing to its heart, and lovely to its sight it shall be! Upon it the gods together with the goddesses shall enter; settle down to this (porridge) in proper order, and eat it!

33. O (instrument of) wood, settle down upon the strewn barhis, in keeping with the divinities and the agnishṭoma rites! Well shaped, as if by a carpenter (Tvashṭar) with his axe, is thy form. Longing for this (porridge) the (gods) shall be seen about the vessel!

34. In sixty autumns the treasurer (of the porridge) shall fetch it, by the cooked grain he shall obtain heaven; the parents and the children shall live upon it. Bring thou this (man) to heaven, into the presence of Agni!

35. (Thyself) a holder, (O pot), hold on to the foundation of the earth: thee, that art immovable

the gods (alone) shall move! Man and wife, alive, with living children, shall remove thee from the hearth of the fire!

36. Thou hast conquered and reached all worlds; as many as are our wishes, thou hast satisfied them. Dip ye in, stirring stick and spoon! Place it (the porridge) upon a single dish!

37. Lay (ghee) upon it, let it spread forth, anoint this dish with ghee! As the lowing cow her young that craves the breast, ye gods shall greet with sounds of satisfaction this (porridge)!

38. With ghee thou hast covered it, hast made this place (for the porridge): may it, peerless, spread afar to heaven! Upon it shall rest the mighty eagle; gods shall offer it to the divinities!

39. Whatever the wife cooks aside from thee, (O husband), or the husband (cooks) unbeknown of thee, O wife, mix that together: to both of you it shall belong; bring it together into a single place!

40. As many of her children as dwell upon the earth, and the sons that have been begotten by him, all those ye shall call up to the dish: on shall come the young knowing their nest!

41. The goodly streams, swelling with honey, mixed with ghee, the seats of ambrosia, all these does he obtain, ascends to heaven. In sixty autumns the treasurer (of the porridge) shall fetch it!

42. The treasurer shall fetch this treasure: all outsiders round about shall not control it! The heaven-directed porridge, that has been presented and deposited by us, in three divisions has reached the three heavens.

43. May Agni burn the ungodly Rakshas; the flesh-devouring Pisāka shall have nothing here to

partake of! We drive him away, hold him afar from us : the Âdityas and Ângiras shall stay near it!

44. To the Âdityas and the Ângiras do I offer this (food of) honey, mixed with ghee. Do ye two, (man and wife), with clean hands, without having injured a Brâhmaṇa, performing pious deeds, go to that heavenly world!

45. I would obtain this highest part of it (the porridge), the place from which the highest lord permeates (the all). Pour butter upon it, anoint it with plentiful ghee: this here is our share, fit for the Ângiras!

46. For the sake of truth and holy strength do we make over 'his porridge as a hoarded treasure to the gods: it shall not be lost to us in gaming or in the assembly; do not let it go to any other person before me!

47. I cook, and I give (to the Brahmans), and so, too, my wife, at my religious rite and practice.—With the birth of a son the world of children has arisen (for you): do ye two hold on to a life that extends beyond (your years)!

48. In that place exists no guilt, and no duplicity, not even if he goes conspiring with his friends. This full dish of ours has here been deposited: the cooked (porridge) shall come back again to him that cooks it!

49. Kind deeds we shall perform for our friends: all that hate us shall go to darkness (hell)!—As (fruitful) cow, and (strong) steer, they (man and wife) shall during every successive period of their lives drive away man-besetting death!

50. The fires (all) know one another, that which lives in plants, and lives in the waters, and all the

(light-) gods that glow upon the heaven. The gold (here) becomes the light of him that cooks (the porridge).

51. This (naked skin) among the hides is born upon man (alone), all other animals are not naked. Clothe yourselves, (ye Brahmans), in sheltering garments : (even) the face of the porridge is a home-spun garment !

52. What falsehood thou shalt speak at play and in the assembly, or the falsehood that thou shalt speak through lust for gain—put on together, (O man and wife), this same garment, deposit upon it every blemish !

53. Produce rain, go to the gods, let smoke arise from (thy) surface ; all-embracing, about to be covered with ghee, enter as a co-dweller this place !

54. In many ways heaven assumes within itself a different form, according to circumstances. It (the heaven) has laid aside its black form, purifying itself to a bright (form) ; the red form do I sacrifice for thee into the fire.

55. Thee here we hand over to the eastern direction, to Agni as sovereign lord, to the black serpent as guardian, to Âditya as bowman : do ye guard it for us, until we arrive ! To the goal here he shall lead us, to old age ; old age shall hand us over to death : then shall we be united with the cooked (porridge) !

56. Thee here we hand over to the southern direction, to Indra as sovereign lord, to the serpent that is striped across as guardian, to Yama as bowman : do ye guard it for us, until we arrive ! To the goal here, &c.

57. Thee here we hand over to the western direction, to Varuṇa as sovereign lord, to the *prīdāku*-serpent as guardian, to food as bowman : do ye guard it for us, until we arrive. To the goal here, &c.

58. Thee here we hand over to the northern direction, to Soma as sovereign lord, to the *svaga*-serpent as guardian, to the lightning as bowman : do ye guard it for us, until we arrive. To the goal here, &c.

59. Thee here we hand over to the direction of the nadir, to Viṣṇu as sovereign lord, to the serpent with black-spotted neck as guardian, to the plants as bowmen : do ye guard it for us, until we arrive. To the goal here, &c.

60. Thee here we hand over to the direction of the zenith, to *Bṛihaspati* as sovereign lord, to the light-coloured serpent as guardian, to the rain as bowman : do ye guard it for us, until we arrive. To the goal here, &c.

### IX, 3. Removal of a house that has been presented to a priest as sacrificial reward.

1. The fastenings of the buttresses, the supports, and also of the connecting beams of the house, that abounds in treasures, do we loosen.

2. O (house) rich in all treasures ! the fetter which has been bound about thee, and the knot which has been fastened upon thee, that with my charm do I undo, as *Bṛihaspati* (undid) Vala.

3. (The builder) has drawn thee together, pressed thee together, placed firm knots upon thee. Skillfully, as the priest who butchers (the sacrificial animal), do we with Indra's aid disjoint thy limbs.

4. From thy beams, thy bolts, thy frame, and thy thatch; from thy sides, (O house) abounding in treasures, do we loosen the fastenings.

5. The fastenings of the dove-tailed (joints), of the reed (-covering), of the frame-work, do we loosen here from the 'mistress of dwelling.'

6. The ropes which they have tied within thee for comfort, these do we loosen from thee; be thou propitious to our persons, O mistress of dwelling, after thou hast (again) been erected!

7. A receptacle for Soma, a house for Agni, a seat for the mistresses (of the house), a seat (for the priests), a seat for the gods art thou, O goddess house!

8. Thy covering of wicker-work, with thousand eyes, stretched out upon thy crown, fastened down and laid on, do we loosen with (this) charm.

9. He who receives thee as a gift, O house, and he by whom thou hast been built, both these, O mistress of dwelling, shall live attaining old age!

10. Return to him in the other world, firmly bound, ornamented, (thou house), which we loosen limb by limb, and joint by joint!

11. He who built thee, O house, brought together (thy) timbers, he, a Pragâpati on high, did construct thee, O house, for his progeny (pragâyai).

12. We render obeisance to him (the builder); obeisance to the giver, the lord of the house; obeisance to Agni who serves (the sacrifice); and obeisance to thy (attendant) man!

13. Reverence to the cattle and the horses, and to that which is born in the house! Thou that hast produced, art rich in offspring, thy fetters do we loosen.

14. Thou dost shelter Agni within, (and) the

domestics together with the cattle. Thou that hast produced, art rich in offspring, thy fetters do we loosen.

15. The expanse which is between heaven and earth, with that do I receive as a gift this house of thine; the middle region which is stretched out from the sky, that do I make into a receptacle for treasures; with that do I receive the house for this one.

16. Full of nurture, full of milk, fixed upon the earth, erected, holding food for all, O house, do thou not injure them that receive thee as a gift!

17. Enveloped in grass, clothed in reeds, like night does the house lodge the cattle; erected thou dost stand upon the earth, like a she-elephant, firm of foot.

18. The part of thee that was covered with mats unfolding do I loosen. Thee that hast been enfolded by Varuna may Mitra uncover in the morning!

19. The house built with pious word, built by seers, erected—may Indra and Agni, the two immortals, protect the house, the seat of Soma!

20. Chest is crowded upon chest, basket upon basket; there mortal man is begotten from whom all things spring.

21. In the house which is built with two facades, four facades, six facades; in the house with eight facades, with ten facades, in the 'mistress of dwelling,' Agni rests as if in the womb.

22. Turning towards thee that art turned towards me, O house, I come to thee that injurest me not. For Agni and the waters, the first door to divine order, are within.



23. These waters, free from disease, destructive of disease, do I bring here. The chambers do I enter in upon in company with the immortal Agni (fire).

24. Do thou not fasten a fetter upon us; though a heavy load, become thou light! As a bride do we carry thee, O house, wherever we please.

25. From the easterly direction of the house reverence (be) to greatness, hail to the gods who are to be addressed with hail!

26. From the southerly direction of the house, &c.!

27. From the westerly direction of the house, &c.!

28. From the northerly direction of the house, &c.!

29. From the firm direction (nadir) of the house, &c.!

30. From the upright direction (zenith) of the house, &c.!

31. From every direction of the house reverence (be) to greatness, hail to the gods who are to be addressed with hail!

## VI, 71. Brahmanical prayer at the receipt of gifts.

1. The varied food which I consume in many places, my gold, my horses, and, too, my cows, goats, and sheep: everything whatsoever that I have received as a gift—may Agni, the priest, render that an auspicious offering!

2. The gift that has come to me by sacrifice, or without sacrifice, bestowed by the Fathers, granted by men, through which my heart, as it were, lights up with joy—may Agni, the priest, render that an auspicious offering!

3. The food that I, O gods, improperly consume,

(the food) I promise, intending to give of it (to the Brahmans), or not to give of it, by the might of mighty Vaisvânara (Agni) may (that) food be for me auspicious and full of honey!

XX, 127. A kuntâpa-hymn.

A.

1. Listen, ye folks, to this : (a song) in praise of a hero shall be sung ! Six thousand and ninety (cows) did we get (when we were) with Kaurama among the Rusamas,—

2. Whose twice ten buffaloes move right along, together with their cows ; the height of his chariot just misses the heaven which recedes from its touch.

3. This one (Kaurama) presented the seer with a hundred jewels, ten chaplets, three hundred steeds, and ten thousand cattle.

B.

4. Disport thyself, O chanter, disport thyself as a bird upon a flowering tree ; thy tongue glides quickly over the lips as a razor over the strop.

5. The chanters with their pious song hurry on blithely as cows ; at home are their children, and at home the cows do they attend.

6. Bring hither, O chanter, thy poem, that which earns cattle and earns good things ! Among the gods (kings) place thy voice as a manly archer his arrow !

C.

7. Listen ye to the high praise of the king who rules over all peoples, the god who is above mortals, of Vaisvânara Parikshit !

8. 'Parikshit has procured for us a secure dwelling, when he, the most excellent one, went to his seat.' (Thus) the husband in Kuru-land, when he founds his household, converses with his wife.

9. 'What may I bring to thee, curds, stirred drink, or liquor?' (Thus) the wife asks her husband in the kingdom of king Parikshit.

10. Like light the ripe barley runs over beyond the mouth (of the vessels). The people thrive merrily in the kingdom of king Parikshit.

D.

11. Indra has awakened the poet, saying: 'Arise, move about, and sing; of me, the strong, verily, sing the praises; full every pious one shall offer thee (sacrificial reward)!'.

12. Here, O cattle, ye shall be born, here, ye horses, here, ye domestics! And Pûshan also, who bestows a thousand (cows) as sacrificial reward, settles down here.

13. May these cattle, O Indra, not suffer harm, and may their owner not suffer harm; may the hostile folk, O Indra, may the thief not gain possession of them!

14. We shout to the hero with hymn and song, we (shout) with a pleasing song. Take delight in our songs; may we not ever suffer harm!

## X.

### COSMOGONIC AND THEOSOPHIC HYMNS.

#### XII, 1. Hymn to goddess Earth.

1. Truth, greatness, universal order (*rita*), strength, consecration, creative fervour (*tapas*), spiritual exaltation (*brahma*), the sacrifice, support the earth. May this earth, the mistress of that which was and shall be, prepare for us a broad domain!

2. The earth that has heights, and slopes, and great plains, that supports the plants of manifold virtue, free from the pressure that comes from the midst of men, she shall spread out for us, and fit herself for us!

3. The earth upon which the sea, and the rivers and the waters, upon which food and the tribes of men have arisen, upon which this breathing, moving life exists, shall afford us precedence in drinking!

4. The earth whose are the four regions of space, upon which food and the tribes of men have arisen, which supports the manifold breathing, moving things, shall afford us cattle and other possessions also!

5. The earth upon which of old the first men unfolded themselves, upon which the gods overcame the Asuras, shall procure for us (all) kinds of cattle, horses, and fowls, good fortune, and glory!

6. The earth that supports all, furnishes wealth,

the foundation, the golden-breasted resting-place of all living creatures, she that supports Agni Vaisvânara (the fire), and mates with Indra, the bull, shall furnish us with property!

7. The broad earth, which the sleepless gods ever attentively guard, shall milk for us precious honey, and, moreover, besprinkle us with glory!

8. That earth which formerly was water upon the ocean (of space), which the wise (seers) found out by their skilful devices; whose heart is in the highest heaven, immortal, surrounded by truth, shall bestow upon us brilliancy and strength, (and place us) in supreme sovereignty!

9. That earth upon which the attendant waters jointly flow by day and night unceasingly, shall pour out milk for us in rich streams, and, moreover, besprinkle us with glory!

10. The earth which the Asvins have measured, upon which Vishnu has stepped out, which Indra, the lord of might, has made friendly to himself; she, the mother, shall pour forth milk for me, the son!

11. Thy snowy mountain heights, and thy forests, O earth, shall be kind to us! The brown, the black, the red, the multi-coloured, the firm earth, that is protected by Indra, I have settled upon, not suppressed, not slain, not wounded.

12. Into thy middle set us, O earth, and into thy navel, into the nourishing strength that has grown up from thy body; purify thyself for us! The earth is the mother, and I the son of the earth; Parganya is the father; he, too, shall save us!

13. The earth upon which they (the priests) inclose the altar (vedi), upon which they, devoted to all (holy) works, unfold the sacrifice, upon which

are set up, in front of the sacrifice, the sacrificial posts, erect and brilliant, that earth shall prosper us, herself prospering!

14. Him that hates us, O earth, him that battles against us, him that is hostile towards us with his mind and his weapons, do thou subject to us, anticipating (our wish) by deed!

15. The mortals born of thee live on thee, thou supportest both bipeds and quadrupeds. Thine, O earth, are these five races of men, the mortals, upon whom the rising sun sheds undying light with his rays.

16. These creatures all together shall yield milk for us; do thou, O earth, give us the honey of speech!

17. Upon the firm, broad earth, the all-begetting mother of the plants, that is supported by (divine) law, upon her, propitious and kind, may we ever pass our lives!

18. A great gathering-place thou, great (earth), hast become; great haste, commotion, and agitation are upon thee. Great Indra protects thee unceasingly. Do thou, O earth, cause us to brighten as if at the sight of gold: not any one shall hate us!

19. Agni (fire) is in the earth, in the plants, the waters hold Agni, Agni is in the stones; Agni is within men, Agnis (fires) are within cattle, within horses.

20. Agni glows from the sky, to Agni, the god, belongs the broad air. The mortals kindle Agni, the bearer of oblations, that loveth ghee.

21. The earth, clothed in Agni, with dark knees, shall make me brilliant and alert!

22. Upon the earth men give to the gods the sacrifice, the prepared oblation; upon the earth

mortal men live pleasantly by food. May this earth give us breath and life, may she cause me to reach old age!

23. The fragrance, O earth, that has arisen upon thee, which the plants and the waters hold, which the Gandharvas and the Apsaras have partaken of, with that make me fragrant: not any one shall hate us!

24. That fragrance of thine which has entered into the lotus, that fragrance, O earth, which the immortals of yore gathered up at the marriage of Sûryâ, with that make me fragrant: not any one shall hate us!

25. That fragrance of thine which is in men, the loveliness and charm that is in male and female, that which is in steeds and heroes, that which is in the wild animals with trunks (elephants), the lustre that is in the maiden, O earth, with that do thou blend us: not any one shall hate us!

26. Rock, stone, dust is this earth; this earth is supported, held together. To this golden-breasted earth I have rendered obeisance.

27. The earth, upon whom the forest-sprung trees ever stand firm, the all-nourishing, compact earth, do we invoke.

28. Rising or sitting, standing or walking, may we not stumble with our right or left foot upon the earth!

29. To the pure earth I speak, to the ground, the soil that has grown through the brahma (spiritual exaltation). Upon thee, that holdest nourishment, prosperity, food, and ghee, we would settle down, O earth!

30. Purified the waters shall flow for our bodies;

what flows off from us that do we deposit upon him we dislike: with a purifier, O earth, do I purify myself!

31. Thy easterly regions, and thy northern, thy southerly (regions), O earth, and thy western, shall be kind to me as I walk (upon thee)! May I that have been placed into the world not fall down!

32. Do not drive us from the west, nor from the east; not from the north, and not from the south! Security be thou for us, O earth: waylayers shall not find us, hold far away (their) murderous weapon!

33. As long as I look out upon thee, O earth, with Sûrya (the sun) as my companion, so long shall my sight not fail, as year followeth upon year!

34. When, as I lie, I turn upon my right or left side, O earth; when stretched out we lie with our ribs upon thee pressing against (us), do not, O earth, that liest close to everything, there injure us!

35. What, O earth, I dig out of thee, quickly shall that grow again: may I not, O pure one, pierce thy vital spot, (and) not thy heart!

36. Thy summer, O earth, thy rainy season, thy autumn, winter, early spring, and spring; thy decreed yearly seasons, thy days and nights shall yield us milk!

37. The pure earth that starts in fright away from the serpent, upon whom were the fires that are within the waters, she that delivers (to destruction) the blasphemous Dasyus, she that takes the side of Indra, not of Vṛitra, (that earth) adheres to Sakra (mighty Indra), the lusty bull.

38. Upon whom rests the sacrificial hut (sadas) and the (two) vehicles that hold the soma (havidhâne), in whom the sacrificial post is fixed, upon



whom the Brâhmanas praise (the gods) with *ṛiks* and *sâmans*, knowing (also) the *yagur*-formulas; upon whom the serving-priests (*ṛitvig*) are employed so that Indra shall drink the soma ;—

39. Upon whom the seers of yore, that created the beings, brought forth with their songs the cows, they the seven active (priests), by means of the satra-offerings, the sacrifices, and (their) creative fervour (*tapas*) ;—

40. May this earth point out to us the wealth that we crave ; may Bhaga (fortune) add his help, may Indra come here as (our) champion !

41. The earth upon whom the noisy mortals sing and dance, upon whom they fight, upon whom resounds the roaring drum, shall drive forth our enemies, shall make us free from rivals !

42. To the earth upon whom are food, and rice and barley, upon whom live these five races of men, to the earth, the wife of Parganya, that is fattened by rain, be reverence !

43. The earth upon whose ground the citadels constructed by the gods unfold themselves, every region of her that is the womb of all, Pragâpati shall make pleasant for us !

44. The earth that holds treasures manifold in secret places, wealth, jewels, and gold shall she give to me ; she that bestows wealth liberally, the kindly goddess, wealth shall she bestow upon us !

45. The earth that holds people of manifold varied speech, of different customs, according to their habitations, as a reliable milch-cow that does not kick, shall she milk for me a thousand streams of wealth !

46. The serpent, the scorpion with thirsty fangs,

that hibernating torpidly lies upon thee; the worm, and whatever living thing, O earth, moves in the rainy season, shall, when it creeps, not creep upon us: with what is auspicious (on thee) be gracious to us!

47. Thy many paths upon which people go, thy tracks for chariots and wagons to advance, upon which both good and evil men proceed, this road, free from enemies, and free from thieves, may we gain: with what is auspicious (on thee) be gracious to us!

48. The earth holds the fool and holds the wise, endures that good and bad dwell (upon her); she keeps company with the boar, gives herself up to the wild hog.

49. Thy forest animals, the wild animals homed in the woods, the man-eating lions, and tigers that roam; the ula, the wolf, mishap, injury (*rīkshikā*), and demons (*rakshas*), O earth, drive away from us!

50. The Gandharvas, the Apsaras, the Arāyas and Kimldins; the Pisākas and all demons (*rakshas*), these, O earth, hold from us!

51. The earth upon whom the biped birds fly together, the flamingoes, eagles, birds of prey, and fowls; upon whom Mātarisvan, the wind, hastens, raising the dust, and tossing the trees—as the wind blows forth and back the flame bursts after;—

52. The earth upon whom day and night jointly, black and bright, have been decreed, the broad earth covered and enveloped with rain, shall kindly place us into every pleasant abode!

53. Heaven, and earth, and air have here given me expanse; Agni, Sūrya, the waters, and all the gods together have given me wisdom.

54. Mighty am I, 'Superior' (uttara) by name, upon the earth, conquering am I, all-conquering, completely conquering every region.

55. At that time, O goddess, when, spreading (prathamânâ) forth, named (pr̥ithivī 'broad') by the gods, thou didst extend to greatness, then prosperity did enter thee, (and) thou didst fashion the four regions.

56. In the villages and in the wilderness, in the assembly-halls that are upon the earth; in the gatherings, and in the meetings, may we hold forth agreeably to thee!

57. As dust a steed did she, as soon as she was born, scatter these people, that dwelt upon the earth, she the lovely one, the leader, the guardian of the world, that holds the trees and plants.

58. The words I speak, honied do I speak them: the things I see they furnish me with. Brilliant I am and alert: the others that rush (against me) do I beat down.

59. Gentle, fragrant, kindly, with the sweet drink (kīlāla) in her udder, rich in milk, the broad earth together with (her) milk shall give us courage!

60. She whom Visvakarman (the creator of all) did search out by means of oblations, when she had entered the surging (flood of the) atmosphere, she, the vessel destined to nourish, deposited in a secret place, became visible (to the gods) and the (heavenly) mothers.

61. Thou art the scatterer of men, the broadly expanding Aditi that yields milk according to wish. What is wanting in thee, Pragāpati, first-born of the divine order (r̥ita), shall supply for thee!

62. Thy laps, O earth, free from ailment, free

from disease, shall be produced for us! May we attentively, through our long lives, be bearers of bali-offerings to thee!

63. O mother earth, kindly set me down upon a well-founded place! With (father) heaven co-operating, O thou wise one, do thou place me into happiness and prosperity!

XIII, 1. Prayer for sovereign power addressed to the god Rohita and his female Rohint.

1. Rise up, O steed, that art within the waters, enter this kingdom, rich in liberal gifts! Rohita (the red sun) who has begotten this all, shall keep thee well-supported for sovereignty!

2. The steed that is within the waters has risen up: ascend upon the clans that are sprung from thee! Furnishing soma, the waters, plants, and cows, cause thou four-footed and two-footed creatures to enter here!

3. Do ye, strong Maruts, children of *Prisni* (the cloud), allied with Indra, crush the enemies! Rohita shall hear you, that give abundant gifts, the thrice seven Maruts, who take delight in sweet (nourishment)!

4. Rohita has climbed the heights, he has ascended them, he, the embryo of women, (has ascended) the womb of births. Closely united with these women they found out the six broad (directions); spying out a road he has brought hither sovereignty.

5. Hither to thee Rohita has brought sovereignty; he has dispersed the enemies: freedom from danger has resulted for thee. To thee heaven and earth

together with the revatî and sakvarî-stanzas shall yield gifts at will!

6. Rohita produced heaven and earth; there Parameshthin (the lord on high) extended the thread (of the sacrifice). There Aḡa Ekapâda (the one-footed goat, the sun) did fix himself; he made firm the heavens and earth with his strength.

7. Rohita made firm heaven and earth, by him the (heavenly) light was established, by him the firmament. By him the atmosphere and the spaces were measured out, through him the gods obtained immortality.

8. Rohita did ponder the multiform (universe) while preparing (his) climbings and advances. Having ascended the heaven with great might, he shall anoint thy royalty with milk and ghee!

9. All thy climbings, advances, and all thy ascents with which thou, (Rohita, the sun), fillest the heavens and the atmosphere, having strengthened thyself with their brahma and payas (spiritual and physical essence) do thou keep awake (do thou watch over) among the people in the kingdom of the (earthly) Rohita (the king)!

10. The peoples that have originated from thy tapas (heat, or creative fervour), have followed here the calf, the gâyatrl. They shall enter thee with kindly spirit; the calf Rohita with its mother shall come on!

11. High on the firmament Rohita has stood, a youth, a sage, begetting all forms. As Agni he shines with piercing light, in the third space he did assume lovely (forms).

12. A bull with a thousand horns, Gâtavedas (fire), endowed with sacrifices of ghee, carrying

soma upon his back, rich in heroes, he shall, when implored, not abandon me, nor may I abandon thee: abundance in cattle and abundance in heroes procure for me!

13. Rohita is the generator of the sacrifice, and its mouth; to Rohita I offer oblations with voice, ear, and mind. To Rohita the gods resort with glad mind: he shall cause me to rise through elevation derived from the assembly!

14. Rohita arranged a sacrifice for Visvakarman; from it these brilliant qualities have come to me. Let me announce thy origin over the extent of the world!

15. Upon thee have ascended the *br̥hatī* and the *pañkti* (metres), upon thee the *kakubh* with splendour, O *Gâtavedas*. Upon thee the *vashat*-call, whose syllables make an *ushñihâ*, has ascended, upon thee Rohita with his seed has ascended.

16. This one clothes himself in the womb of the earth, this one clothes himself in heaven, and in the atmosphere. This one at the station of the brown (sun) did attain unto the worlds of light.

17. O *Vâkaspati* (lord of speech), the earth shall be pleasant to us, pleasant our dwelling, agreeable our couches! Right here life's breath shall be to our friend; thee, O *Parameshṭin*, Agni shall envelop in life and lustre!

18. O *Vâkaspati*, the five seasons that we have, which have come about as the creation of *Visvakarman*, right here (they and) life's breath shall be to our friend; thee, O *Parameshṭin*, Rohita shall envelop in life and lustre!

19. O *Vâkaspati*, good cheer and spirit, cattle in our stable, children in our wombs beget thou! Right

here life's breath shall be to our friend; thee, O Parameshthin, I envelop in life and lustre.

20. God Savitar and Agni shall envelop thee, Mitra and Varuna surround thee with lustre! Treading down all powers of grudge come thou hither: thou hast made this kingdom rich in liberal gifts.

21. Thou, O Rohita, whom the brindled cow, harnessed at the side, carries, goest with brilliance, causing the waters to flow.

22. Devoted to Rohita is Rohini his mistress, with beautiful colour (complexion), great, and lustrous: through her may we conquer booty of every description, through her win every battle!

23. This seat, Rohini, belongs to Rohita; yonder is the path on which the brindled (female) goes! Her the Gandharvas and the Kasyapas lead forth, her the sages guard with diligence.

24. The radiant bay steeds of the sun, the immortal, ever draw the delightful chariot. Rohita, the drinker of ghee, the shining god, did enter the variegated heavens.

25. Rohita, the sharp-horned bull, who surpasses Agni and surpasses Sûrya, who props up the earth and the sky, out of him the gods frame the creations.

26. Rohita ascended the heaven from the great flood; Rohita has climbed all heights.

27. Create (the cow) that is rich in milk, drips with ghee: she is the milch-cow of the gods that does not refuse! Indra shall drink the Soma, there shall be secure possession; Agni shall sing praises: the enemies do thou drive out!

28. Agni kindled, spreads his flames, fortified by ghee, sprinkled with ghee. Victorious, all-conquering Agni shall slay them that are my rivals!

29. He shall slay them, shall burn the enemy that battles against us! With the flesh-devouring Agni do we burn our rivals.

30. Smite them down, O Indra, with the thunder-bolt, with thy (strong) arm! Then have I overpowered my rivals with Agni's brilliant strengths.

31. O Agni, subject our rivals to us; confuse, O Br̥haspati, the kinsman that is puffed up! O Indra and Agni, O Mitra and Varuṇa, subjected they shall be, unable to vent their wrath against us!

32. Do thou, god Sūrya (the sun), when thou risest, beat down my rivals, beat them down with a stone: they shall go to the nethermost darkness!

33. The calf of Virâg, the bull of prayers, carrying the bright (soma) upon his back, has ascended the atmosphere. A song accompanied by ghee they sing to the calf; himself brahma (spiritual exaltation) they swell him with their brahma (prayer).

34. Ascend the heavens, ascend the earth; sovereignty ascend thou, and possessions ascend thou! Offspring ascend thou, and immortality ascend thou, unite thy body with Rohita!

35. The gods that hold sovereignty, who go about the sun, with these allied, Rohita, kindly disposed, shall bestow sovereignty upon thee!

36. The sacrifices purified by prayer lead thee forth; the bay steeds that travel upon the road carry thee: thou shinest across the swelling ocean.

37. In Rohita who conquers wealth, conquers cattle, and conquers booty, heaven and earth are fixed. Of thee that hast a thousand and seven births, let me announce the origin over the extent of the world!

38. Glorious thou goest to the intermediate direc-



tions and the directions (of space), glorious (in the sight) of animals and the tribes of men, glorious in the lap of the earth, of Aditi : may I like Savitar be lovely !

39. Being yonder thou knowest (what takes place) here ; being here thou beholdest these things. Here (men) behold the inspired sun that shines upon the sky.

40. A god thou praisest the gods, thou movest within the flood. They kindle (him), a universal fire ; him the highest sages know.

41. Below the superior (region), above the inferior (region) here, the cow has arisen supporting (her) calf by the foot. Whither is she turned ; to which half (of the universe), forsooth, has she gone away ; where, forsooth, does she beget ? Verily not in this herd !

42. One-footed, two-footed, four-footed is she ; eight-footed, nine-footed became she, the thousand-syllabled (consisting of thousand elements) paṅkti (quinary stanza) of the universe : the oceans from her flow forth upon (the world).

43. Ascending the heaven, immortal, receive kindly my song ! The sacrifices purified by prayer lead thee forth ; the bay steeds that travel upon the road carry thee.

44. That do I know of thee, O immortal, where thy march is upon the sky, where thy habitation is in the highest heaven.

45. Sûrya (the sun) surveys the sky, Sûrya the earth, Sûrya the waters. Sûrya is the single eye of being : he has ascended the great heavens.

46. The broad (directions) where the fagots that fence in (the fire), the earth turned itself into a fire-

altar. There Rohita laid on for himself these two fires, cold and heat.

47. Laying on cold and heat, using the mountains as sacrificial posts, the two fires of Rohita who knows the (heavenly) light, into which (the fires) rain (flowed) as ghee, carried out the sacrifice.

48. The fire of Rohita who knows the (heavenly) light is kindled by prayer. From it heat, from it cold, from it the sacrifice was produced.

49. The two fires swelling through prayer, increased through prayer, sacrificed into with prayer; the two fires of Rohita who knows the (heavenly) light, kindled through prayer, carried out the sacrifice.

50. One is deposited in truth, the other is kindled in the waters. The two fires of Rohita who knows the (heavenly) light, kindled through prayer, carried out the sacrifice.

51. The fire which the wind brightens up, and that which Indra and Brahmanaspati (brighten up), the two fires of Rohita who knows the (heavenly) light, kindled through prayer, carried out the sacrifice.

52. Having fashioned the earth into an altar, having made the heavens (his) sacrificial reward, then having made heat into fire, Rohita created all that has breath through rain (serving) as ghee.

53. Rain fashioned itself into ghee, heat into fire, the earth into an altar. Then Agni by (his) songs fashioned the high mountains.

54. Having fashioned by means of songs the high (mountains), Rohita spake to the earth: In thee all shall be born, what is and what shall be.

55. The sacrifice first, (and then) what is and

what shall be was born. From that this all was born, and whatever here appears, brought hither by the sage Rohita.

56. He who kicks a cow with his foot, and he who micturates towards the sun—of thee do I tear out the root; thou shalt henceforth not cast a shadow!

57. Thou that passest across me, casting thy shadow against me, between me and the fire—of thee do I tear out the root; thou shalt henceforth not cast a shadow!

58. He, O god Sûrya, that to-day passes between thee and me, upon him our evil dream, our foulness, and our misfortunes do we wipe off.

59. May we not miss our way, may we not, O Indra, miss the sacrifice of him that presses the soma; may not the powers of grudge intercept us!

60. The (guiding) thread stretched out among the gods, that accomplishes the sacrifice, that, by pouring oblations, may we attain!

## XI, 5. Glorification of the sun, or the primeval principle, as a Brahman disciple.

1. The Brahmacârin (Brahmanical disciple) moves inciting both hemispheres of the world; in him the gods are harmonised. He holds the heavens and the earth, he fills the teacher with creative fervour (tapas).

2. The fathers, the divine folk, and all the gods severally follow the Brahmacârin; the Gandharvas did go after him, six thousand three hundred and thirty-three. He fills all the gods with creative fervour.

3. When the teacher receives the *Brahmakârin* as a disciple, he places him as a foetus inside (of his body). He carries him for three nights in his belly: when he is born the gods gather about to see him.

4. This earth is (his first) piece of firewood, the heaven the second, and the atmosphere also he fills with (the third) piece of firewood. The *Brahmakârin* fills the worlds with his firewood, his girdle, his asceticism, and his creative fervour.

5. Prior to the *brahma* (spiritual exaltation) the *Brahmakârin* was born; clothed in heat, by creative fervour he arose. From him sprung the *brâhmaṇam* (Brahmanic life) and the highest *brahma*, and all the gods together with immortality (*amṛita*).

6. The *Brahmakârin* advances, kindled by the firewood, clothed in the skin of the black antelope, consecrated, with long beard. Within the day he passes from the eastern to the northern sea; gathering together the worlds he repeatedly shapes them.

7. The *Brahmakârin*, begetting the *brahma*, the waters, the world, *Pragâpati Paramesh/hin* (he that stands in the highest place), and *Virâḡ*, having become an embryo in the womb of immortality, having, forsooth, become *Indra*, pierced the *Asuras*.

8. The teacher fashioned these two hemispheres of the world, the broad and the deep, earth and heaven. These the *Brahmakârin* guards with his creative fervour (*tapas*): in him the gods are harmonised.

9. This broad earth and the heaven the *Brahmakârin* first brought hither as alms. Having made these into two sticks of firewood he reveres them; upon them all beings have been founded.

10. One is on the hither side, the other on the farther side of the back of the heavens; secretly are deposited the two receptacles of the *brāhmaṇam* (Brahmanic life). These the *Brahmakārin* protects by his *tapas* (creative fervour); understandingly he performs that *brahma* (spiritual exaltation) solely.

11. One on the hither side, the other away from the earth, do the two *Agnis* come together between these two hemispheres (of the world). To them adhere the rays firmly; the *Brahmakārin* by his *tapas* (creative fervour) enters into the (rays).

12. Shouting forth, thundering, red, white he carries a great penis along the earth. The *Brahmakārin* sprinkles seed upon the back of the earth; through it the four directions live.

13. Into fire, the sun, the moon, *Mâtariśvan* (wind), and the waters, the *Brahmakārin* places the firewood; the lights from these severally go into the clouds, from them come sacrificial butter, the *puruṣa* (primeval man), rain, and water.

14. Death is the teacher, (and) *Varuṇa*, *Soma*, the plants, milk; the clouds were the warriors: by these this light has been brought hither.

15. *Varuṇa*, having become the teacher, at home prepares the ghee solely. Whatever he desired from *Pragâpati*, that the *Brahmakārin* furnished, as *Mitra* (a friend) from his own *âtman* (spirit, or person).

16. The *Brahmakārin* is the teacher, the *Brahmakārin* *Pragâpati*. *Pragâpati* rules (shines forth, *virâgati*); *Virâg* (heavenly power, or light) became *Indra*, the ruler.

17. Through holy discipleship (*brahmacāryam*), through *tapas* (creative fervour), the king protects

his kingdom. The teacher by (his own) brahma-kāryam (holy life) seeks (finds) the Brahmatārin.

18. Through holy discipleship the maiden obtains a young husband, through holy discipleship the steer, the horse seeks to obtain fodder.

19. Through holy discipleship, through creative fervour, the gods drove away death. Indra, forsooth, by his holy discipleship brought the light to the gods.

20. The plants, that which was and shall be, day and night, the tree, the year along with the seasons, have sprung from the Brahmatārin.

21. The earthly and the heavenly animals, the wild and the domestic, the wingless and the winged (animals), have sprung from the Brahmatārin.

22. All the creatures of Prajāpati (the creator) severally carry breath in their souls. All these the brahma, which has been brought hither in the Brahmatārin, protects.

23. This, that was set into motion by the gods, that is insurmountable, that moves shining, from it has sprung the brāhmaṇam (Brahmanical life), the highest brahma, and all the gods, together with immortality (amṛita).

24, 25. The Brahmatārin carries the shining brahma: into this all the gods are woven. Producing in-breathing and out-breathing, as well as through-breathing; speech, mind, heart, brahma, and wisdom, do thou furnish us with sight, hearing, glory, food, semen, blood, and belly!

26. These things the Brahmatārin fashioned upon the back of the (heavenly) water. He stood in the sea kindled with tapas (creative fervour). He, when he has bathed, shines vigorously upon the earth, brown and ruddy.

XI, 4. *Prâna*, life or breath, personified as the supreme spirit.

1. Reverence to *Prâna*, to whom all this (universe) is subject, who has become the lord of the all, on whom the all is supported !

2. Reverence, O *Prâna*, to thy roaring (wind), reverence, O *Prâna*, to thy thunder, reverence, O *Prâna*, to thy lightning, reverence, O *Prâna*, to thy rain !

3. When *Prâna* calls aloud to the plants with his thunder, they are fecundated, they conceive, and then are produced abundant (plants).

4. When the season has arrived, and *Prâna* calls aloud to the plants, then everything rejoices, whatsoever is upon the earth.

5. When *Prâna* has watered the great earth with rain, then the beasts rejoice ; (they think): 'strength, forsooth, we shall now obtain.'

6. When they had been watered by *Prâna*, the plants spake in concert : 'thou hast, forsooth, prolonged our life, thou hast made us all fragrant.'

7. Reverence be, O *Prâna*, to thee coming, reverence to thee going ; reverence to thee standing, and reverence, too, to thee sitting !

8. Reverence be to thee, O *Prâna*, when thou breathest in (*prânate*), reverence when thou breathest out ! Reverence be to thee when thou art turned away, reverence to thee when thou art turned hither : to thee, entire, reverence be here !

9. Of thy dear form, O *Prâna*, of thy very dear form, of the healing power that is thine, give unto us, that we may live !

10. *Prâna* clothes the creatures, as a father his dear son. *Prâna*, truly, is the lord of all, of all that breathes, and does not breathe.

11. *Prâna* is death, *Prâna* is fever. The gods worship *Prâna*. *Prâna* shall place the truth-speaker in the highest world !

12. *Prâna* is *Virâg* (power, lustre), *Prâna* is *Deshrti* (the divinity that guides): all worship *Prâna*. *Prâna* verily is sun and moon. They call *Prâna* *Pragâpati*.

13. Rice and barley are in-breathing and out-breathing. *Prâna* is called a steer. In-breathing, forsooth, is founded upon barley ; rice is called out-breathing.

14. Man breathes out and breathes in when within the womb. When thou, O *Prâna*, quickenest him, then is he born again.

15. They call *Prâna* *Mâtarisvan* (the wind); *Prâna*, forsooth, is called *Vâta* (the wind). The past and the future, the all, verily is supported upon *Prâna*.

16. The holy (*âtharvana*) plants, the magic (*ângi-rasa*) plants, the divine plants, and those produced by men, spring forth, when thou, O *Prâna*, quickenest them.

17. When *Prâna* has watered the great earth with rain, then the plants spring forth, and also every sort of herb.

18. Whoever, O *Prâna*, knows this regarding thee, and (knows) on what thou art supported, to him all shall offer tribute in yonder highest world.

19. As all these creatures, O *Prâna*, offer thee tribute, so they shall offer tribute (in yonder world) to him who hears thee, O far-famed one !

20. He moves as an embryo within the gods ;



having arrived, and being in existence, he is born again. Having arisen he enters with his might the present and the future, as a father (goes to) his son.

21. When as a swan he rises from the water he does not withdraw his one foot. If in truth he were to withdraw it, there would be neither to-day, nor to-morrow, no night and no day, never would the dawn appear.

22. With eight wheels, and one fellow he moves, containing a thousand sounds (elements), upward in the east, downward in the west. With (his) half he produced the whole world: what is the visible sign of his (other) half?

23. He who rules over this (all) derived from every source, and over everything that moves—reverence be to thee, O Prâna, that wisest a swift bow against others (the enemies)!

24. May Prâna, who rules over this (all) derived from every source, and over everything that moves, (may he) unwearied, strong through the brahma, adhere to me!

25. Erect he watches in those that sleep, nor does he lie down across. No one has heard of his sleeping in those that sleep.

26. O Prâna, be not turned away from me, thou shalt not be other than myself! As the embryo of the waters (fire), thee, O Prâna, do bind to me, that I may live.

#### IX, 2. Prayer to Kâma (love), personified as a primordial power.

1. To the bull that slays the enemy, to Kâma, do I render tribute with ghee, oblation, and (sacrificial)

melted butter. Do thou, since thou hast been extolled, hurl down my enemies by thy great might!

2. The evil dream which is offensive to my mind and eye, which harasses and does not please me, that (dream) do I let loose upon my enemy. Having praised Kâma may I prevail!

3. Evil dreams, O Kâma, and misfortune, O Kâma, childlessness, ill-health, and trouble, do thou, a strong lord, let loose upon him that designs evil against us!

4. Drive them away, O Kâma, thrust them away, O Kâma; may they that are my enemies fall into trouble! When they have been driven into the nethermost darkness, do thou, O Agni, burn up their dwelling-places!

5. That milch-cow, O Kâma, whom the sages call Vâḥ Vīṛāg (ruling, or resplendent speech), is said to be thy daughter; by her drive away my enemies; breath, cattle, and life shall give them a wide birth!

6. With the strength of Kâma, Indra, king Varuṇa, and Vishṇu, with the impelling force (savena) of Savitar, with the priestly power of Agni, do I drive forth the enemies, as a skilled steersman a boat.

7. My sturdy guardian, strong Kâma, shall procure for me full freedom from enmity! May the gods collectively be my refuge, may all the gods respond to this, my invocation!

8. Taking pleasure in this (sacrificial) melted butter, and ghee, do ye, (O gods), of whom Kâma is the highest, be joyful in this place, procuring for me full freedom from enmity!

9. O Indra and Agni, and Kâma, having formed an alliance, do ye hurl down my enemies; when

they have fallen into the nethermost darkness, do thou, O Agni, burn up after them their dwelling-places!

10. Slay thou, O Kâma, those that are my enemies, hurl them down into blind darkness. Devoid of vigour, without sap let them all be; they shall not live a single day!

11. Kâma has slain those that are my enemies, a broad space has he furnished me to thrive in. May the four directions of space bow down to me, and the six broad (regions) carry ghee to me!

12. They (the enemies) shall float down like a boat cut loose from its moorings! There is no returning again for those who have been struck by our missiles.

13. Agni is a defence, Indra a defence, Soma a defence. May the gods, who by their defence ward off (the enemy), ward him off!

14. With his men reduced, driven out, the hated (enemy) shall go, shunned by his own friends! And down upon the earth do the lightnings alight; may the strong god crush your enemies!

15. This mighty lightning supports both moveable and immoveable things, as well as all thunders. May the rising sun by his resources and his majesty hurl down my enemies, he the mighty one!

16. With that triple-armoured powerful covering of thine, O Kâma, with the charm that has been made into an invulnerable armour spread (over thee), with that do thou drive away those who are my enemies; may breath, cattle, and life give them a wide berth!

17. With the weapon with which the god drove forth the Asuras, with which Indra led the Dasyus

to the nethermost darkness, with that do thou, O Kâma, drive forth far away from this world those who are my enemies!

18. As the gods drove forth the Asuras, as Indra forced the demons into the nethermost darkness, thus do thou, O Kâma, drive forth far away from this world those who are my enemies!

19. Kâma was born at first; him neither the gods, nor the Fathers, nor men have equalled. To these art thou superior, and ever great; to thee, O Kâma, do I verily offer reverence.

20. As great as are the heavens and earth in extent, as far as the waters have swept, as far as fire; to these art thou superior, &c.

21. Great as are the directions (of space) and the intermediate direction on either side, great as are the regions and the vistas of the sky; to these art thou superior, &c.

22. As many bees, bats, kurûru-worms, as many vaghas and tree-serpents as there are; to these art thou superior, &c.

23. Superior art thou to all that winks (lives), superior to all that stands still (is not alive), superior to the ocean art thou, O Kâma, Manyu! To these art thou superior, &c.

24. Not, surely, does the wind equal Kâma, not the fire, not the sun, and not the moon. To these art thou superior, &c.

25. With those auspicious and gracious forms of thine, O Kâma, through which what thou wilt becometh real, with these do thou enter into us, and elsewhere send the evil thoughts!

XIX, 53. Prayer to Kâla (time), personified as a primordial power.

1. Time, the steed, runs with seven reins (rays), thousand-eyed, ageless, rich in seed. The seers, thinking holy thoughts, mount him, all the beings (worlds) are his wheels.

2. With seven wheels does this Time ride, seven naves has he, immortality is his axle. He carries hither all these beings (worlds). Time, the first god, now hastens onward.

3. A full jar has been placed upon Time; him, verily, we see existing in many forms. He carries away all these beings (worlds); they call him Time in the highest heaven.

4. He surely did bring hither all the beings (worlds), he surely did encompass all the beings (worlds). Being their father, he became their son; there is, verily, no other force, higher than he.

5. Time begot yonder heaven, Time also (begot) these earths. That which was, and that which shall be, urged forth by Time, spreads out.

6. Time created the earth, in Time the sun burns. In Time are all beings, in Time the eye looks abroad.

7. In Time mind is fixed, in Time breath (is fixed), in Time names (are fixed); when Time has arrived all these creatures rejoice.

8. In Time tapas (creative fervour) is fixed; in Time the highest (being is fixed); in Time brahma (spiritual exaltation) is fixed; Time is the lord of everything, he was the father of Pragâpati.

9. By him this (universe) was urged forth, by him

it was begotten, and upon him this (universe) was founded. Time, truly, having become the brahma (spiritual exaltation), supports Parameshthin (the highest lord).

10. Time created the creatures (pragâh), and Time in the beginning (created) the lord of creatures (Pragâpati); the self-existing Kasyapa and the tapas (creative fervour) from Time were born.

XIX, 54. Prayer to Kâla (time), personified as a primordial power.

1. From Time the waters did arise, from Time the brahma (spiritual exaltation), the tapas (creative fervour), the regions (of space did arise). Through Time the sun rises, in Time he goes down again.

2. Through Time the wind blows, through Time (exists) the great earth; the great sky is fixed in Time. In Time the son (Pragâpati) begot of yore that which was, and that which shall be.

3. From Time the *Rîks* arose, the *Yagus* was born from Time; Time put forth the sacrifice, the imperishable share of the gods.

4. Upon Time the Gandharvas and Apsarases are founded, upon Time the worlds (are founded), in Time this *Aṅgiras* and *Atharvan* rule over the heavens.

5. Having conquered this world and the highest world, and the holy (pure) worlds (and) their holy divisions; having by means of the brahma (spiritual exaltation) conquered all the worlds, Time, the highest God, forsooth, hastens onward.

# XI, 7. Apotheosis of the *ukkhishṭa*, the leavings of the sacrifice.

1. In the *ukkhishṭa* are deposited name (quality) and form, in the *ukkhishṭa* the world is deposited. Within the *ukkhishṭa* Indra and Agni, and the all are deposited.

2. In the *ukkhishṭa* heaven and earth, and all beings, are deposited ; in the *ukkhishṭa* are deposited the waters, the ocean, the moon, and the wind.

3. In the *ukkhishṭa* are both being and non-being, death, strength (food), and Pragâpati. The (creatures) of the world are founded upon the *ukkhishṭa* ; (also) that which is confined and that which is free, and the grace in me.

4. He who fastens what is firm, the strong, the leader, the brahma, the ten creators of the all, the divinities, are fixed on all sides to the *ukkhishṭa* as the (spokes of the) wheel to the nave.

5. *Rîk*, *Sâman*, and *Yagus*, the singing of the *sâmans*, their introductions, and the *stotras* are in the *ukkhishṭa*. The sound 'him' is in the *ukkhishṭa*, and the modulations and the music of the *sâman*. That is in me.

6. The prayer to Indra and Agni (*aindrâgnam*), the call to the soma, as it is being purified (*pâvamânam*), the *mahânâmni*-verses, the singing of the *mahâvrata*, (these) divisions of the service are in the *ukkhishṭa*, as the embryo in the mother.

7. The ceremony of the consecration of the king (*râgasûya*), the *vâgapeya*, the *agnishtoma*, and the cattle-sacrifice belonging to it, the *arka* and the horse-sacrifice, and the most delightful (sacrifice) for which fresh *barhis* is strewn, are in the *ukkhishṭa*.

8. The preparation of the sacred fire (agnyâ-dheyam), the consecration for the soma-sacrifice (dikshâ), the sacrifice by which (special) wishes are fulfilled, together with the metres, the sacrifices that have passed out, and the extended sacrifices (satra), are founded upon the *ukkkishṭa*.

9. The agnihotra, faith, the call vashaṭ, vows and asceticism, sacrificial rewards, what is sacrificed (to the gods) and given (to the priests) are contained in the *ukkkishṭa*.

10. The (soma-sacrifice) that lasts one night (ekarâtra), and that which lasts two nights (dvirâtra), the (condensed soma-sacrifice called) sadyaḥkṛi, and (that which is called) prakṛi, the (songs called) ukthya, are woven and deposited in the *ukkkishṭa*; (also the parts) of the sacrifice subtle through (higher) knowledge.

11. The soma-sacrifice that lasts four nights (katûrâtra), five nights (pañkarâtra), six nights (shadrâtra), and along (with them) those that last double the time; the sixteenfold stotra (shodasin), and the soma-sacrifice that lasts seven nights (saptarâtra), all the sacrifices which were founded upon immortality (amṛita), were begotten of the *ukkkishṭa*.

12. The pratihâra-passages (in the sâman-songs), and their final syllables, the (soma-sacrifices called) visvagit and abhigait, the soma-sacrifice that ends with the day (sâhna), and that which lasts into the next day (atirâtra), are in the *ukkkishṭa*—the soma-sacrifice also that lasts twelve days. That is in me.

13. Liberality, accomplishment, possession, the call svadhâ, nurture, immortality (amṛita), and might,



all inner desires are satisfied according to wish in the *ukkhishṭa*.

14. The nine earths, oceans, heavens, are founded upon the *ukkhishṭa*. The sun shines in the *ukkhishṭa*, and day and night also. That is in me.

15. The (soma-sacrifice called) upahavya, the offering on the middle day of a sacrifice lasting a year (vishûvant), and the sacrifices that are secretly presented, *Ukkhishṭa*, the sustainer of the universe, the father of the generator (Pragâpati), supports.

16. *Ukkhishṭa*, the father of the generator, the grandson of the spirit (asu), the primal ancestor (grandfather), the ruler of the universe, the lusty bull dwells upon the earth.

17. Order (*ṛita*), truth (*satya*), creative fervour (*tapas*), sovereignty, asceticism, law and works; past, future, strength, and prosperity, are in the *ukkhishṭa*—force in force.

18. Success, might, plans, dominion, sovereignty, the six broad (regions), the year, libation (*idâ*), the orders to the priests (*praisha*), the draughts of soma (*graha*), oblations (are founded) upon the *ukkhishṭa*.

19. The (liturgies called) *katurhotârah*, the âpri-hymns, the triennial sacrifices, the (formulas called) *nivid*, the sacrifices, the priestly functions, the cattle-sacrifice and the soma-oblations connected with it, are in the *ukkhishṭa*.

20. The half-months and months, the divisions of the year together with the seasons, the resounding waters, thunder, the great Vedic canon (*ṛuti*) are in the *ukkhishṭa*.

21. Pebbles, sand, stones, herbs, plants, grass, clouds, lightning, rain, are attached to, and are founded upon the *ukkhishṭa*.

22. Success, attainment, accomplishment, control, greatness, prosperity, supreme attainment, and well-being rest upon, rest in, have been deposited in the *ukkkishṭa*.

23. Whatever breathes with breath, and sees with sight, all gods in the heavens, founded upon heaven, were born of the *ukkkishṭa*.

24. The *ṛiks* and the *sāmans*, the metres, the ancient legends (*purāṇam*) together with the *yagus*, all gods in the heavens, founded upon heaven, were born of the *ukkkishṭa*.

25. In-breathing and out-breathing, sight, hearing, imperishableness and perishableness, all gods in the heavens, founded upon heaven, were born of the *ukkkishṭa*.

26. Joys, pleasures, delights, jubilation and merri-ment, all gods in the heavens, founded upon heaven, were born of the *ukkkishṭa*.

27. The gods, the (deceased) Fathers, men, Gandharvas and Apsaras, all gods in the heavens, founded upon heaven, were born of the *ukkkishṭa*.

#### IX, 1. Hymn to the honey-lash of the Asvins.

1. From heaven, from earth, from the atmosphere, from the sea, from the fire, and from the wind, the honey-lash hath verily sprung. This, clothed in *amṛita* (ambrosia), all the creatures revering, acclaim in their hearts.

2. Great sap of all forms (colours) it hath—they call thee moreover the seed of the ocean. Where the honey-lash comes bestowing gifts, there life's breath, and there immortality has settled down.

3. Men severally, contemplating it profoundly, behold its action upon the earth : from the fire and from the wind the honey-lash hath verily sprung, the strong child of the Maruts.

4. Mother of the Âdityas, daughter of the Vasus, breath of life of created beings, nave of immortality, the honey-lash, golden-coloured, dripping ghee, as a great embryo, moves among mortals.

5. The gods begot the lash of honey, from it came an embryo having all forms (colours). This, as soon as born, (while yet) young its mother nourishes; this, as soon as born, surveys all the worlds.

6. Who knows it and who perceives it, the inexhaustible, soma-holding cup that has come from the heart of it (the honey-lash)? 'Tis the wise priest : he shall derive inspiration from it !

7. He knows them, and he perceives them, the inexhaustible breasts of it (the honey-lash), that yield a thousand streams. Nourishment they pour out without recalcitration.

8. The great (cow) that loudly gives forth the sound 'him,' that bestows strength, and goes with loud shouts to the holy act, bellowing with lust for the three (male) gharmanas (fires), she lows, and drips with (streams) of milk.

9. When the waters, the mighty bulls, self-sovereign, wait upon (the cow), swollen with milk, (then) they, the waters, pour nourishment (upon her), and cause her to pour nourishment at will for him that knoweth this.

10. The thunder is thy voice, O Pragâpati ; as a bull thou hurlest thy fire upon the earth. From the fire, and from the wind the honey-lash hath verily sprung, the strong child of the Maruts.

11. As the soma at the morning-pressure is dear to the Asvins, thus in my own person, O Asvins, lustre shall be sustained!

12. As the soma at the second (mid-day) pressure is dear to Indra and Agni, thus in my own person, O Indra and Agni, lustre shall be sustained!

13. As the soma at the third pressure (evening) is dear to the *Rîbhus*, thus in my own person, O *Rîbhus*, lustre shall be sustained!

14. May I beget honey for myself; may I obtain honey for myself! Bringing milk, O Agni, I have come: endow me with lustre!

15. Endow me, O Agni, with lustre, endow me with offspring and with life! May the gods take note of this (prayer) of mine; may Indra together with the *Rîshis* (take note of it)!

16. As bees carry together honey upon honey, thus in my own person, O Asvins, lustre shall be sustained!

17. As the bees pile this honey upon honey, thus in my own person, O Asvins, lustre, brilliance, strength, and force shall be sustained!

18. The honey that is in the mountains, in the heights; in the cows, and in the horses; the honey which is in the *surâ* (brandy) as it is being poured out, that shall be in me!

19. O Asvins, lords of brightness, anoint me with the honey of the bee, that I may speak forceful speech among men!

20. The thunder is thy speech, O *Pragâpati*; as a bull thou hurlest thy fire upon earth and heaven. All animals live upon it (the earth), and she with it (*Pragâpati's* fire) fills nourishment and food.

21. The earth is the staff, the atmosphere the

embryo, the heaven the whip (itself?), the lightning the whip-cord; of gold is the tip (of the whip?).

22. He that knoweth the seven honies of the whip becomes rich in honey; (to wit), the Brâhmaṇa, the king, the cow, the ox, rice, barley, and honey as the seventh.

23. Rich in honey becomes he, rich in honey become his appurtenances, worlds rich in honey does he win, he that knoweth thus.

24. When in a bright sky it thunders, then Pragâpati manifests himself to (his) creatures (pragâh). Therefore do I stand with the sacred cord suspended from the right shoulder (prâkīnopavita), saying, 'O Pragâpati, watch over me!' The creatures (pragâh) watch over him, Pragâpati watches over him, that knoweth thus.

## EXTRACTS FROM THE RITUAL TEXTS AND COMMENTARY.

---

### I, 2. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 8.

THE ritual application of this hymn is a twofold one. It is employed as a medical charm and, again, as a battle-charm, owing to the belief that certain diseases are inflicted upon mortals by the arrows of Parganya, a belief which introduces into the context a large number of words redolent of battle, as well as some designations of diseases. Cf. with this the double treatment, e.g., of AV. I, 12. As a battle-charm the present hymn figures in Kaus. 14, 7 in a lengthy list (*gana*) of hymns called *sâmgrâmikâni* (or *aparâgitagana*); this list is employed in connection with warlike practices in the subsequent Sûtras (14, 8-13, and more especially Sûtra 12). Still more secondarily, the entire list (*aparâgita*) is employed in Kaus. 139, 7, along with certain other *ganas*, at the ceremonies connected with the beginning of the study of the Veda (*upâkarma*)<sup>1</sup>. Cf. also the Sântikalpa 17 and 18<sup>2</sup>.

In its medicinal construction the hymn is a charm against diarrhoea, being followed by AV. I, 3, a charm against diseases of the opposite character, constipation and retention of urine. It is handled in this sense at Kaus. 25, 6-9, along with AV. II, 3, in a practice which, according to Dârila, is directed against diarrhoea (*atisâra*); Kerava and Sâyana construe it more broadly as against fever, diarrhoea, exces-

---

<sup>1</sup> See the introduction to VI, 97.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted erroneously by Sâyana as the Nakshatrakalpa.

sive urine, and even flow of blood, i.e. against excessive or unnatural flows from the body in general. The practices are as follows: 25, 6. 'While reciting the two hymns I, 2 and II, 3 the (practising priest) ties the head of a stalk of muṣṣga-reed (*saccharum munja*) with a cord (made from the same plant, as an amulet, upon the patient<sup>1</sup>). 7. Having ground up a natural lump of earth, and earth from an ant-mound<sup>2</sup>, he gives (a solution of this to the patient) to drink. 8. He smears him with ghee. 9. He blows upon (the rectum of the patient<sup>3</sup>).'

The hymn has been translated and analysed by Weber, *Ind. Stud.* IV, pp. 394-5; and the present writer, in 'Seven Hymns of the Atharva-veda,' *Amer. Journ. Phil.* VII, pp. 467-9. Cf. also Florenz in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, XIV, pp. 178 ff.; and, as a specimen of an interpretation which assumes that no Vedic passage has previously been correctly understood, Regnaud, *L'Atharva-Véda et la méthode d'interprétation de M. Bloomfield*, pp. 8-10.

### Stanza 1.

a. Parganya is the god of rain (hence his epithet *bhūri-dhāyas*), and his outpourings upon the earth seem to be compared with a shower of arrows; hence in RV. VI, 75, 15 the arrow is said to come from the semen of Parganya (*pargānyaretasa īshvai*). Possibly, however, the arrow is Parganya's child, because arrow-reeds (*sarā*) grow in consequence of the rain. It seems further that the discharges from the body are compared with Parganya's rain, and are therefore under his control; cf. I, 3, 1 below. Hence the

<sup>1</sup> The passage in brackets is derived from the Commentaries.

<sup>2</sup> For the role of the ant-mound, see the note on II, 3, 4, and more especially VI, 100.

<sup>3</sup> So according to Dārila, *apāne dhamati*; *Kesava* and *Sāyana*, in accordance with their more liberal construction, cause the blowing to be performed upon the particular opening in the body from which the excessive discharge flows (*Sāyana*, *apānasīnanādvānamukhānām dhamanam*). For *apāna*, a euphemism for 'rectum,' see *Kausika*, Introduction, p. lv, bottom.

double construction of this hymn as a battle-charm, and as a remedy against excessive discharges.—For the knowledge which imparts power and control, cf. VII, 12, 2; 76, 5, and elsewhere. Also Sat. Br. IX, 1, 1, 17, 'no damage comes from him who has been recognised and addressed.'

b. The earth as mother of the plants yields the shafts for the arrows.

#### Stanza 2.

a. Weber's translation 'Bogenschnur! schlinge dich um uns,' is not in accordance with the quotable uses of the verb *pari nam*. *Sâyana*, quite correctly, *asmân parihṛitya . . . mām vihâya anyatra saram preraya*. Cf. II, 13, 4 b; Tait. S. IV, 6, 6, 4.

c. *Sâyana*, who throughout this hymn identifies *Parganya* and *Indra* (cf. Bühler, *Orient und Occident*, I, p. 229; Bergaigne, III, p. 25), refers *vidûh* to *Indra*. But it refers to the bowstring; cf. *vidû āyudhâ*, RV. I, 39, 2; and similarly, RV. VI, 47, 26.

#### Stanza 3.

a. Literally, 'when the cows embracing the tree.' The singular or plural of the stem *go* for 'sinew,' and some word for tree in the sense of 'bow,' occur also RV. VI, 47, 26; 75, 11; X, 27, 22.

b. *Sâyana*, *anusphuram pratisphuranam*, *sphur samkalane . . . arkanti . . . prerayanti*.

#### Stanza 4.

d. Cf. with this the tying of the amulet in the practices of the *Sûtra*. *Sâyana*, *muñgeshikâ-nirmitâ ragguh*. Cf. the introduction to I, 12.

### I, 3. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 10.

The *Kausika* prescribes this hymn against retention of urine and constipation; the stanzas themselves seem to refer to difficulties in micturation only, and very possibly, the *Sûtra* adds the other feature. The hymn is the pendant



to I, 2, which aims to obviate the opposite difficulties. The practices in Kaus. 25, 10–19 are as follows: 10. 'While reciting AV. 1, 3 (the practitioner) ties on (as an amulet upon the patient) a substance promoting micturation<sup>1</sup>. 11. He gives him to drink a solution of earth from a molehill, of pûtika (a stinking plant, guilandina bonduc), of pulverised, dried pramanda<sup>2</sup>, each mixed with (wood-) shavings<sup>3</sup>. 12. While reciting the last two stanzas of the hymn, he gives him an enema. 13. He makes him take a ride in a vehicle. 14. He shoots off an arrow. 15. He opens the urethra. 16. He probes the bladder<sup>4</sup>. 17. Having poured twenty-one barley-grains with water into a milk-pail, placing an axe behind (the patient), he pours the water from the grain<sup>5</sup> (upon the suffering part). 18. He gives him to drink a decoction of âla<sup>6</sup>, lotus-root, and ula<sup>7</sup>. 19. The same treatment is prescribed for one suffering from constipation.' The performances are in part therapeutic, in part symbolic (the shooting of the arrow). Cf. Wise, Hindu System of Medicine, pp. 364 ff.

The hymn has been translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. IV, pp. 395–6. Cf. also Bergaigne et Henry, Manuel Védique, p. 130.

#### Stanza 1.

Cf. I, 2, 1 above. The expression satávriṣṇya refers to the abundant semen (rain) of Parganya; cf. especially

<sup>1</sup> According to the commentators, harîtakî, 'gall-nut,' and kar-pûra, 'camphor,' are such substances.

<sup>2</sup> Dârila, at Kaus. 8, 17, glosses this with induka.

<sup>3</sup> The sense and the construction of the long compound in this Sûtra are not altogether clear. Cf. Kausika, Introduction, p. lxii ff.

<sup>4</sup> According to Sâyana, in the introduction, he probes the bladder with a copper instrument. So also Kerava.

<sup>5</sup> The text, phalato: this seems to refer to the twenty-one barley-grains.

<sup>6</sup> 'Apparently a kind of creeper or weed in grain-fields.' Dârila, godhûmavyâdhiḥ; Kerava, yavagodhûmavallî. See Kausika, Introduction, p. xlvii.

<sup>7</sup> Dârila, kasturikâśaka, 'musk;' Kerava, pâvîkâ.

RV. VI, 75, 15. Hence the repetition of the same expression with four other gods is secondary and mechanical. The medicine man wants to make sure that he does not neglect and offend. Sáyana justifies the mention of Mitra and Varuna by a reference to Tait. S. II, 4, 10, 2; of Kandra by saying, *asya oshadhísatvât sarasya pitritvena vyapadesaḥ*; and of Sûrya by relying again upon Tait. S. II, 4, 10, 2.

#### Stanza 6.

a. Sáyana explains *gávinyor* by, *ántrebhyo vinirgatasya mûtrasya mûtrâsayaprâptisâdhane pârsvadvayasthe nâdyau gavinyau ity uktyate*. The urethra and the ureter? Cf. the dual *gavînyau* in Tait. S. III, 3, 10, 1; and *gavînike*, AV. I, 11, 5; IX, 8, 7.

b. The majority of the MSS. read *sâmsrutam*; but one of Shankar Pandit's MSS. has *sâmsrutam*. For the root *sru*, 'flow,' see Bloomfield and Spieker, Proc. Amer. Or. Soc., May, 1886 (Journal, vol. xiii, p. cxx). For years I have had *sâmsritam* written as a possible emendation on the margin of my copy of the text, and now Sáyana persistently (three times) comments upon the same reading.

#### Stanza 7.

b. The MSS. are divided between the readings *vârtram* and *vartam*. Sáyana comments upon the latter, *vartam vartate pravahati galam atre-ti varto mârgaḥ*, and some of the MSS. of Kaus. 25, 16, a Sûtra coined with evident reference to this stanza (*vartim* *bibhetti*, see the translation above), also read *vartam*. Dârila comments, *vartam mûtrabilam*. I do not feel certain that this is not the correct word for the text: 'like the outlet of a lake.' For *vârtra*, see Tait. S. I, 6, 8, 1; Maitr. S. I, 4, 10.

#### I, 7. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 64.

This and the following hymn are directed chiefly against the species of beings called *yâtudhána*, a term which oscillates between the meaning 'human sorcerer' and 'hostile

demon.' The entire tradition, Sûtras and Commentaries, give the word the latter bent, but we can see from RV. V, 12, 2; VII, 104, 15, 16, that men might practise yâtú, and, therefore, be yâtudhána. Both hymns are catalogued in a series (*gaṇa*) called *kâtana*, 'driving away (demons, &c.),' in Kaus. 8, 25, and the *Gaṇamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 3 (*kâtanagaṇa*): for their employment, see Kausika, Index B, under *kâtanâni*, and *Sântikalpa* 16. With the subject-matter of these hymns cf. in general RV. VII, 104, and III, 30, 14 ff. Both hymns have been rendered by Weber, *Indische Studien*, IV, 398 ff.; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 523; cf. also Bergaigne et Henry, *Manuel Védique*, p. 131 ff.

#### Stanza 1.

Throughout this and the next hymn Sâyana takes the root *stu* in its ordinary holy sense of 'praise,' a mistake which leads to the most contorted renderings, and to an utter disregard of grammatical construction, excused by assuming interchanges of inflections (*vibhaktivatyaya*). He seems to be shy to attach any sinister sense to the root, or to connect it in any way with evil beings. For *kimîdin*, see the note on IV, 20, 5.

#### Stanza 2.

c. *tailâsya* in the vulgata is an emendation of the MS. reading *taulâsya* (Sâyana, *tulâvat hûyamâna-dravyasya*).

d. *vî lâpaya*, 'make howl,' obviously includes as a double entente the other possible sense of the word 'annihilate,' as causative from the root *li*.

#### Stanzas 4, 5.

A great deal of stress is laid in these hymns upon the confession of the yâtudhána himself. Half the battle is won when their true nature is made apparent. Cf. I, 8, 4 and the note on I, 2, 1. Hence the neat difference between the active *prâ brûhi* in 5 b, said of Agni (cf. RV. X, 87, 8 = AV. VIII, 3, 8), and the middle *prabruvânâh* in 5 d, said of the yâtudhána. Stanzas 5-7 are perhaps of a later

hand, since the hymns of the first book ordinarily present only four stanzas ; cf. the introduction to I, 12.

### I, 8. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 65.

For the employment of this hymn in the Atharvanic practices, and previous translations, see the introduction to the preceding hymn.

#### Stanza 4.

c. In order to obtain a trishṭubh line we may either resolve both *tāms* or *tvām*, or insert *gahi* after *tvām*.

### I, 9. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 116.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 456, and entitled *rāgābhisheke*, 'at the coronation of a king.' Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 163, renders it in the same spirit. The Kausika, however, in its description of the coronation (chapter 17), does not rubricate this hymn, but rather IV, 8 (cf. also Vait. Sū. 36, 7), and the *Gaṇamālā*, Ath. Paris. 32, 30, again only counts IV, 8 as the *abhishekagāna* (see Kaus. 17, 1 note). Weber, *Ind. Stud.* IV, 401, entitles it 'Segensspruch für einen Fürsten,' but this also seems to be too narrow: the *Sūtra*, advisedly no doubt, employs it in practices designed to confer glory, lustre upon any one at all.

At Kaus. 11, 19. 20, the hymn is employed along with I, 35 and V, 28 in a practice designed to make one successful (*sampatkarma*), to wit: 'an amulet made of a pair of *krishṇala*-berries (*abrus precatorius linnaeus*)<sup>1</sup>, which has

<sup>1</sup> Or the weight of two *krishṇala* in gold? All the commentators explain *yugmakrīṣṇalam* as 'gold.' Dārila, *raktike+ti* (see Pet. Lex.) *prasiddhābhīdhāna ayam ka sauvarṇamāniḥ*; Kerava, *suvarṇamāniḥ*, *hiranyamāniḥ* (here, and at Kaus. 52, 20). Cf. the word *hiranya* in I, 9, 2; 35, 1; V, 28, 6. A very similar performance undertaken with the same three hymns is stated at Kaus. 52, 20. 21, being a rite which bestows long life (*āyushyakarma*). See also

been steeped (in honey during certain three days, Kaus. 7, 19), is tied on. Then a mess of porridge, cooked in the milk of a cow with a calf of the same colour, is shaped in the figure of a man, enriched during twelve days with the dregs of ghee, and consumed with averted face<sup>1</sup>.

Further, at Kaus. 16, 27, 28, the hymn is associated with a practice intended to restore the loyalty of a disaffected people<sup>2</sup>: the king is given to eat a porridge prepared from an after-growth of rice<sup>3</sup>, cooked in the milk of a cow with a calf of the same colour, upon a fire of kâmpîla-branches (crinum amaryllaceae), which have grown out where they have been previously cut. A neat bit of symbolism: the milk of the cow with a calf of the same colour represents complete harmony; the after-growth of rice and kâmpîla represents the resumption of the sharply interrupted relations between the king and his people.

Once more the hymn is recited for obvious reasons at Kaus. 55, 17, along with a list of others at the investiture of the young 'twice-born' (cf. also the scholiast at 17, 31), and it figures in one of the two *varṇasyagānas*, 'series of hymns which confer lustre,' in the *Gaṇamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 10 (see Kaus. 13, 1 note).

### Stanza 2.

The abrupt change of person in Pâda c suggests the possibility of emending *asmât* to *asmât*, 'inferior to him.' But cf. the same formula in st. 4 c.

---

*Sântikalpa* 17 and 19 (quoted by *Sâyana* erroneously as *Nakshatrakalpa*). Cf. also Tait. Br. I, 3, 6, 7.

<sup>1</sup> As the porridge-man drips with ghee, thus the real man shall live in abundance.

<sup>2</sup> *râsh/râvagamanam*. *Dârila*, *ganapadaḥ tasyâ-vagamanakaram* ... *anurâgakaram*. *Sâyana*, 'a performance designed to restore a king, driven from his kingdom by an enemy.' Cf. the hymns III, 3 and 4.

<sup>3</sup> The commentators state explicitly that rice which has grown anew upon the place, where it has previously been cut, is to be used. See *Dârila*, *Kerava*, and *Sâyana* (*lûnapunarutthitagam odanam*).

**Stanza 3.**

Allusion seems to be made here to the rape of the soma in Indra's behalf by Agni, the heavenly eagle (*syena*). According to our interpretation, in Contributions, Fifth Series, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XVI, 1 ff., this Agni, the eagle, is the lightning.

**I, 10. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 11.**

Varuna punishes crime, especially falsehood (cf. AV. IV, 16; Tait. Br. I, 7, 2, 6, &c.), with his disease, the 'water-belly,' dropsy<sup>1</sup>. The performance of the Kausika is purely symbolic: 25, 37. 'While reciting the hymn (the priest) sprinkles the patient over the head (with water) by means of twenty-one tufts of darbha-grass together with reeds taken from the thatch of a house.' The water in the body is supposed to be washed out by the water sprinkled upon it (*attractio similium*).

The hymn has been translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. IV, 403-4; Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 445; cf. also Bergaigne et Henry, Manuel Védique, p. 133.

**Stanza 1.**

b. Weber regards *vásā* as fem. sing.; Whitney, in the Index Verborum, as nom. plur. masc.; Sāyana, as neut. plur., *vasā vasāni*. Varuna and Asura are, of course, the same divinity.

c. Weber, 'durch mein gebet von da herauss dich reisend'; Ludwig, 'mit meinem brahma hervor mich tuend'; Sāyana, *brahmanā mantrena . . . śāradānaḥ atyartham tīkṣṇaḥ . . . prāptabalaḥ*.

**Stanza 2.**

c, d. The passage is a reverberation from the legend of *Sunahsepa*; cf. Ait. Br. VII, 15.

---

<sup>1</sup> Varuna is the lord of the waters (see the note on IV, 16, 3): the dropsy is therefore conceived to be due to his infliction.

d. For *távâ-yám*, cf. VIII, 2, 20 d. Ludwig suggests that the sufferer, being a *kshatriya*, is said to be the man of *Varuṇa*, the king (*kshatriya*). Weber construes it as though it were an ethical dative, 'dieser lebe dir (i. e. durch deine gnade) hundert Herbste.' *Sāyana*, identically the same way, *tava anugrahât*.

#### Stanza 4.

a, b. Ludwig, rendering 'von dem grossen meere *Vaisvânara*,' thinks that the lower regions are alluded to, since death overtakes him that has been seized by *Varuṇa*. *Sāyana* over-ingeniously connects *vaisvânara* with the digestive fire (*gātharāgni*), i. e. in this connection, digestive disturbance. But AV. VIII, 2, 27 shows that nothing more is intended than the funeral fire. Cf. for the entire stanza, Vait. Sû. 38, 1.

#### I, 11. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 99.

The ceremonies connected with this hymn are described in Kaus. 33, 1 ff. They are in part intended to procure easy and natural parturition, but the attention of the *sûtra-kâra* seems to be engrossed even more by certain oracles which shall tell whether the woman is in danger, and whether or not she will give birth to a male child. As the practices, in spite of their unusual length, do not exhibit any very close connection with the hymn, we may only present the first six *Sûtras*, as follows: 1. 'While reciting AV. I, 11, four portions of the dregs of ghee are poured into a water-pail, and four *muṅga*-reeds are plucked (and placed) eastward upon the head (of the pregnant woman<sup>1</sup>). 2. The sheaths (of the *muṅga*-reeds) are placed westward. 3. If (these reeds and stalks) should break, there is danger. 4. (The practitioner) washes her with warm water, beginning with the braid of hair to the right.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the four directions mentioned in the second stanza of the hymn.

5. The joints of the house are loosened<sup>1</sup>. 6. On both sides of her a cord and a wagon-rope is fastened.' The remaining Sûtras are not all of them clear; they seem to be devoted wholly to oracles for finding out whether it is to be a boy or not.

Practices similar to the above, in part built up upon mantra-materials of a similar character, are known in the *Grîhya-sûtras* and elsewhere by the name of *soshyantî-karma*; see Sat. Br. XIV, 9, 4, 22 = *Brîh. Âr.* VI, 4, 23; *Pâr. Grîh.* I, 16, 1 ff.; *Sânkh. Grîh.* I, 23; *Gobh. Grîh.* II, 7, 13 ff.; *Khâd. Grîh.* II, 2, 28 ff.; *Hir. Grîh.* II, 2, 8 ff.; *Âpast. Grîh.* VI, 14, 13 ff.

The hymn has been treated by Roth, *Ueber den Atharvaveda* (Tübingen, 1856), pp. 15 ff.; Weber, *Indische Studien*, IV, 404-5; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 478.

#### Stanza 1.

a, b. The point of the first hemistich is the punning comparison of the birth (*sûti*) with the act of pressing the soma. This makes of it a sacrifice; Aryaman, as the hotar-priest, utters the *vashat*-call for *Pûshan* who is, as it were, the *adhvaryu*-priest; cf. *Ind. Stud.* X, 324. Ludwig's surmise that *Sûshan* is to be read for *Pûshan* (cf. stanza 3) is untenable. The association of the two in matters connected with marriage (*RV.* X, 85, 36, 37) is well known<sup>2</sup>. For *hótâ vedhâh*, see Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, pp. 223-4; *vedhâh*, however, is not derivable from the root *vidh*, but is equal to Avestan *vazdah* (*Geldner, Studien zum Avesta*, p. 58).

c. The *Pâda* is very difficult. Roth emends freely, *sísritâm nâry ritâpragâto*, '(a child) begotten at the proper time shall detach itself, O woman!' He compares, for this use of *sísritam*, *Vâg. S.* VIII, 28, *evâ-yâm dâsamâsyo asrat*,

<sup>1</sup> Symbolic action calculated to loosen the foetus; cf. in general *AV.* IX, 3.

<sup>2</sup> The mantra quoted in *Kaus.* 33, 7 is also based upon the same hymn, *RV.* X, 85, 40 (the *sûrya-sûkta*).



where asrat is, however, to be derived from *srams*, 'fall.' Weber regards *nāry ritāpragātā* as parenthetic, and combines *sísratām* with *párvāni*, 'lass nachgeben—möge die frau richtig gebaut sein!—lass weichen die glieder!' Ludwig, 'es löse sich die frau als eine richtig gebärende.' We have adhered closely to the text, but *sísratām* as a third singular middle imperative is problematic, and perhaps Roth's emendation (*sisritām*) is to be adopted. Possibly some derivative of *srams* stood in place of the word (*sísrasat*, 'may she cause the child to fall'?).

### Stanza 2.

d. The editio princeps reads *tām vyûrñuvantu sūstave*; Shankar Pandit, following the minority of his MSS. and Sāyana, reads *tām*, which was also proposed by Roth, l. c., p. 15, and adopted by Weber, l. c., p. 405. I have translated *tām*, because the womb and not the foetus (cf. AV. IV, 2, 8) is opened at birth.

### Stanza 3.

a. We shall, in all probability, never be able to unravel the tangle of mixed, punning notions which have given rise here to the ἀπ. λεγ., the proper name Sûshan. Ludwig is impressed with it so much as to endow the entire hymn with the title Sûshan. In the first place it is a modification of Pûshan, suggesting the future or desiderative of the root *sû*, 'beget'; cf. *sûshyantî*, RV. V, 78, 5. Then, there is surely an allusion to *ushā(h) vyûrñvatî* in RV. I, 92, 11, that is, *sûshā* is dimly felt to be *su* + *ushā*, 'beautiful Ushas'; cf. Tait. S. IV, 7, 3, 2. Sāyana plainly and mechanically offers this as one of three explanations, *robhanā ushā/sûshā*. And again the words *su* 'well' and *san* 'obtain' may also have flitted before the eyes of the versifex, cf. *sûshane* in Pāda c. Sāyana offers two explanations in addition to the above, *sûshā savitrî praganayitrî devatā*, and *suvam sanotî+ti sûshā*. The Pāda is catalectic, but scarcely stands in need of emendation; cf. Oldenberg, Die Hymnen des Rigveda, pp. 34 ff.

b. Cf. RV. V, 78, 5; Ait. Br. V, 15, 4.

c. *Sûshane* (ἀπ. λεγ. as *sûshā* in Pāda a) may be a vocative from either *sûshanī* or *sûshanā*. *Sāyana*, he *sûshane*, *svam sanoti prayakṣhati* . . . *sukhaprasavakārīṇī devatā*.

d. Still more problematic is *bishkale*. *Sāyana* explains it as either from *bishka*, an imitative word, and the root *lā* 'take' or 'make,' or else from a combination of the roots *vish* 'permeate' and *kal* 'go!' According to the *Sabdakalpadruma*, *bishkalā* is the domestic sow (*grāmyarūkarāḥ*) called *bahv-apatya*, 'having abundant offspring,' on account of its prolificness.

#### Stanza 4.

Cf. Pār. *Gr̥h.* I, 16, 2; Hir. *Gr̥h.* II, 3, 3. *Sāyana*, supported by some MS. authority, reads *māmsena*, as does Pāraskara. *Sāyana* quotes from an unquotable Vedic text (*nigamāntaram*) another form of this mantra, *svavīty(ī) avapadyasva na māmseshu na snāvasu na baddham asi maggasu*.

e. *Sévalam* is problematic. The scholiast to Pāraskara renders it 'moist, slimy,' and the Petersburg lexicon's suspicion that this is a purely etymological rendering based upon the name of the water-plant *saivāla* is fully borne out by *Sāyana*'s statement, *sevalam galasyoparisthitasāivālavat āntarāvayavāsambaddham*. Roth, l. c., p. 16, suggests *kevalam*, 'alone;' cf. for the interchange between *s* and *k*, Bloomfield and Spieker in the *Proc. Amer. Or. Soc.* for May, 1886 (*Journ.*, vol. xiii, p. cxxi).

#### Stanza 5.

Cf. Tait. S. III, 3, 10, 1; AV. I, 3, 6. *Sāyana*, *gavinike yoneḥ pārsvavartinyau nirgamanapratibandhike nādyau*.

#### Stanza 6.

Cf. RV. V, 78, 7, 8; Sat. Br. XIV, 9, 4, 22; Vāg. S. VIII, 28; Nirukta III, 15; Hir. *Gr̥h.* II, 3, 1; Āpast. Mantrabr. II, 11, 15; Bhār. *Gr̥h.* I, 21; Baudh. *Gr̥h.* Parisishṭa II, 2.

## I, 12. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 7.

The history of the interpretation of this hymn is of uncommon interest, because it illustrates forcibly the particular closeness of relation between the hymns of the Atharvan and the practices reported in connection with them. Professor Weber, *Indische Studien*, IV, p. 405, translated the hymn under the caption 'Gegen hitziges fieber,' and, guided especially by the more immediate meaning of *garâyugáh*, 'the product of the placenta, after-birth,' he thought that the hymn referred to puerperal fever, or the fever of a child. Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, p. 343, surmised that the hymn was directed against inflammation, and Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 390, refers to it in connection with the word *vâta* in the first stanza, which he would translate by 'wound;' he also identifies *vâta* with 'wound' etymologically. The compound *vâta-bhrâgâs* in the first stanza, as he understands, means 'suffering from wound-fever.' But Zimmer's theory that the word *vâta* ever means 'wound' has not sustained itself: *vâta* is 'wind in the body;' *vâtikṛītanāśani* (VI, 44, 3<sup>1</sup>) is 'destroyer of the disease which comes from wind (of the body);' cf. *bāta byādhi* (*vâtavyādhi*), 'diseases produced by wind (in the body),' in Wise's *Hindu System of Medicine*, p. 250, and see *Contributions*, Fourth Series, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* XII, p. 427.

In Seven Hymns of the Atharva-veda, l. c., VII, pp. 469 ff., I presented a full discussion of the hymn, and, aided by the indications of the *Kausika-sūtra*, showed that the hymn referred to lightning, which is regarded as productive of certain diseases mentioned in the context, to wit, fever (cf. the word *soḥīshā* in st. 2), headache, and cough. The pivotal word in the hymn is *garâyugáh*, and it is interesting to note why it is especially misleading. The first book of the Atharvan is a miscellaneous collec-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the note there, at VI, 109, 3, and IX, 8, 20.

tion of hymns containing for the most part, though not unfailingly, four stanzas each (cf. AV. XIX, 23, 1; Atharvānukramāṇī I, 1, 13; Ath. Paris. 48, 9 and 10; Gop. Br. I, 1, 8; Ind. Stud. IV, 433; XVII, 178). There is no definite order in the arrangement of the hymns within the book, but there appears a marked tendency to group together two or even three having the same or a similar subject. This concerns especially hymns 11-13. The eleventh is a charm for easy delivery in childbed. The last three stanzas end with the refrain, *áva garāyu padyatām*, 'may the placenta come down;' in addition to this the word *garāyu* occurs thrice more in the course of the last three verses. Now, there can be no doubt that the redactor placed our hymn (I, 12) after I, 11 simply because it begins with the word *garāyugāh*<sup>1</sup>. This does not argue that he misunderstood the true nature of the hymn; on the contrary it is quite clear that he recognised its association with lightning, because he has placed after it I, 13, a hymn which is evidently a prayer to lightning (*nāmas te vidyūte*, &c.). He placed I, 12 after I, 11 simply because the word *garāyugāh* offered as good a point of linkage as any other at hand, the fundamental difference in its value notwithstanding. But it is natural that European readers should have seized upon this erroneous suggestion, so as to be influenced by it in deciding the purpose of the hymn.

The native treatment of the hymn exhibits considerable divergence, owing to its duplex character. It is a hymn to lightning; and, on the other hand, the diseases attributed to lightning present even more salient and practical points, destined to be prominent in its designation and ritual application. So the *Anukramāṇī* describes it as a *yakshmanāsanam sūktam*, 'a hymn which cures consumption' (cf. the word *kāsās* 'from cough' in st. 3); in the *Ganāmālā*, Ath. Paris. 32, 7, it is one of the *takmanāsanagana*,

<sup>1</sup> Note the words *stānaḥ* and *stanayitnūr* respectively, in VII, 10 and VII, 11, as the probable, and even more inane reason for the juxtaposition of the two hymns in the redaction.

'a group of hymns designed to cure takman, fever' (cf. Kaus. 26, 1, note). Kausika employs it twice, presenting its two main characteristics. In 38, 1-7 it is used in a charm against thunderstorms, preceding the employment in a similar charm of AV. I, 13 and VII, 11, both of which are palpably hymns addressed to lightning. But in 26, 1-9 it is employed further in a performance which is distinctly described by Dârila as a *sirorogabhaishagyam*, 'cure for headache' (cf. *muñkâ sirshaktyâ* in st. 3 a), and by Kerava as, *atikâse sirshaktisirovedanâyâṁ ka karmâni*, 'rites against excessive cough and pains in the head.'

The latter practice is as follows: 1. 'While reciting AV. I, 12 (the priest) lets (the patient) drink of fat<sup>1</sup>, honey, ghee, and sesame-oil. 2. (The patient), his head covered with a turban made of *muñga*-grass<sup>2</sup> (*saccharum munja roxburgense*), goes along carrying in his left hand parched grain<sup>3</sup> in a sieve, from which he scatters it with his left hand. 3. (The patient then goes on, carrying) in his left hand the sieve and the turban, in his right hand a bowstring and an axe. 4. The (patient goes) in front of the priest who gives the orders<sup>4</sup>. 5. On the spot where the disease seizes upon him he puts down the sieve and the turban. 6. And (also) the bowstring. 7. He returns home<sup>5</sup>. 8. (The patient) puts ghee up his nose. 9. (The priest) while supporting the patient's head with a staff (of bamboo) having five knots mutters (the hymn).' The sense of these practices, obscure though they are in many

<sup>1</sup> Kerava, *mâmsamedah*.

<sup>2</sup> Kaus. *mauñga-prasna*; Dârila, *prasna ushnîṣham*; Kerava, *mauñga-induka* (cf. *indva* in the Pet. Lex., and especially in Kaus. 26, 30).

<sup>3</sup> Kaus. *pûlyâni*; Kes. *lâgân*. Symbolic scattering of the fever.

<sup>4</sup> Kerava here is the least obscure of the commentators, *vyâdhitam agre kṛtvâ*.

<sup>5</sup> The text of the Sûtra is very obscure. One MS. of the text reads *âvraganam*; the rest, *âvragatam*. Dârila has *âvragam* twice (see notes 7 and 10 on p. 71 of the edition); this may be for the participle *âvragan*, and has served as the basis of the translation.

details, is clearly a symbolic act of drawing the disease out of the head, and depositing it where it is supposed to have come from; cf. the introduction to VI, 26. One is tempted, at first sight, to accuse the medicine man of the banalité of employing muṅga-grass simply because it puns with muṅkā, 'release,' and this would be no more than Atharvanesque. Possibly, however, there is a little more contained in the practice. In Sat. Br. VI, 3, 1, 26 we have the following legend: 'Agni went away from the gods, he entered the muṅga-grass. Therefore that is hollow, and for that very reason it is as it were disfigured by smoke. The muṅga is the womb here of Agni.' In that case we have here the usual attractio similitum. The muṅga is employed in drawing off the effect of lightning, because it is the natural home of fire (lightning). Cf. also Sat. Br. VI, 6, 1, 23.

Uncanny is the rite which the Kausika prescribes in connection with the hymn at 38, 1-7. It is directed against stormy weather, *durdina*, the relation of which to lightning, of itself obvious, is stated explicitly in the *Harivamśa* 9609, *tumulam durdinam kâ-sîd vidyutstanayitnumat*, 'and there arose a crashing storm accompanied by lightning and thunder.' The passage of the *Sûtra* may be translated as follows: 1. 'When one goes against a storm he faces it<sup>1</sup> while reciting AV. I, 12. 2. Stanza by stanza (he faces the storm hurling) jets of water<sup>2</sup> (against it). 3. (And he faces it) with a sword, a firebrand, and a club<sup>3</sup>. 4. (And he faces it) naked while wiping his forehead. 5. Into a coal-pan which he has removed outside (of the house) he makes an oblation of (the leaves of) the horse-radish

<sup>1</sup> *Kesava*, *durdinam abhimukham upatish/hate*.

<sup>2</sup> *udavagrain*: the *Brâhmaṇas* have innumerable times the expression *vagro vâ âpah*, e. g. Sat. Br. VII, 2, 1, 17.

<sup>3</sup> *kishkuru* (with variants) is unknown elsewhere, but *Kesava* in glossing it with *laku/a*=*laguḍa* is clearly well-informed. The word is doubtless identical with *kishku*, which the scholiast at *Pañk. Br.* VI, 5, 12 glosses with *danda*.

tree<sup>1</sup> and pebbles. 6. He puts on (fagots of) the *kerā*<sup>2</sup> and *arka* (*calotropis gigantea*) plants. 7. Beaten by the rain, with dishevelled hair<sup>3</sup>, going thrice around a pit he quickly buries into it the *arka*-wood.' The symbolism of this performance is not altogether transparent; the use of the *arka* is doubtless founded upon a double entente: *arka* is 'flash of lightning,' and its cessation is coaxed by burying the *arka*-wood in the pit.

### Stanza 1.

a. For *garāyu-gā*, 'born of the (cloud-)womb,' cf. *abhra-gā* in st. 3, and such expressions as *vidyūn meghāsakhā*, 'the lightning whose companion is the cloud,' in the *Suparnā-khyāna* 3, 2. The more literal meaning of the word is 'placenta-born,' an idea thoroughly Indic. Cf. *Sat. Br.* VI, 5, 3, 5, *trivṛd dhi pragātiḥ pitā mātā putro-tho garbha ulbam garāyu*. Cf. also VI, 6, 1, 24. Professor Kern some years ago was good enough to impart to me his own somewhat different view: 'As to *garāyugā*-, I think that is what the Norse *skalds* called a *kenning*, an oratorical periphrasis of *vatsa*, and this is a veiled expression for lightning; cf. *apām vatsa* as denoting the fire of lightning, and the *śrivatsa*, the lightning figure on the breast of *Vishnu*.' (Letter of May 10, 1887.)—For the epithet *vṛṣhan* as applied to lightning see now my article on *sūshma*, *Contributions*, Sixth Series, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XLVIII, 565 ff. The entire passage has a good parallel in *RV.* IX, 74, 3, *īse yó vṛishṭér itá usriyo vṛishā apām netā yá itātūr nigmiyah*, where *Soma* is obviously compared with lightning.

b. The edition reads *vātabhragā(h)*, but the text is not absolutely certain, as *Sāyana* comments upon *vātavragāh*<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Dārila*, *sigrupatrāni*.

<sup>2</sup> *Dārila*, *kerāparnī-ti yā surāsh/re pumdarike-ti*; *Kesava*, *pater-akasamidhaḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> *pratilomakarshitas* is explained in the light of *kereshu karshitā* in the *Mṛikkhakaśikā* 16, 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Sāyana* refers the entire stanza to *āditya*, 'the sun.'

Both readings are worthless; I have substituted in my article on the Seven Hymns, *vāta-abhra-gāh*. It is refreshing to see for once an emendation rendered absolutely certain by a later discovery. The entire Pāda presents the stereotyped four component parts of a storm, *vāta*, *abhra*, *stanayitnu*, and *vrishṭi*; in this way they are catalogued in a variety of Vedic texts; see the article on *sūshma* just quoted, l. c., pp. 569-70.

c. Read *tanvārgugó* with crasis of sandhi-hiatus. The juxtaposition of *rigugó* and *rugán* is of the punning order.

d. Read *trayadhā*<sup>1</sup>.—Cf. the statements about Vishnu, who himself single passes through three regions, e.g. RV. VIII, 29, 7, *trīṇy éka urugāyó ví kakrame*. Resting upon this parallelism I have taken *ékam ógas* as in apposition with the subject of the clause.

### Stanza 2.

a. *sokís*, the salient symptom of fever, AV. I, 25, 2, 4; V, 22, 2; VI, 20, 3.

c. I have translated *aṅká* as 'crook' and *samaṅká* synonymically as 'hook.' Both translations are purely tentative; *aṅká* may mean 'hook,' and at present any rendering of *samaṅká* is an *enfant perdu*. The word occurs once more in the Atharvan, VI, 50, 1, apparently as the name of some pestiferous insect, or animal which destroys grain. I do not know how to mediate between the two uses of the word. *Sāyana*, *aṅkân aṅkanasīlân sūryasya anukarân samaṅkân samaṅkanasīlân samīpe vartamānân antaraṅgân api parivārabhūtân devân*.

d. The text of the *Samhitā* reads *asyā*, the *Padapāṭha*, *asya*. If the latter is correct in its interpretation, this is the only instance in the Rig and Atharvan-vedas of *asyā* as a masculine. Looked at purely by itself *asyā grābhītā* may stand for *asyā(i) grābhītā*, and this opens out the

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my article, On certain irregular Vedic subjunctives or imperatives, Amer. Journ. Phil. V, p. 27 (12 of the reprint).



possibility that the stanza stood originally in some other connection where a feminine was appropriate.

### Stanza 3.

The stanza, in accordance with its context, is employed in Kaus. 27, 34, along with the so-called *mṛigāra-sûktāni*, in a more general remedial charm, designated by Dārila as a *sarvabhaishagya*m.

a. *sīrshaktī*, probably for *sīrshasaktī* with haplology; see Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, 1893 (Journal, vol. xvi), p. xxxv. The poet puns upon the word in Pāda d with *śakātām*, although *sakti* is more likely to come from *sañg*, rather than *śak*.

b. The masculine *yó* is difficult. I have referred it to the lightning (*usṛīyo vṛśhā*, or *súshmaḥ*), which involves a considerable ellipsis, indicated by the parenthesis in the translation. But it seems to me possible to refer *yó* to *kāśá(h)* in Pāda a, and to translate more simply, 'Release him from headache, and also from cough, which has entered every joint of him.' Namely *kās*, feminine, jostles with its thematic pendant *kāśá*, masculine, in AV. V, 22, 10 and 11 (*kāśá*, instrumental feminine in 10; but *kāśám*, accusative masculine in 11). It requires no violent stretch of the grammatical imagination to suppose that the poet unconsciously has shifted his position from the feminine in Pāda a to its masculine doublet *kāśá* in Pāda b. The masculine form prevails in the classical period.

c. For *súshmo*, see the article on the word, cited above, where several close parallels to this passage are assembled.

### I, 14. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 107.

The history of the interpretation of this hymn is of interest. Weber, Ind. Stud. IV, 408 (cf. also V, 218); Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 459; and Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 314, translated and interpreted the hymn as a marriage-hymn. Zimmer thought that the stanzas were spoken at the end of the ceremony, as the bridegroom

assumed charge of the bride. The present writer, following the indications of the practices connected with the hymn in the Kausika (36, 15-17), thought that it was a charm of a woman against a rival, and dealt with the hymn and the ritual in this sense in an article devoted to the subject in *Seven Hymns of the Atharva-veda*, Amer. Journ. Phil. VII, pp. 473-6. It is of interest to find now that Sâyana construes the hymn in the very same spirit.

The proceedings in the Kaus. are somewhat as follows : 36, 15. 'While reciting AV. I, 14, the wreath, pillow (?), tooth-brush, and hair (of the woman against whom the charm is undertaken are placed) into the skin of a cow slain by Rudra, or of a funeral cow, and buried in the cavity of a mortar under a pile of three stones<sup>1</sup>. 16. The hymn is recited while the wreath is being ground up. 17. Three tufts of hair are tied (each) with a black thread (and buried under) a pile of three stones, the stones each alternately above (each tuft).' Then follows in Sûtra 18 a subsidiary rite for digging the 'fortune' up again (Kesava), saubhâgya-karṇam : 'Then one digs her fortune up with the formula, "That fortune of thine which they have buried into a pile of three stones, or four stones, that we now dig up, along with offspring and wealth."'

Throughout the hymn and the ritual the spirit of fierce hatred manifests itself in allusions to the burial rites. Thus in the ritual the anustaraṇi; in stanzas 1, 3, the word pitṛshu, translated above 'with her relatives,' may also mean (with

<sup>1</sup> The Sûtra bristles with difficulties; nishpramanda has been translated by 'pillow,' because Sâyana says, tadupabhuktamâlyakandukadantadhâvanakesânâm . . . (ni)khananâdikarmâni. But the word nishpramanda is none too certain; some MSS. and Kesava read nipramanda, and Dârila's comment on the word is unintelligible (kriḍâyavargâgendukaḥ; cf. pramanda=indukaḥ, Kaus. 8, 17; 25, 11; 32, 29, and Kausika, Introduction, p. lii). I translate kora by 'skin,' because Kesava says, śrāṇahatâ tasyâḥ karmāṇā evaśya (the passage is not extracted in the edition). But cf. the word antaḥkośām in st. 4 c. Both Dârila and Kesava explain śrāṇahatâ, 'slain by Rudra,' as=gvarahatâ, 'killed by fever.'

double entente) 'among the Fathers or manes.' The first hemistich of the third stanza, considered by itself, might be readily interpreted as being uttered at the funeral of a maiden; indeed, it seems possible that material of this sort has been worked over for the occasion. The secondary employment of stanzas, composed primarily for the burial service, is possibly to be assumed for stanzas 2-4 of RV. VII, 55 (see Aufrecht, Ind. Stud. IV, 342), and for AV. II, 12, 7-8 (q. v.). The Anukramanî makes the following curious statement in regard to our hymn: *namas te astu* (I, 13), *bhagam asyâ* (I, 14), *iti sôkte vaidyute dve ânushrubhe*, *prathamam vaidyutam param vârunam vo-ta yâmyam vâ*, *prathamena vidyutam astaud, dvitīyena tadartham yamam*. There seems to be no reason for associating these hymns, nor for regarding I, 14 as having any relation to lightning<sup>1</sup>.

#### Stanza 1.

Pâdas **a** and **c**, apparently each hypermetric, may be restored by reading, with elision and crasis, *bhâgâsyâ*, and *mahâbudhneva*.

**d.** *pitrishu*, 'with her relatives,' as stated more explicitly in st. 2. So also *Sâyana*. Cf. the words *pitrishâd* and *amâgûr* in the lexicons. But there seems to be intended, too, an allusion to the manes, i. e. to death; cf. the introduction.

#### Stanza 2.

**a, b.** *Sâyana*, here and in the next stanza, refers *râgan* to Soma, supporting his hypothesis by a reference to RV. X, 85, 40, where Soma is said to have been the first to woo the maiden, being followed by Gandharva, Agni, and man. Cf. also Vas. Dharm. XXVIII, 5.

**c, d.** It depends upon circumstances whether the girl lives with her (widowed) mother, or her father, or, after the decease of her parents, with her brother; cf. for the latter contingency, AV. I, 17, 1.

---

<sup>1</sup> Unless the word *îrânahatâ*, Kaus. 36, 15, has misled the author of that very late and bungling performance.

## Stanza 3.

a. Sâya<sup>na</sup> comments upon kulapâ instead of kulapâ(h) of the Samhitâ and Padapât<sup>ha</sup>.

d. The MSS. unanimously have this Pâda in the form ā sirsh<sup>na</sup>h samópyât (Padap., sam ópyât). Sâya<sup>na</sup> emends to samópyât, commenting, sirasa<sup>h</sup> samvapanât bhûmau sampatanât, 'until her head sinks to the ground.' This coincides with the reading of the Paippalâda, and is accepted by Shankar Pandit and Whitney; see Festgruss and Rudolf von Roth, p. 90. For the interchange between s and ś, see our article in the Proc. Amer. Or. Soc., May, 1886 (Journal, vol. xiii, p. cxx). The text in this form might mean 'until she scatters from her head,' i. e. 'until she becomes bald.' Even after the authority of the Paippalâda I venture to repeat, very hesitatingly, my suggestion (Amer. Journ. Phil. VII, p. 476), that ā sirsh<sup>nâ</sup>h kēsam ópyât may have been the original text of the Saunakiya-sâkhâ. 'Let her scatter her hair from her head,' or 'let her scatter the hair of her head,' either by growing bald, or as a sign of mourning (cf. Contributions, Second Series, Amer. Journ. Phil. XI, pp. 336 ff.). Ópya as a noun is very strange, and sam + â + upyât (precativè) would seem to require an expressed object in the accusative. We are reminded, too, of the expression kēsân prâ vapanti, 'they let down their hair,' AV. XIX, 32, 2, as a sign of mourning.

## Stanza 4.

a, b. The juxtaposition of Kasyapa and Gaya reminds one of Kasyapa of Gayâ, who plays a conspicuous part in the Buddha legend. Asita is another worthy in the same narrative. See the words in the Pet. Lex., and cf. our note on IV, 20, 7.

c. gâmi, in the broader sense of the word in the later language, 'female relatives of the householder.' Sâya<sup>na</sup>, striya<sup>h</sup>; cf. Nirukta III, 6.

## I, 16. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 65.

The Kausika, 47, 23-4, presents this hymn in the sixth book, devoted to the witchcraft practices (*âbhiṣṭhikâni*), as follows: 23. 'While reciting AV. 1, 16 he who performs the practice collects ground lead, and puts it into the food (of his enemy), or upon the ornaments (upon his person). 24. With a staff, made from a decayed bamboo-reed, as long as an arm, and ornamented<sup>1</sup>, he strikes (the enemy).' According to the *Paribhâṣhâ-sûtra*, Kaus. 8, 18, the word 'lead' in these practices is to be construed very broadly, including both lead itself, 'river-lead' (i. e. according to the commentators, river-foam), iron-filings, and the head of a lizard. In Contributions, Third Series, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XV, pp. 157 ff., I have endeavoured to show that this class of practices is founded upon the famous legend of Indra and *Namuki*, in which Indra slays *Namuki* with the 'foam of the waters.' The other substances seem to be substituted for practical reasons, being more easily obtained and more readily handled. They may, of course, have been regarded as available for this purpose for other reasons, that escape us.

The hymn has been translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. IV, 409; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 1, 75. The *Anukramanî* describes the hymn as *kâtanam*, 'charm to chase away with,' and accordingly it figures in the series called *kâtanagana* in the *Ganamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 3; see Kaus. 8, 25 note.

## Stanza 1.

a. In *Âpastamba's Dharmasûtra* I, 11, 31, 21 we have: 'During the day the sun protects the creatures, during the night the moon. Therefore let him eagerly strive to protect himself on the night of the new-moon by purity, con-

<sup>1</sup> The term *alamkrîta* here seems to mean technically 'anointed (with ghee);' see *Dârila* at Kaus. 48, 3, and cf. Kaus. 47, 40. 44.

tinence, and rites adapted to the season.' Cf. also AV. IV, 36, 3; Tait. S. II, 2, 2, 2; Maitr. S. II, 1, 11. The accusative *rātrim* is not favoured by the metre, and we should expect *rātryām*. *Sâyana*, *sarvasyām* *rātrau* *udasthu* *uttishthanti*.

b. *Sâyana* reads *bhrâgam* for *vrâgam*, to wit: *rātrim* *raganîm* *bhrâgam* *bhrâgamânâm*; or again, *bhrâgamânâm* . . . *purusham* *himsitum* *udasthu*. He repeats this reading when quoting the stanza in his comment on II, 9, 1. Cf. also the note on *vâtâbhragâh*, I, 12, 1<sup>b</sup>.

c. *Sâyana* takes *turîya* in the sense of 'fourth,' as alluding to the well-known legend of the three older brothers of Agni who were worn out in the sacrificial service before the present Agni; see RV. X, 51 and 52; Sat. Br. I, 2, 3, 1; Tait. S. II, 6, 6; Mahâbh. III, 222, 7 = 14214, &c. (cf. Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, V, 504-5). But *turîya* is the equivalent of *turâ*, e. g. RV. VIII, 52, 7.

### Stanza 2.

For the uses of lead in the ritualistic texts, see Weber, l. c., p. 410, and our article on Indra and *Namuḥi*, quoted above in the introduction.

### Stanza 3.

For a full discussion of *vîshkandha*, either some disease, or, as seems to us more likely, a kind of demon, see the note on II, 4, 1.

### I, 17. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 22.

This charm against flow of blood is the only one of the kind in the Atharvan. Kesava specifies that it is employed against internal and external flow of blood and (excessive) menstruation, *atha lohitaṁ vahati sarîramadhye bahis ka . . . rudhiravrane . . . strîragaso-tipravartane bhaishagyaṁ rudhirapravâhe ka*. The Kausika attaches to it the following performances at 26, 10-13: 'While reciting AV. I, 17 (the practitioner) strews dust and sand around (the wound) with a bamboo-staff containing five joints (accord-

ing to Kesava he places the staff upon the wound [cf. Kaus. 26, 9, *saṁstabhya*], and then strews the dust and sand<sup>1</sup>). 11. He ties on mud from a marsh<sup>2</sup>. 12. He gives (the patient a solution of it) to drink. 13. He (also) gives (him) to drink a mixture of curds and ground sesame, along with four tips of millet-grass.' The chief point of relation between the practices and the hymn is the application of a bandage or poultice of dust and sand which seems indicated in the fourth stanza with the words *śkatāvati dhanūr*.

The first stanza of the hymn is quoted with variants in Yāska's Nirukta, III, 4, from an unknown source; the Anukramanī designates the hymn as *yoshiddevatyam*. Previous translations by Weber, Ind. Stud. IV, 441; Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 508; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 16, 76; cf. also Hillebrandt's Vedachrestomathie, p. 46.

#### Stanza I.

In Yāska's Nirukta, III, 4, the stanza occurs in the following version: *amûr yâ yanti gâmayah sarvâ lohitavâsasaḥ: abhrâtara iva yoshâs tishṭhanti* (Durga, *tishṭhantu*) *hata-vartmanaḥ*. Durga declares this to be an Atharvan-stanza, and says that the women are the blood-vessels (*nâdyah*) which shall stand still, like brotherless maidens, debarred

<sup>1</sup> The word *pâṁsusikatâbhiḥ*, which I have translated as a copulative compound, 'dust and sand,' is regarded by the commentators as a descriptive. Dârila, *pâṁsuvat ślakṣṇadhūliḥ śikatâ vâlukâ*; Kesava, *rathâyâḥ pâṁsûn*.

<sup>2</sup> It is not quite clear whether the *armakapâlikâ* is tied on as an amulet or as a bandage upon the wound: usually *badhnâti* is the terminus technicus for the tying on of an amulet. Nor are the commentators agreed as to the meaning of the word; Kes. *kedâramṛttikâ*, and *pañkamṛttikâ*. But the word occurs also in Tait. Âr. V, 2, 13 (cf. also Tait. S. V, 1, 6, 2), and in the commentary on the Tait. Âr., p. 394, it is explained as 'potsherds deposited in the decayed portion of the village,' *kirāmtane gṛnamgrāmadese avasthitâ bhândâmrâḥ*. Sâyana to our passage, *rushkapañkamṛttikâ kedâramṛttikâ vâ*.

from the *saṃtānakarma* and the *piṇḍadāna* (ancestral rites) practised by the family of their husband. In AV. I, 14, 2 the girl who has lost her father and mother is depicted as living in the house of her brother. Cf. Roth's comment, p. 25, and Zimmer, p. 328. The exact point of the comparison is not quite clear, and Zimmer's translation of *hatāvarkas* as 'deprived of support or protection' seems to import an occidental idea not in the text. See RV. I, 124, 7; IV, 5, 5, and especially the statement, *nā-bhrātrīm upayakṣeta*, 'one may not marry a brotherless girl,' in the commentary on Nirukta III, 5; Manu III, 11; Yāgyavalkya I, 53; Vasishṭha XVII, 16; Gautama XXVIII, 20.

b. *lohita*, with double entente, 'red' and 'blood.'

c. Read *abhrātareva*; the *Anukramanī*, upon the strength of the apparently additional syllable, designates the stanza as a *bhurig*.

### Stanza 3.

b. Ludwig rather whimsically translates *sahāsrasya hirāṇām* 'von den tausend gelben.' It would seem as though the stanza intends to bring out a distinction between *hirā* and *dhamānī*, the former being the smaller and the latter the larger blood-vessels. Accordingly, 'veins' and 'arteries.' And yet in VII, 35, 2 (see the note there) both *hirā* and *dhamānī* apparently have the more general sense of 'interior canals,' such as entrails, vaginal passage, and the like. Naturally, the knowledge of internal physiology is of the vaguest sort. For *hirā*, see Aufrecht in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, III, 199; Weber, *Omina und Portenta*, p. 346.

### Stanza 4.

Our translation of this stanza derives its main support from the practices above, which seem to imply that sand is put upon or about the wound. *Sâyana* gives the passage a totally different bent; he takes *sikatāvatī dhanūr brīhatī* as the designation of one of the canals in the body which contains the sand that results in calculi in the bladder, *sikatā ragāmsi tadvatī nādī*, 'sikatā, i. e. sand, the canal containing that.' He says, further, that it is the canal



(*nâdî*) which generates calculi (*asmarî*), and finally describes it more explicitly as a 'kind of canal crooked like a bow, and the seat of the urine,' *dhanûr dhanurvad vakro mûtrâsayo nâdîviseshah*. And he quotes a similar statement from a *Smṛiti*, *mûtrâsayo dhanur vakro vastir ity abhidhiyate*<sup>1</sup>. It would seem accordingly that he imagines the bladder, or some similar vessel, capable as it is of producing sand or calculi, a fitting agent to stop the flow of blood—an interesting conceit at any rate! Grill thinks that the entire stanza is a later addition. But Kausika, at any rate, found it where it is, and the original diaskeuasis of the AV. postulates four or more stanzas for each hymn of the first book; see *Seven Hymns of the Atharva-veda*, Amer. Journ. Phil. VII, 470 ff. Against this, there is only the deviation in the metre.

o. The Pâda is a formula; see RV. I, 191, 6.

#### I, 18. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 109.

Sâyana, in the introduction to the hymn, describes the practices associated with it at Kaus. 42, 19–21 as designed to remove the blemishes of a woman afflicted with the evil characteristics mentioned in the *sâ mudrika*-treatises. These blemishes are supposed to be on her face, hands, feet, and other members, *mukhahastapâdâdyaṅgeshu sâ mudrikoktadurlakshanayuktâyâh striyâs taddoshanivṛittaye*. The *sâ mudrika*-books (treatises on chiromancy) treat of both good and evil characteristics, for in his comment on st. 1 c he says, *yâni sâ mudrikasâstraprasiddhâni . . . saubhâgyakarâni kîhnâni santi*. Cf. Pet. Lex. under 2. *sâ mudra*, and Kesava to Kaus. 42, 19, *sâ mudrike strîlakshanam vyâkhyâtam*, and note also Kaus. 18, 38, *samudra ity âkashate karma*.

The practices of the Kausika are as follows: 42, 19. 'While reciting AV. I, 18, the face of the woman afflicted

<sup>1</sup> Cf. with these statements Sâyana's comment on *vastî*, I, 3, 6, *dhanurâkâro mûtrâsayo vastir uktyate*.

with evil characteristics is sprinkled after each verse, commencing at the braid of hair at the right. 20. Having made an offering of chaff from a vessel made of the wood of a palāsa-tree (*butea frondosa*), he pours the rest (of the chaff) after (the first oblation). 21. Chaff, husks, refuse of grain, and shavings are placed upon the heel of her left foot.'

There are good and evil characteristics (*lakshmi* = *lakshana*, cf. AV. VII, 115), and the main point of the practices is their removal by washing, and by placing all kinds of offal where it will easily drop from the person under treatment, and cause symbolically the removal of the bad points.

The hymn has been translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. IV, 411 ff.; Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 498 (cf. also 338); and Geldner, Vedische Studien, I, pp. 313 ff., where the charm is interpreted erroneously as directed against the house-cat. Cf. our brief criticism in the Journ. Am. Or. Soc. XV, 153, note.

### Stanza 1.

a. Sāyana reads *lakshmam* for *lakshmyam*, commenting, *asaubhāgyakaram kīhnam*. To *lalāmyam* he remarks, *lalāme bhavam tilakasthānagatam*.

d. The Pāda is hypermetric, unless we read *pragāyârâtīm* with double sandhi. Ludwig would cure the passage by substituting *nîr* for *pragāyai*, but the latter word seems guaranteed by AV. V, 25, 8, *pragāyai tvā (tvā ā) nayāmasi*, and possibly this is the original reading (cf. Geldner, l. c., 314). In adhering to the traditional text I have supposed the meaning to be that she who has the character of an *Arāti* is rendered fit for marriage and child-birth by the charm. Very problematic this is, to be sure. Sāyana takes *pragāyai* with Pāda c, *yāni . . . saubhāgyāni kīhnāni . . . tāni . . . asmākam pragāyai . . . bhavantu, . . . yāni pûrvam nîsâritāni asaubhāgyakarāni kīhnāni . . . arâtīm satrum . . . prāpayāmaḥ!*

## Stanza 2.

a. *áranim* is ἀπ. λεγ., reminding us of *árana*, 'strange,' *áranya*, 'waste, forest,' and *aranyāni* (-*nī*), the personified goddess of the forest, RV. X, 146. *Sâyana* reads *aranim*, commenting, *aramanīm alakshmīm daurbhāgyakaram kīhnam . . . yadvā aramanīm sarvadā paryatanakârinīm ârtikarīm vā alakshmīm*. Shankar Pandit retains the reading of the MSS., *sāvishak* (for *sāvishat* in our edition), but *Sâyana* reads *sāvishat*. Cf. the Vâg. S. in the *Kâṇva-sâkhâ* X, 2, 1; XX, 1, 1 (= IX, 5; XVIII, 30 of the *Mâdhyamdina-sâkhâ*), and Weber, Ind. Stud. IV, 248, 412; XIII, 108. See also *Āpast. Sr.* XIII, 7, 13.

## Stanza 4.

*Sâyana* treats all these epithets as referring directly to a woman; we prefer to regard them as personifications of evil qualities, imagined as dwelling within the person whose characteristics are foul. *Sâyana*, *vrishasye-va dantâ yasyâh sâ vrishadatī sthûladantâ nârī . . . gaur iva sedhati gakkhati-ti gosedhâ strī . . . vikrītam dhamati sabdâyate iti vidhamâ, phûtkârâdivividhasabdakârīni . . . lalâmyam lâlâmasthâne lâlâtaprânte bhavam . . . vilidhyam viseshena lidham vilidham, vilidham iva sthitam kesânâm prâtīlomyarûpam*. Our rendering of *vilidhyam* is not at all certain.

## I, 19. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 120.

The hymn is one of a list of battle-charms, *sâmgrâmi-kâni* (sc. *sûktâni*), rubricated in Kaus. 14, 7, and associated with ceremonies of a general character, preparatory to going to battle. The *Ganamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 13, has a similar list, somewhat more extensive, which is entitled *aparâgitagana*: see the note at Kaus. 14, 7, and cf. the introduction to I, 2. The hymn is also employed against certain portentous occurrences, as when *Brâhmanas* carry arms (Kaus. 104, 3), when images of the gods dance, shake, laugh, sing, or indulge in other freaks (Kaus. 105, 1), or

when a bull sucks a cow (Kaus. 113, 3). Cf. also Ath. Paris. 17, 2. The hymn has been translated by Weber, *Indische Studien*, IV, 413; cf. also Bergaigne et Henry, *Manuel Védique*, p. 134.

### Stanzas 3, 4.

These two stanzas are an expanded version of RV. VI, 75, 19. The latter part of that hymn contains suggestions which have been freely utilised in the battle-charms of the Atharvan.

### I, 22. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 7.

The proceedings of the practitioner, Kaus. 26, 14-21, are entirely symbolic; the main effort is to banish the yellow colour to yellow creatures and objects (the sun), where it properly belongs, and to derive for the patient redness from that quarter where it is peculiarly at home, namely a red bull; cf. RV. I, 62, 9, and Aufrecht in the introduction to his edition of the *Rig-veda*, vol. ii, p. xvii. The practices are as follows:

26, 14. 'While reciting AV. I, 22 (the priest) gives (the patient water) to sip, which is mixed with hair from (a red bull) the object mentioned in the mantra (st. 1). 15. And having poured (water) upon the back of the bull (he lets the patient drink it). 16. He ties on as an amulet upon the (patient) sitting upon the skin of a bull (the piece of skin) pierced by the peg with which it is fastened (when it is spread out)<sup>1</sup>, after having steeped it in cow's milk and anointed it with the dregs of ghee<sup>2</sup>. 17. He gives (the patient the milk) to drink. 18. He feeds (the patient) with

<sup>1</sup> The words 'the piece of skin,' &c. are all of them a tentative rendering of *saṅkudhānam*, to which *Dārila*, *karmano vistârāya kilakabandhaḥ saṅkusthāpanam*. *Sâyana*, in the introduction to the hymn, *raktaḡokarmakḥidramanim . . . tanmanibandhanam*. *Kesava*, *go raktakarmakḥidramanim*. Cf. also Kaus. 27, 29, to AV. III, 7, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kaus. 7, 15.

porridge made of haridra (turmeric, or curcuma, a yellow plant), daubs him from head to foot both with the remnants of the porridge and (additional porridge) from which he has not eaten, (places him upon a couch), ties the (three birds) mentioned in the mantra<sup>1</sup> by their left legs to the foot of the couch, and washes (the patient) off (upon the birds). 19. He makes the patient step forward (after having first given him a stirred drink, mantha, in accordance with the paribhâshâ at Kaus. 7, 18). 20. He makes (the patient) address (with the hymn) the chattering (birds). 21. Having glued together with lac the hairs from the breast (of the red bull) and getting them covered with gold (the patient ties that on as an amulet).'

Sâyana in his introduction defines the purpose of the hymn as against heart-disease and jaundice, *hṛidrogakāmilādīrogopasāntaye*; Kesava advances a broader construction, according to which it cures in addition epilepsy and fainting (*vismaya* ?), *apasmāra-vismaya-hṛidroga-kāmalakarohinīakāni bhaishagyāni*. Adalbert Kuhn, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, XIII, 113 ff., has assembled from Greek, Roman, and Teutonic sources notions and practices analogous to those elaborated by Kausika. The principle that the yellow disease belongs by right to yellow objects, birds, and plants, is there again applied practically, with a touch, here and there, of *similia similibus curantur*. In addition to Kuhn's translation we note Weber's, *Ind. Stud.* IV, 415 ff.; cf. also Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 343; Bergaigne et Henry, *Manuel Védique*, pp. 134-5; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 388; Wise, *Hindu System of Medicine*, 247 ff. (espe-

<sup>1</sup> The *suka*, *ropanākā*, and *hāidrava* mentioned in st. 4. Sâyana, in his introduction, *sukakāsh/hasukagopītanakākhyānām pakshinām*. Dārila defines *hāidravāḥ* by *haridravarṇas kītakāḥ*. Kesava, *sukāḥ kāsh/ha(mu)sukam (!) ka gopītilakām ka*. They seem to refer respectively to the parrot, the thrush, and the yellow wagtail, all doubtless birds prevailingly yellow. The yellow jaundice of the patient, accentuated by his coat of yellow curcuma, is washed down upon the yellow birds, where it belongs. Cf. the notes on st. 4, and the introduction to VII, 116.

cially 249, where turmeric still appears prominent among the curative agencies). Stanzas similar to I, 22 occur, RV. I, 50, 11-12; Tait. Br. III, 7, 6, 22-23; Āpast. Sr. IV, 15, 1.

### Stanza 1.

b. For *hriddyotá* the RV., Tait. Br., and Āpast. Sr. have *hridrogá* (cf. *Ridraga*, Wise 321); see also AV. V, 20, 12; VI, 24, 1. Still another name is *hridayamayá*, AV. V, 30, 9; VI, 14, 1; 127, 3. For the root *dyut*, cf. AV. IV, 12, 2; XII, 3, 22: *hrid-dyotá* literally means 'heart-break'; Śāyana takes it as 'heart-burning,' *hridayam samtāpayati* (cf. Lat. *splendida bilis*).

c. The Vedic Hindu is deeply impressed with the redness of the cow, which is contrasted with its white milk, RV. I, 62, 9, &c. 'O sage mir wie geht es zu, gibst weisse milch die rothe kuh.' Perhaps we have here, too, an allusion to the divine Rohita in the thirteenth book of the AV.; see Henry, *Les Hymnes Rohitas*, and our Contributions, Fourth Series, Amer. Journ. Phil. XII, 429 ff.

### Stanza 2.

The anacoluthon in Pādas c, d, seems to be occasioned by *ayám*, which is a sort of *vox media* fit for both second and third persons singular.

### Stanza 3.

a. I have followed Bergaigne and Henry, Manuel Védique, p. 135 note, in emending the unintelligible *róhinîr devatyâ(h)* to *róhinîdevatyâ(h)*, 'the cows whose divinity is Rohinî.' I differ from these scholars in co-ordinating it with *gávo*, rather than supplying *rikah*; see the above-mentioned Contributions, p. 437. *Rohinî* is the female of *Rohita*, a personification of the red, ascending (*ruh*), ruling sun. The stanzas devoted to *Rohinî* occur AV. XIII, 1, 22 ff. Śāyana's comment on Pādas a, b, is, *devatyâh devatâsu bhavâh . . . uktavarnâ* (sc. *rohinîh*) *yâh kâmadhenvâdayo gâvah santi, uta api yâh manushyasam-*

bandhinyo rohinī<sup>h</sup> rohinyah<sup>h</sup> lohitaṁvānā gāva<sup>h</sup> santi tābhi<sup>h</sup>  
ubhayavidhābhir gobhi<sup>h</sup>.

**Stanza 4.**

b. ropanākā is glossed by Sāyana at RV. I, 50, 12 by sārīkā, 'thrush'; Sāyana on our hymn, twice, kâshtha<sup>h</sup>suka (harit pakshi: the word is not in the lexicons). Dārila at Kaus. 26, 20. haridravarṇās kītakā<sup>h</sup> (not in the lexicons; cf. kīkika, RV. X, 146, 2). Kesava, kâshtha(mu)sukam (!), and kâshtha<sup>h</sup>su(sh)kakandana (! a kind of sandal). The commentators seem therefore to waver between a bird and a plant.

c. hāridrava is glossed by Sāyana at RV. VIII, 35, 7 by pakshin, but the same work at I, 50, 12, as also the scholiast at Tait. Br. III, 7, 6, 22, has haritāladrumeshu (a kind of tree!). Sāyana on our hymn, twice, gopītana-kākhyā haridravarṇā<sup>h</sup> pakshina<sup>h</sup> (gopītana<sup>h</sup> is not in the lexicons, but gopīta is 'wagtail'); Dārila, ib., pītās kītakā<sup>h</sup>; Kesava, twice, gopītilakā.

**I, 23. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 16.**

The practices connected with this and the next hymn are defined by the commentators as a cure for white leprosy, svetakushta<sup>h</sup>hāpanoḍanāya (Sāyana), svetakushta<sup>h</sup>bhaishagyāni (Kesava). They are stated at Kaus. 26, 22-24, as follows: 22. 'While reciting AV. I, 23 and I, 24 (the priest) having rubbed dung (upon the sores) until they are red, smears upon them the substances, mentioned in the mantras<sup>1</sup>. 23. He cuts off the white (scurf). 24. (The patient?), having been covered, performs the rites to the Maruts.' The latter, described at Kaus. 41, 1-7, are

<sup>1</sup> Kesava and Sāyana mention bhrīṅgarāga (eclipta prostata; note the pun between rāga and ragani, &c. in I, 23, 1), haridra (yellow sandal, or yellow turmeric), indravāruṇī (colocynth), and nīlikā. Dārila has a somewhat different statement, too corrupt to be reported here.

primarily designed to produce rain, and their employment here, secondarily, may be intended to put the patient into a sweat. The point is problematic and not cleared up by the scholiasts.

The entire hymn is repeated with variants at Tait. Br. II, 4, 4, 1. 2. The third stanza of the next hymn is there added to the charm.

Both this and the next hymn have been translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. IV, pp. 416 ff.; Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 506, 509; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 19, 77 ff.; cf. Wise, Hindu System of Medicine, pp. 258 ff.; Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 391; and Bergaigne et Henry, Manuel Védique, p. 135. The Anukramanī designates I, 23 as vānaspatyam, and I, 24 as āsurīvanaspatidevatyam.

#### Stanza 1.

Sāyana refers the adjectives dark, &c., to the plants, indicated by Kausika's commentators. The word *raganī* (as well as all others designating night) has also the meaning 'curcuma longa.' Cf. the scholiast at Tait. Br. II, 4, 4, 1, *raṅganakshame oshadhe . . . atra haridrā raganī-ti keṣit*. The two meanings are blended with the idea of 'rich in colour,' by virtue of which the word puns with *ragaya*.

#### Stanza 2.

b. A considerable number of MSS., here as well as in 3 d, followed by Sāyana, read *prīthak* for *prīshat*, which also makes good sense. The Tait. Br. also reads *prīshat*.

c. This seems to be addressed to the patient: his natural colour shall return to him. Grill takes offence at the parenthesis<sup>1</sup> and proposes to refer *svāḥ* to the plant; cf. also Ludwig, and Bergaigne et Henry, l.c., note. But the plants are of a colour different from the leper's spots (hence their virtue), and *svāḥ* is inappropriate. Sāyana, as in our translation, he *rugna . . . svakīyaḥ* *prāg avasthito varuḥ*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aufrecht, Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk, p. 3.



And still more explicitly the scholiast at Tait. Br., *dehasya svakīyaḥ pûrvasiddho varnaḥ*.

I, 24. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 16.

For the application of the hymn in the ritual, and previous translations, cf. the introduction to I, 23. Stanza 3 is repeated at Tait. Br. II, 4, 4, 2.

**Stanza 1.**

Sâyana states the little legend (*âkhyâyikâ*) as follows: The dark plant here in question was the gall (*pitta*, *dosha*) of the primordial bird *suparna* (*garutmân*). The *Âsuri* (*asurâvâm mâyâ kâkana stri*) engaged in battle with him and conquered. The gall captured in the battle she embodied into the form of trees (*nîli*, and so forth). This neat story would commend itself at once but for the word *gitâ*, which does not mean 'she conquered' (*Sây.*, *gitavati*), but 'she was conquered.' The story is so pat as to tempt to the emendation *gitvâ*, or (as Ludwig suggests) *gitâm*. In general, of course, *asura* in the Atharvan, as elsewhere, stands for the hostile powers conquered by the *Devas*, e.g. AV. II, 27, 3. 4; IV, 19, 4; VI, 7, 2; VIII, 5, 3; IX, 2, 17. 18; X, 3, 11; 6, 22-8; XI, 5, 7; 10, 10. 15; XII, 1, 15. But a different tone prevails occasionally. In VI, 108, 3 the *Asuras* are said to know wisdom; in VI, 100, 3 the *ant* (*upagîkâ*), which is employed as an antidote against poison, is called the daughter of the *Asuras*; in II, 3, 3; VI, 109, 3 they dig remedies into the ground, and finally, in VII, 38, 2, the *Âsurî* attracts to herself *Indra* from the company of the gods, so that, according to *Kâṭh. S.* XIII, 5, he lives with the *Asuras* (cf. *Ind. Stud.* III, 479; V, 250, 453). The sense of Sâyana's story is therefore not irrelevant. Note also that *âsurî* itself is the name of a magic plant (cf. *Magoun*, *Âsurî-kalpa*, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* X, 165 ff.). If, on the other hand, *gitâ* of the text is retained, it is hard to see how she possessed herself of the gall of the *suparnâ*, unless by way of revenge,

or theft. Hence we have, hesitatingly, adopted the emendation *gitvā*. A later transcriber, shocked by the imputation that the *Āsurī* was victorious, might easily have made the change.

Weber, l. c., p. 418, regards *suparnā* as the sun and *Āsurī* as the night, who, having been conquered by the sun, withdraws into the forest and assumes the form of trees: 'Der vogel, der zuerst erstand, dessen gall' du gewesen bist. Die *Āsurī* im kampf besiegt machte die bäum' zu ihrer form.' But there is scarcely any occasion here for a mythical eagle: the eagle and the boar naturally find plants, the one with his eye, the other with his snout (see II, 27, 2; V, 14, 1), and the legend must in some way rest upon this natural fact. This translation, too, establishes no connection between the first and second parts of the stanza. Very similarly Grill.

d. For *vānaspātīn* the Paippalāda has *vānaspātīh* in accordance with the common usage of the *Brāhmaṇas*, e. g. *asvo rūpam kṛtvā*, Tait. Br. II, 8, 12, 2; *Āpast. Sr. V, 2, 4*; *krishṇo rūpam kṛtvā*, Tait. Br. III, 7, 4, 8. See Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 103; *Pet. Lex. s. v. rūpa* (column 421); *Ind. Stud. XIII, 111*. This makes a decidedly better construction: 'having assumed the form of a tree.' Ludwig, translating the *Saunakiya*-text, '(die *Āsurī*) hat es zur farbe der bäume gemacht,' and similarly *Sāyana, gayena labdham tat pittam rūpam kakre, oshadhyātmanā sevyam ākāram akārshīt, tad eva rūpam āha, vanaspātīn nilyādīn*. I have followed their lead, though I am for my part unacquainted with any such construction of *kar* (with three accusatives; note also the middle, *kakre*).

### Stanza 2.

a, b. *Sāyana* treats *idam* as follows: *idam suparnapittena nirmitam nilyādīkam*, which corresponds with his and our interpretation of st. 1. In the later literature *Āsurī* is a branch of medicine; see the *Pet. Lex.* under *Āsurī* 3) and *mānusha*. The metre of the two *Pādas* is irregular: *idam kilāsanāsanam* seems to be a gloss.

## Stanza 4.

a. The European edition reads *sâmā*, which Ludwig puts forth as the title of the hymn. The Paippalāda, as also two of Shankar Pandit's MSS., have *syâmā* (cf. *sâmāka* = *syâmāka*, Kaus. 8, 11); this is undoubtedly correct, and corresponds with *ragani* in I, 23, 1.

## I, 25. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 3.

The practice which Kausika reports for this hymn is similar in character, but totally different in detail from those connected with AV. V, 22 and VI, 20. The practising priest, according to Sûtra 26, 25, has an axe heated; then the axe is quenched in water, and the water thus heated is poured upon the patient: *yad agnir iti parasum gapams tâpayati kvâthayaty avasiñkati*. Dârila renders this quite clear, *parasunâ kvâthayaty udakam . . . taptenodakenâ -vasimkati roginam*. The heated water is supposed doubtless to draw the heat of the fever out of the patient, as it flows from him (*attractio similitum*). Kesava describes the performance as a *gvarabhaishagyam*, *nityagvare velâgvare satatagvare ekântaritagvare kâturthikagvare ka ritugvare ka*; cf. stanza 4 c, d. Similarly Sâyana in the introduction, *aikâhikâdisitagvarasamtatagvaravelâgvarâdisântaye*. The hymn has been treated by Weber, *Indische Studien*, IV, 419 ff.; Grohmann, *ib.* IX, 384 ff.; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 511; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 381, 384; Bergaigne et Henry, *Manuel Védique*, p. 136. It is quoted also at Kaus. 26, 1 note, as one of the *takmanâsanagana* of the *Ganamâlâ*, *Ath. Paris.* 32, 7.

## Stanza 1.

The stanza is not quite clear. Sâyana refers to the practices in the Sûtra, which are, of course, themselves based upon suggestions derived from the mantra. 'When Agni having entered the waters burned' refers doubtless to the circle of well-known legends that deal with Agni's escape to the waters. Two hymns of the *Rig-veda*, X, 51 and

52, deal with this subject, and it is one of the stock-legends, with protean variations, in the Brâhmaṇas (cf. Indische Studien, III, 467), e.g. Sat. Br. I, 2, 3, 1; 3, 3, 13-16; Tait. S. II, 6, 6, 1 ff.; VI, 2, 8, 4 ff. For later forms of the same legend, see Adolf Holtzmann's essay, Agni nach den Vorstellungen des Mahâbhârata, p. 11, and especially Mahâbh. III, 14214 ff.=222, 7 ff. The basis of these legends is the plain observation that lightning comes from the clouds, that is, the waters (cf. Nirukta VII, 23), and perhaps, again, that it strikes the water upon earth, and disappears in it. This again connects the takmán with lightning, which is conceived as a cause of fever, &c. See our introductions to V, 22, and I, 12. It is perhaps not going too far to suppose that the connection of fever with lightning is another way of saying that fever is associated especially with the rainy season, and that indeed seems to be the purport of the stanza: the period of the lightning is the time when the takmán originates. Cf. Grohmann, l.c., p. 403; Zimmer, l.c., p. 384.

a. ápo, the nominative for the accusative, especially in the AV., as conversely apáh the accusative appears as nominative; see Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, § 393 a. The expression ápo . . . pravísya, as in RV. X, 51, 1, pravivésithâ = páh.

b. dharma-dhr̥takh with alliteration. The expression does not refer to pious men, as is assumed by Weber, Grohmann, and Zimmer; and that too, although their translation would seem to receive support from RV. X, 51, 5, éhi mánur devayúr yagñákāmaḥ, 'come (O Agni), pious men desire to sacrifice.' The meaning of the first two Pādas would according to this be as follows: When Agni hid himself in the waters, and men being thus deprived of the carrier of the sacrifice approached him humbly, with the purpose of inducing him to resume his functions<sup>1</sup>. . . But

<sup>1</sup> Weber, l.c., to be sure, quite differently, refers the humble attitude of the pious to the dread of the supposed consequence of Agni's action, namely, the fever.

*dharma-dhṛitāḥ* cannot refer to men, and Ludwig is quite correct in his view, 'die erhalter der satzungen (die götter).' The *dhárman* is upheld by the gods; so, e.g. *Vishnu* is described as *dhármāṇi dhâráyan* in RV. I, 22, 18; *Indra* as *dharma-krít* in VIII, 98, 1; cf. also the epithet *dhṛitá-vrata* as applied to *Varuna* at AV. VII, 83, 1. Reference is therefore made to the suppliant attitude of the gods, as they induce *Agni* by promises to come forth from the waters and attend to his business.

c. Weber translates *tátra . . . paramám ganítram* 'dort is hauptsächlich dein Entstehen,' and Grohmann and Zimmer adopt this very pregnant rendering. Ludwig, on the other hand, says, 'da war deine erste geburt.' It seems to me that neither translation is correct. The *Páda* is formulaic; in RV. I, 163, 4 (the hymn to the horse, *asvástuti*) we have, *yátrā ta áhúḥ paramám ganítram*, and Ludwig translates (902), 'wo man sagt, dass dein höchster geburtsort.' Cf. also *paramé ganítre* in X, 56, 1. The expression *paramám ganítram*, moreover, is the equivalent of *paramé gánman* in RV. II, 9, 3, which is contrasted with *avaré sadhásthe*. The former obviously refers to *Agni*, the lightning, and, as the *takmán* is the effect of that *Agni*, the same origin is assumed for him. Hence I have translated the expression by 'origin on high.'

### Stanza 2.

b. Literally, 'or whether thy origin is a splinter-seeking one,' a bold figure as applied to the *takmán*. But throughout this hymn the parallelism between fire and the *takmán* is uppermost in the mind of the poet, and the phenomenon of *Agni*'s growth, as he eagerly licks the split wood, is metaphorically transferred to his disease. Weber translates prettily, 'sei Splitterfeuer, züngelndes, dein geburtsort.' Zimmer, less vividly, 'oder wenn deine geburtsstätte glimmend ist.' Ludwig does not comment upon his obscure result, 'oder mag spitze stachel suchend (stechend) deine geburt sein;' he, at any rate, unnecessarily abandons the metaphor of the fire. *Sáyana*, *sakalyam dâhyam kâshtha-samûham ikhati sakalyet agniḥ*.

e. I have left the word *hrūdu*<sup>1</sup> untranslated, as I have not been able to discover any basis for the existing translation, 'cramp,' which Weber, l. c., p. 420, proposes, and Ludwig adopts. Weber's result is derived from etymological considerations of insufficient cogency, and the recorded symptoms of the *takmán* or the *gvara* fail to include cramps. The word occurs only in this hymn, in evident alliteration with *haritasya*, and I should not wonder if the word would yet turn out to have some connection with 'yellow.' For *haritasya deva*, see the note on V, 22, 2 a.

### Stanza 3.

b. The *takmán* as a son of *Varuṇa* presents a snatch of that broader and deeper view of the origin of disease, according to which it is due to the violation of the laws of *Varuṇa*, who has in his charge the order of the universe, and punishes the sinner by his 'fetters' of disease, especially the dropsy; see, e.g. AV. IV, 16, 6, 7<sup>2</sup>. In general, to be sure, the lower view prevails in the Atharvan: possession by demons, and the witchcraft of enemies, are the causes of sickness.

### Stanza 4.

The metre is irregular: *Pāda a*, *anushūbh*; *b* and *c*, *trishūbh*; *d*, *gagati*.

b. For *rûrá*, see the note on V, 22, 10 a.

c. *yó anyedyúr . . . abhyéti* (see also VII, 116, 2) refers to a fever which attacks, or becomes highest, every twenty-four hours; cf. perhaps the *velāgvara*, mentioned by *Kesava*

<sup>1</sup> Some MSS., according to Weber, read *hrūdu*, and Whitney, Index Verborum, s. v., reports also *hūdu*, *hrūdu*, and *rūdu*. *Sâyana* reads *rūduh* (*rohakaḥ purushasarīre utpādakaḥ*). *Shankar Pandit* notes still other variants.

<sup>2</sup> I prefer this view to another suggested by *Grohmann*, l. c., p. 406 ff., according to which the malarial *takmán* in marshy (i. e. watery) regions is especially pointed out. *Varuṇa*, being the god of the sea (water), this variety of *takmán* might thus be regarded as his son. This seems rather far-fetched.

to Kaus. 26, 25. Such is the interpretation of all authorities (Grohmann, p. 387; Zimmer, p. 382), and Wise, p. 232, describes the Anyegyuka (Susruta's anyedyushka) as follows: 'If the paroxysm of fever recurs at the same hour daily, it is called Anyegyuka.' It is therefore equivalent to the *rhythmus quotidianus*. Sâyana, anyedyuh anyasmin paradine yah sîtagvaraḥ abhyeti.—yó . . . ubhayadyúr abhyéti, 'he who returns for two successive days,' i. e. with the implication that the next day (as we should say, the third day) is free from fever<sup>1</sup>. Grohmann, p. 388. and Zimmer, p. 382, identify this with the *rhythmus quartanus complicatus*, a form of the disease in which the attacks repeat themselves on two successive days, the third day being exempt. This would remind us of the *ekántarita* mentioned by Kesava, l. c. But it seems to fit also the *kâturthaka viparyaya*. Wise, l. c., says, 'In Châturthaka the paroxysms of this fever occur every fourth day. When the paroxysm continues for two days, the fever is that called Châturthaka Bipargyaya.' None of these constructions, however, is certain. Sâyana here says, ubhayadyuh ubhayasmin dvitiye-hani . . . âyâti, and, still more explicitly at VII, 116, 2, yas ka ubhayedyuh (!) ubhayor divasayoh, atitayor iti seshah, abhyeti, kâturthikagvara ity arthah. This means a kind of fever that omits two days and returns on the third day, and would thus be identical with the *trîtiyaka*, according to the current construction (see Pâda d). But see the Pet. Lex. under ubhayadyuh and ubhayedyuh.

d. For *trîtiyaka*, see the note on V, 22, 13 a.

#### I, 34. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 99.

This hymn belongs to a quite extensive class of Atharvan charms, the object of which is either to generate love in a person of the opposite sex, or restore alienated affection. In general, charms of this class are rubricated in the second

<sup>1</sup> Cf. our not altogether certain interpretation of *vitrîṣṭyâ*, V, 22, 13 a.

part of the fourth book of the Kausika (32, 28-36, 40). This is designated by the commentators as *strīkarmāni*, 'women's rites,' and presents the greatest variety of practices connected with the life of women and their relations to men; see Kausika, Introduction, p. lxxv, and cf. the following hymns. Yet this particular hymn is not mentioned in the book in question, though it is otherwise worked up three times, Kaus. 38, 17; 76, 8. 9; 79, 10. In the first of these passages, 38, 17, the hymn is employed in a simple practice uttered by an intending disputant before entering upon a debate in the *sabhā* or *parishad*, the village assembly: 'While reciting AV. I, 34 he approaches the assembly from the north-east, chewing licorice.' The commentators do not quite agree as to the special purpose of the practice. Kesava says that it produces victory in disputation (*vivāde gayakarmanām vidhiḥ*); Dārila, more mildly, says that it is an expiatory performance to wipe out the guilt incurred in defeating an opponent (in debate), *pratyarthagayadoshasamanam*<sup>1</sup> *prāyaskittam*. Either of these manipulations of the hymn is reasonable if we regard *kāmīnī* in stanza 5 as referring to the *parishad* or *sabhā*<sup>2</sup>, and there is therefore no absolute guarantee that the hymn had originally anything to do with sexual love. Cf. however II, 30, 1.

In Kaus. 76, 8. 9 the bridegroom, while reciting this hymn, ties to his little finger an amulet of licorice-wood (*madugha*), fastening it with thread coloured red with lac,

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have *pratyarthagapa*-, but this does not yield good sense. The correction was suggested by Professor Cowell in a kind note. Correct accordingly our treatment of the passage in Seven Hymns of the Atharva-veda, Amer. Journ. Phil. VII, 481 (p. 16 of the reprint).

<sup>2</sup> There is, too, a bare possibility that the fifth stanza is of later origin, especially if we attach any weight to the tradition that the first book of the AV. consisted of hymns of four stanzas each; see the introduction to I, 12 (p. 247). The meaning of that tradition seems, however, rather to be that each hymn consisted of at least four stanzas, or more, since many of them, in fact, consist of more.



and placing it so that the amulet is on the outside of the finger, the knot within (the hand). In Sūtra 10 he leads the bride forth, and the amulet is, therefore, obviously intended to make him attractive to the bride. This involves the construction of the hymn which we have presented in our translation, i.e. the bridegroom, by means of the amulet, secures the love of the bride<sup>1</sup>.

Once more, in Kaus. 79, 10, at the consummation of the marriage, a ceremony, involving this hymn, is enacted by the married couple. The bridegroom takes hold of the amulet of licorice (which he has put on previously, Kaus. 76, 8. 9), puts it into bull's grease, and while reciting the present hymn and AV. XIV, 2, 71. 72, they embrace one another. Kesava, more explicitly, states that the amulet is first ground up, *madughamaṇim pishṭvâ aukshe*<sup>2</sup> *prakshipya abhimantrya parasparam varavadvau samâlabhete*. The purpose of the performance is not quite clear; it seems to be designed to render the affection mutual<sup>3</sup>. Cf. AV. II, 36, 7, and our discussion there.

The hymn has been translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. IV, 429 (cf. V, 218); Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 52, 78. The Anukramanī designates it as *madughamaṇisūktam*, 'the hymn of the amulet of licorice.'

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Haas in the Indische Studien, V, 386, makes the bridegroom fasten the amulet upon the bride's finger. There is nothing to indicate this proceeding, which is contrary to the context of the hymn. Dr. Haas, to be sure, erroneously refers the *pratīka iyaṃ virudh* to AV. VII, 56, 2; hence he did not see that the bridegroom desires to make himself lovable in the sight of the woman (see I, 34, 5).

<sup>2</sup> For *aukshe*, see our note on II, 36, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Weber in his translation of this passage, Ind. Stud. V, 401, takes *madughamaṇi* to mean 'hymen,' for reasons not apparent to me. I fancy that Kesava's *pishṭvâ* removes the possibility of such a construction, and the *madughamaṇiprāyasāṭṭa* quoted by the same scholar on p. 404, refers simply to the loss of the amulet here in question; this is restored by making another amulet from the *pūtadāru* (*devadāru*)-tree.

**Stanza 1.**

Honey is the symbol of personal agreeableness from earliest times. Cf. e.g. RV. X, 40, 6, 'From you, O Arsvins, the bee took honey in its mouth, as a woman goes (with honey in her mouth) to an assignation<sup>1</sup>.' The digging of the plant with honey is not to be taken too literally, as Sâyana does, *madhurûpena khanitrâdinâ*, or *madhurena prakâreṇa*, but rather, 'with the influence of the sweetness of honey, prompting or supporting him who digs after the licorice-root.' Cf. AV. VII, 56, 2.

**Stanza 2.**

The second half is a formula, being repeated almost literally at III, 25, 5 and VI, 9, 2; Pâda d, at VI, 42, 3; 43, 3.

**Stanza 4.**

c, d. The passage contains an elliptic comparison, as indicated by the brackets in our translation. Without the ellipsis supplied there is no good sense: Weber, 'mich allein drum du lieben magst wie einen honigsüssen zweig;' Grill, 'so sei denn ich das liebste dir, gleich einem honigsüssen zweig.' But what human being regards a branch sweet as honey as the most precious possession?

**Stanza 5.**

a. The clinging sugar-cane is used here metaphorically for sweetness and attractiveness; no practice of this character is indicated anywhere.

c, d. The passage is a formula; see II, 30, 1; VI, 8, 1-3.

**II, 3. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 9.**

The hymn is joined with I, 2 at Kaus. 25, 6-9, in a charm against excessive discharges from the body; see the treatment at I, 2. The particular part of Kausika's practices, which is based on our hymn, is contained in Sûtra

<sup>1</sup> A different interpretation is suggested by Bergaigne, *La syntaxe des comparaisons védiques* (Mélanges Renier, p. 89).

25, 7. It is founded upon the conception that ants are endowed with the faculty of producing water, and that, too, healing-water, wherever they appear, and consequently whenever they are applied as a remedy. Hence they are here given to the patient to be drunk in water. For fuller statements of this belief, see the introduction to VI, 100, and Seven Hymns of the Atharva-veda, Amer. Journ. Phil. VII, pp. 482-4.

The hymn has been translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, 138 ff.; Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 507; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 17, 79 ff. The Anukramanī designates it as bhaishagyâyurdhavanvantaridaivatam.

#### Stanza 1.

b. The difficult word here is avatká. In the Paippaláda XIX, 8, 2 (see Böhtlingk's lexicon s.v.) occur the two hypermetric Pádas, avatakam mama bhashagam avatakam parivákanam. Here the metre suggests emendation to avatka, but at the same time shows pretty clearly that the word is a derivative of avatá, 'spring.' Sâyana is very misleading. Having in mind the performances of the Sûtra, he identifies avatká with muñgasirah in Kaus. 25, 6, and the mountain mentioned in the stanza with the Muñgavat, to wit: atra parvatasabdena muñgavân nâma parvato viva-kshita<sup>1</sup> . . . tasmât ada<sup>h</sup> viprakrîṣhtam yat prasiddham avatkam vyâdhiparihârena rakshakam muñgasirah avadhâvati avaruhya bhûmau dhâvati. This involves an impossible rendering of avadhâvati, and leaves out of sight the possibility that this hymn may have nothing to do with the muñga-reed, being concerned rather with the healing water, procured by the ants; see the introduction.

c, d. The passage as it stands in the text, and our translation, can be sustained only on the supposition that the water is added to some other substance, not indicated in the stanza. Ludwig, feeling this difficulty, emends súbheshagam to súbheshago, 'so that you (the patient) may have a powerful remedy.' A simpler emendation is to change

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the note on V, 22, 5.

ásasi to ásati, 'that do I make into a remedy for you, so that it may contain goodly remedy.' But the next stanza, as it stands, seems also to point to a mixed remedy; hence I have adhered to the text. Sâyana comments against sense and grammar.

### Stanza 2.

I have adhered to the unanimous reading of the MSS.; the Paippalâda offers no help, âd aṅgâ *skatam* (!) yad bhesagâni-te sahasram vâ gha yâni te (cf. also VI, 44, 2). The sense of the passage, as it stands, seems to be that all the remedial substances which are combined with the avatkâ are, after all, inferior in healing capacity to the avatkâ itself. This is much as Sâyana construes it, tava sambandhini sagâtiyâni satam . . . yâni . . . bhesagâni teshâm bhesagânâm madhye tvam uttamam utkrishâtam asi. Ludwig and Grill emend te to me 'dann wird's doch wohl geschehen, dass von meinen hundert Arzenei'n du selbst die allerbeste bist' (Grill). I am not convinced that this is right.

a. âd aṅgâ, 'then surely;' kúvid aṅgâ, 'yea, quite surely;' the latter phrase is a rhetorical question ('art thou) surely?' Cf. Yâska's Nigh. I, 3, and Nirukta IV, 15.

### Stanza 3.

a. The Asuras, the demons, here either hide away the remedies by burying them deep in the ground (cf. VI, 109, 3), or they bury them for secure keeping, so that they may become available on occasion (cf. I, 24, 2). See in general the note on I, 24, 1.

b. aru(h)srânam is emended well by Ludwig to aru(h)-srânam, from root srâ, 'cook.' The Dhâtupâṭha, 22, 22, has srâ (srâyati) pâke, and Sâyana also avails himself of this root in one explanation of the word, aru(h) srâyati pakvam bhavati anena; and (under st. 5), arusho vranasya paktanam. That is 'a remedy which causes the wound to ripen or heal.' We seem to have here the very source for the root srâ of the Dhâtupâṭha. For the interchange of the sibilants, see Bloomfield and Spieker, Proc. Amer. Or.

Soc., May, 1886 (Journ., vol. xiii, pp. cxvii ff.). Possibly the word *āsravá* may have had something to do with the change of *-srāna* to *-srāna*.

d. *Sāyana* reads *aśīamat* for *anīnasat* ; cf. st. 4.

#### Stanza 4.

For *upagīkāḥ*, 'ants,' see the introduction to VI, 100. *Sāyana*, *valmīkanishpādikā vamryaḥ*.

#### Stanza 6.

The stanza consists of 12+11+11 syllables; the last word *rakshāsām*, obviously a gloss, is metrically superfluous. For *Pāda c*, cf. I, 19, 1.

#### II, 4. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 37.

The plant called *gaṅgidā* illustrates very perfectly the absence of any boundary line between disease and demonology in the Atharvan. On the one hand it is employed against a variety of diseases, fever (*takmán*), internal sores (*balāsa*), and other minor manifestations, or symptoms, designated as *gambhá*, *visará* and *visarīka*, *āsarīka*, and *prīṣṭyāmayá* (II, 4, 2 ; XIX, 34, 10), receiving therefore the epithet *visvābheshaga*, 'all-healing,' XIX, 35, 5; it is moreover the specific against rheumatic troubles, if *vīshkandha* and *sāmskandha* (II, 4, 1 ff. ; XIX, 34, 1. 5 ; 35, 1) shall turn out ultimately to have this meaning (see the note on st. 1 c). On the other hand it obviates all the dangers arising from hostile demons and sorceries, as is expressly stated in all the three hymns devoted to its praise (II, 4 ; XIX, 34 and 35). The plant is not mentioned outside of the Atharvan which, in lieu of description, indulges in the customary vague rhodomontades. The gods themselves have thrice produced the *gaṅgidā*, Indra has put strength into it, and (XIX, 34, 6) the seers of yore are said to have known it by the name of *Āṅgiras*—a very pretty conceit, but for the fact that it harbours nothing more than a stolid pun (*gaṅgidās* and *āṅgirās*). From the *Kausika* and its commentaries we learn at least one thing that it is a tree. In the *Sūtra*, 8, 15, it occurs in a list of 'holy' (*sāntāḥ*)

trees, as is expressly stated by Kesava, *atha śāntavṛikshā ukṛyante*. Dārila at 8, 15; 42, 23 describes it as a white tree growing in the Dekkhan, *argunah akala iti dākshinā-tyah*; Kesava at 8, 15, and Sāyana at II, 4, 1 say that it is familiar in Benares, *vārānasyām prasiddhah*. Sāyana, in the introduction to our hymn, as also to AV. XIX, 34, has *gaṅgidavṛiksha*, and in the commentary at XIX, 34, 1 he places the home of the tree in the north, *uttaradese prasiddhah*, all of which would seem to show that the tree is known in many parts of India.

The following is the literature on the *gaṅgidā*: Grohmann, *Indische Studien*, IX, 417 ff.; Weber, *ib.* XIII, 141; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 65.

The hymn II, 4 is employed, Kaus. 42, 23, in a practice which, according to Dārila, is destined to drive away demons (*piśātakātana*); according to Kesava—I state the text literally—it is, *purushahave* (cod. *purusho have*; cf. XIX, 34, 3) *akāryakaraṇena vighnasamanakarma*; and further, *krītyādūshanārthe* (cod. *krītvā*-) *āpyāyati vighnasamanarakshākaraṇah vighnah viskandhe* (!) *yah* (the latter passage is not printed in my extracts from that authority in the edition). The practice consists in tying on as an amulet the substance mentioned in the hymn: *dīrghāyutvāye·ti mantroktam badhnāti*. Dārila says *gaṅgidamanim*, and Kesava more explicitly states that an amulet derived from the *gaṅgidā* be tied on with a thread of hemp, *gaṅgidamanim sanasūtreṇa badhvā sampātyā·bhimantrya badhnāti*. The hemp refers to stanza 5, and it seems to me quite likely that Kesava is right in thus describing the association of the hemp with the *gaṅgida* as altogether external. The hymn has been translated by Weber, *Indische Studien*, XIII, p. 140 ff.

### Stanza 1.

This hymn, as many others, begins with an irregular stanza, two *trishṭubh* and two *anushṭubh* Pādas; cf. RV. VII, 103; AV. IV, 12; VI, 111, &c.

b. Sāyana reads *rakshamāṇah* for *dākshamāṇah*.

c. The meaning of *vīshkandha*, I regret to say, is not clear. Both ancients and moderns have etymologised upon the word, and in all instances have arrived at the conclusion that the word refers to some disease. But the results, though consistent in the one point of disease, betray their weakness in differing as to its special nature. The scholiast at Tait. S. VII, 3, 11, 1—the only known occurrence of the word outside of the Atharvan literature (cf. also Gop. Br. I, 5, 25)—explains it by *virūpā(h) skandhādyavayavā yasya tad vishkandham* (sc. *sarīram*), ‘the body whose members, shoulders, and so forth, are deformed is *vishkandha*.’ *Sāyana*, at AV. I, 16, 3 (and similarly here) says, *gatipratibandhakam rakshaḥpisāḥādikṛitam vighnagātam*, ‘a disease which hinders from walking, produced by Rakshas, Pisāḥas, &c., instigated by (some hostile) disturbance.’ The same fatuous authority, however, at XIX, 35, 5 says, *vishkandham vislishṭaskandham evamnāmānam vātaviśesham mahārogam*, ‘*vishkandha*, a serious disease of that name, caused by wind (in the body), producing dislocation of the shoulders.’ Professor Weber is the author of the modern interpretation of the word, ‘drawing the shoulders apart, rheumatism’ (see *Indische Studien*, IV, 410; XIII, 141; XVII, 215, and cf. the *Pet. Lex.*; Zimmer, l. c., 390; Grill<sup>2</sup>, p. 75). I have been struck by the fact that both *Dārila* and *Kesava* in their comments upon *Kaus.* 42, 23; 43, 1. 2, the *Sūtras* which rubricate AV. II, 4 and III, 9, the principal sources of our knowledge of the *vīshkandha*, omit all mention of disease of any kind. To begin with, these passages of the *Sūtra* are not part of the *bhaiṣagyāni* (*Kaus.* 25, 1–32, 27). Further, *Dārila* speaks only of *pisāḥanāsanam* and *pisāḥakātanam*, *Kesava* of *vighnasamanam* and *vishkandhavighnasamano* (*manih*). Observation has taught me that the commentators’ knowledge of the practices is superior to their knowledge of the meanings of words—all India is in this regard an easy prey to its perverse etymological habits<sup>1</sup>—and I should think it

<sup>1</sup> I recommend a continuous reading of *Yāska’s Nirukta* to any

more conservative for the present to hold that *vīshkandha*, as well as the opportunistic *sāmskandha* at AV. XIX, 34, 5, are designations of hostile demoniac forces. One may easily be convinced, by examining, with the aid of Whitney's Index Verborum, all the passages in which the word occurs, that the latter meaning suits as well as the former. Of course the boundary-line between disease and possession by demons is an evanescent one in all Atharvan writings. The formation *vīshkandha*, moreover, suggests *vyāmsa* (RV. I, 32, 5, &c.) and *vīgriva* (RV. VIII, 4, 24), both of them designations of demons (cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. IV, 410). Thus it has seemed best to leave the word untranslated for the present.

### Stanza 2.

a. *gambhá*, 'convulsions, cramps, or colic.' The translation is reasonably certain. Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, 142, describes the trouble as an infantile disease, perhaps teething; cf. also Zimmer, l. c., 392, and Henry, Le livre VII de l'Atharva-véda, p. 53. The etymology of the word, and the epithet *sámhanu*, 'shutting the jaws,' at AV. VIII, 1, 16, seem to lend themselves at first sight to such an interpretation, but it is after all too narrow. *Sāyana*, *gambhāt himsakāt krityādekḥ, yad vā gambha iti dantavisheshasya ākhyā, rākshasadantavisheshakṛitāt khādanāt*. See, however, his very different interpretation at VIII, 1, 16. At Kaus. 32, 1; 35, 15 occurs the word *gambhagrīhita*. Dārila at 32, 1 defines it as *gambho rakshaḥ, tena grīhitaḥ*; according to Kausika and Kerava, the patient is an infant which is put to the mother's breast and fed with rice and fennel steeped in milk<sup>1</sup>. All this would still pass readily as a cure of diseases connected with teething. But in Kaus. 35, 12-15 we have the following performance:

one who wishes to know how much grain may be found among the chaff. And Yāska is the high priest; how much worse are the epigoni!

<sup>1</sup> Kaus. *gambhagrīhītāya* (Kes. *bālakāya*) *stanam prayakṣati, priyaṅgutandulān abhyavadugdhān pāyayati*.



... garbhadrimhanâni, gambhagrîhîtâya . . . gyâm trir ud-grathya badhnâti. loštân anvrikam prâsayati. syâmasi-katâbhiḥ sayanam parikirati. The scene here is child-birth, the passage is part of the strikarmâni, 'women's rites' (32, 28-36, 40), and the gambhâ has seized the baby or the foetus, either at the moment of birth, or prematurely. Hence the title of the ceremony, 'performances for steadying the womb or foetus.' According to Dârila, the woman herself receives the treatment, being tied about with a three-fold bowstring (gambhena grîhîto garbho yasyâ striyah tasyâ gyâm trigunâm krîtvâ badhnâti), fed with lumps of earth (gambhagrîhîtâm [!] prâsayati), and having her bed strewn about with black sand. Here gambhâ seems to refer to some irregular behaviour of the foetus; cf. Wise, Hindu System of Medicine, pp. 423 (middle), and 421 (bottom), and the introduction to VI, 17. The word has at any rate no special connection with the teeth, as may be seen, too, from Tait. S. IV, 5, 11, 2.

Our translation of visarâ by 'tearing pain' (Sây. sarîravisanâṭ) is of the etymologising sort. The Pet. Lex., more cautiously, regards it as the name of a demon. Cf. vîsarîka at XIX, 34, 10, which Sâyana glosses by vireshena himsakam.

#### Stanza 5.

I am quite agreed with Kesava and Sâyana (manibandhanasûtraprakrîtibhûtaḥ) in not regarding the juxtaposition of the hemp with the gaṅgidâ as due to some biological relationship, or therapeutic virtue (cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, 142). The hemp represents the thread with which the amulet of gaṅgidâ was tied on. A thread, or rope of hemp is mentioned also at Kaus. 25, 28; 72, 15. See the introduction to the hymn. The hemp, of course, comes from the sap of the furrow; gaṅgidâ, the tree, from the forest.

#### Stanza 6.

The same stanza with variants occurs at AV. XIX, 34, 4. The last Pâda is a formula, occurring in addition at IV, 10, 6; XII, 2, 13; XIV, 2, 67.

## II, 7. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 91.

Sâyana (and similarly Kesava) define the purpose of this hymn as a charm to obviate curses, evil eye, and danger from the attack of demons : *laukikavidikâkrosayor brâhmanasâpe krûrakakshuḥpurushadrishṭinipâte pisâkayakshâdibhaye*. According to Kaus. 26, 35 the procedure consists in investing the person threatened with (an amulet made of) the substance mentioned in the mantra. The commentators define this as *yavamani*, 'an amulet of barley<sup>1</sup>.' The word *yâva* is not mentioned in the hymn, the nearest approach to it is *sapatha-yôpanî*, 'wiping out curses.' As *o* and *ava* have almost identical phonetic values in the Veda (cf. our statement of the facts, Amer. Journ. Phil. V, pp. 25 ff.), we must suppose that *yâva* has been read by the ritualists out of the syllable *yô-* of *yôpanî*; cf. too, the synonym *sapatha-yâvanî* at IV, 17, 2, and the well-known formula *yavoḥsi yâvayâsmad dveshaḥ*, 'barley art thou, ward off hatred from us' (Tait. S. I, 3, 1, 1; Sat. Br. III, 6, 1, 11; Hiranyak. Sr. IV, 2, 42, in addition to the places mentioned in Kausikasûtra, index C). Upon this basis the word and the article *yâva* are suggested. The pun is so familiar as to leave no room for doubt in the mind of the Hindu acquainted with this style of literature. Cf. the introduction to VI, 91; and the note to IX, 2, 13.

The hymn has been translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, 148 ff.; Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 508; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 24, 81 ff. The *Anukramanî*, *bhaishagâyâurvanaspatidaivat-yam*. Cf. also *Sântikalpa* 19<sup>2</sup>.

## Stanza 1.

At Âpast. Sr. VI, 20, 2 the stanza occurs in the following corrupt form : *atharvyushâ devagûtâ vîdu kḥapathagam-bhanîḥ* : *âpo malam iva prâṇigann asmatsu sapathân adhi*. Cf. II, 25, 4. 5.

<sup>1</sup> Sâyana, however, commenting on *vîrûdh* in st. 1, *dûrvâ yavo vâ*.

<sup>2</sup> Cited erroneously by Sâyana as *Nakshatrakalpa*.

## Stanza 2.

b. We may note Grill's ingenious emendation of *gâmyâh* to *gâmyah*, an adjective from *gâmi*. But no such form occurs. Cf. AV. II, 10, 1; RV. IV, 4, 5. Sâyana, *gâmyâh gâmih sahottpannâ bhagini*.

## Stanza 3.

A number of the attributes stated in this and the preceding stanzas are repeated at VI, 43, 1. 2; XIX, 32, 1. 3. 7 in connection with the holy darbha-grass. The terms are too general and fabulous to permit definite conclusions as to the plant which the poet here has in mind.

## Stanza 4.

a. The MSS. are divided between the readings *pári mām* (so our edition) and *pári mām*. I have followed Sâyana and Shankar Pandit in adopting the latter version.

c, d. The metre is irregular (*Anukr. virâd uparishṭâdbri-hatī*): c is a catalectic Pâda; d has ten syllables, one of which may be suppressed by reading *târshur*.

## Stanza 5.

b. For the sentiment cf. Tait. Âr. II, 6, 2. Sâyana, *yaḥ purushaḥ suhârt . . . tena suhridayena mitrena saha naḥ asmâkam, sukham bhavatu iti seshah*, 'we together with our friend shall be happy.' I am not convinced that this is correct. Are we to read, *yâḥ suhârt téna vayâm saha*?

c. *kâkshurmantra*, 'he who bewitches with his eye,' also in XIX, 45, 1. Sâyana separates *kakshur* from *mantrasya*, explaining the latter by *guptam bhâshamânasya pisunasya*, 'the calumniator who speaks secretly.' But cf. the 'thousand-eyed curse' at VI, 37, 1; *amitrakakshus* at Kaus. 39, 11; and *ghorâm kakshus*, 'evil eye,' at IV, 9, 6; XIX, 35, 3.

## II, 8. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 13.

The word *kshetriyâ* is interpreted by the Atharvavedins quite unanimously as 'inherited disease.' Three hymns,

II, 8 and 10; III, 7 (cf. also IV, 18, 7; V, 30, 4), are designed to drive it out, and the Kausika rubricates all of them among the medical charms (bhaishagyâni), 26, 41-27, 4; 27, 7-8; 27, 29-31. Dârila at 26, 43 defines it as 'family disease,' kaulo vyâdhiḥ; Kesava at 27, 41 as, pitṛiparyâgataḥ kshettriyaṛogaḥ kushṭhakshayaṛogaḥ grahanīdoṣaḥ sarva-sarīrasphoṭakāraḥ; similarly Sây. at II, 8, 1. The scholiast at Tait. Br. II, 5, 6, 3 (p. 628) has kshetram garbhasthānam tatrotpannatvât, i. e. 'disease which has arisen while in the womb' (rather differently at II, 5, 6, 1, pp. 626-7). The practices connected with these hymns are obscure in detail, and their application is remote.

Kaus. 26, 41-27, 4 deals with our hymn, to wit: 41. 'While reciting AV. II, 8, 1 (the practitioner) washes the patient outside (of the house). 42. While reciting AV. II, 8, 2 (he washes him outside of the house) at dawn. 43. While reciting AV. II, 8, 3 he pulverises the plants mentioned in the stanza (see the translation), as also natural mud, and mud from an ant-hill, sews this up into the skin of a living animal<sup>1</sup> (freshly slain), and fastens it (as an amulet upon the patient). 27, 1. While reciting II, 8, 4 he places a plough with its span of cattle over the head of the patient<sup>2</sup> and pours water over it. 2. While reciting AV. II, 8, 5 he pours the dregs of ghee into (a vessel full of) water (placed) within an empty house. 3. He pours more (dregs of ghee) into an old ditch into which grass from the thatch of the house has been placed. 4. Placing the patient into this ditch he gives him of the water to drink, and rinses him with it.' The symbolism of these practices is not clear, but they seem at any rate to be built up on the derivation of the word kshettriya from kshētra in the sense of 'field,' rather than in the sense of 'womb.' See especially the last

<sup>1</sup> For gīvakoshanī see Kausika, Introduction, p. 1. Other substances derived from living animals occur at Kāty. Sr. IX, 2, 16; Pār. Gr̥h. III, 7, 2.

<sup>2</sup> That is, he puts the patient under the plough with its span, vr̥ishabhayuktasya halasya adhistād vyādhitam avasthāpya (Sāyana in the introduction to the hymn).

stages of the performance, Sûtra 27, 1 (the plough and the span of cattle), and Sûtras 27, 3, 4, which aim to wash off the illness into the very ground, whence (according to this conception) it has been derived. And the hymn itself is redolent of fields, plants, ploughing, &c., and calls upon (st. 5) 'the lord of the field<sup>1</sup>.' Thus Professor Weber was led repeatedly to look upon this hymn as a charm to counteract injuries to fields<sup>2</sup>; see Ind. Stud. V, 145 note; XIII, 149; Nakshatra II, 292. And yet, I think, all this is mere play upon the two meanings of *kshétra*, 'field,' and 'womb<sup>3</sup>;' the poet, thinking that the disease derives its name from the field, conjures with the properties of the field, or, perhaps, adapts secondarily stanzas constructed originally for practices in the field.

The hymn has been translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, 149 ff.; and Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 513. The *Anukramanî* describes it as *vânaspatyam yakshmanâsana-daivatyam*.

#### Stanza 1.

The last three Pâdas are repeated at III, 7, 4; the first half in VI, 121, 3. The point in all these cases is the supposed etymology of the constellation *vikrîtau* (later *mûlabârhanî*, and *mûla*) from *vi krî*, 'loosen;' this enables the word to figure wherever there is question of the 'fetters' of disease. Cf. in general, Weber, Nakshatra II, 292, 310, 374, 389; Zimmer, pp. 356, 392. For an opposite construction of the function of the *vikrîtau*, see the note on VI, 110, 2.

<sup>1</sup> See, however, the note on this expression below.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Pâṇini V, 2, 92, and commentaries; Ind. Stud. V, 145 note; XIII, 159 note; XVII, 208 note; Zimmer, 391 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Note especially the passage from *Kâṭh. S.* cited by Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, 150 note. The expression *svakrîta irine* does not prove that a field is in the view of a performer. A spot where there is a natural rift in the ground is frequently, in witchcraft, made the theatre of the performance, without any such special end in view. Cf. the passages in the *Pet. Lex.*, and the *paribhâṣhâ* to the *abhi-kâra* performances, Kaus. 49, 6.

## Stanza 2.

a, b. I have translated *āpa ukhātu* transitively; cf. III, 7, 7; RV. I, 48, 8, &c. Weber and Ludwig, contrary to ordinary usage, take it intransitively: 'hinschwinden möge jetzt die nacht,' and 'weg geh mit ihrem liechte diese nacht.' Sāyana, in agreement with our version, 'the night at the time of dawn (*usha/ikālīnā rātrī*) shall chase away (*vivāsayatu*).' In Pāda b I read, for the same reason, with one of Shankar Pandit's MSS., *āpokhātu* for *āpokhantu*, making it govern *abhikṛtvāriḥ*. Weber, 'die zauberspinnerinnen (mögen schwinden) hin;' Ludwig, 'weg gehn sollen die bezau-bernden.' Sāyana, retaining the plural, forces, it seems to me, the meaning of *abhikṛtvāriḥ* in translating it by *abhitak rogāsāntim kurvānāḥ*, 'working a cessation of disease all about.' And recognising the futility of the first, he also, alternatively, takes *āpokhantu* as an intransitive, . . . *piśā-kyah apagakhantu*! Cf. the note on III, 7, 7.

## Stanza 3.

a, b. According to our translation the words *babhrór ārgunakāndasya* qualify *yāvasya*; Kesava (and Sāyana who repeats Kesava's substance) make the two words represent an independent plant: *argunakāshtham yavabusam tilapiṅgikām ka ekatra trīni baddhvā*. And Dārila also recognises three plants, the first of which he describes as *babhruvarṇasyā rgunasya tasya kāndasesham* (I for *kāndavisesham*). According to these constructions the first substance is a branch from the tree (Sāyana in commenting on the word in our stanza, *argunākhyavṛikshaviseshakāshthasya* *arguna* (terminalia *arjuna*). But the construction renders this extremely unlikely, and we prefer to render the text philologically.

b. The word *te*, 'thy,' would seem at first sight to refer to a field, and, as stated in the introduction, this would show that the poet here looks upon *kshetriyā* as a derivative of *kshétra*, 'field,' and that he therefore introduces the paraphernalia of the field in his incantation. But this cannot stand against the ordinary value of the word, nor is it

impossible to imagine the introduction of these substances simply on the ground of the supposed (etymological) derivation of the name of the disease. At any rate we have Kausika on our side.

### Stanza 5.

a. sanisrasākshá is ἀπ. λεγ. ; sanisrasá occurs once at AV. V, 6. 4 as a designation of the intercalary month (cf. AV. XIII, 3, 8 ; Weber, Nakshatra II, p. 336 note). Our translation is conjectural and etymological ; the only support I find is in srastāksha (Susruta I, 115, 7), 'with sunken eyes.' Sáyana leans with his full weight on the Kausika's employment of the stanza (27, 2 ; see the translation of it above), in which an 'empty house' figures, and he identifies the word with *sûnyagrihâh* (sanisrasyamânâni atisayena visramsamânâni visîryamânâni akshâni gavâkshâdidvârâni yeshâm te sanisrasākshâh, *sûnyagrihâ* ity artha), i. e. in brief, 'the decayed doors of the empty house.' Credat Judaeus ! Does 'with sunken eyes' refer to the demon of the disease ?

b. The difficulty is much increased by the unintelligible *samdesyèbhyaḥ* which Sáyana, who reads *samdesebhyaḥ*, again identifies with the *garatkhâta*, 'the old ditch,' in the Sûtra, 27, 3. 4: *sam disyante tyagyante tadgatamridâdânene \*ti samdesâḥ garadgartâḥ !* The word seems to refer to some kind of evil (*pâpâ*) at AV. X, 1, 11. 12 ; in IV, 16, 8 (where it is contrasted with *videsyâ*, 'foreign') it refers to the 'fetter of Varuna,' i. e. disease. Weber, 'den auftrag' ausführenden verneigung sei ;' Ludwig, 'anbetung den zu beauftragenden (sich fùgenden).' The entire stanza is highly problematic ; its relation to the Sûtra very obscure.

### II, 9. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 34.

The disease which the hymn is designed to exorcise is, according to Dârila, possession by the kind of demons called *Pisâka*. Kesava (followed by Sáyana) describes it as due to *brahmagraha*, a word hitherto not quoted from any text, but reported by the lexicons as equal to brah-

marākshasa. The practices connected with the hymn at Kaus. 27, 5. 6 are as follows: 5. 'While reciting AV. II, 9 a talisman consisting of splinters (from ten kinds of wood is fastened upon the patient). 6. Ten friends (of the patient) while muttering the hymn rub him down.' The commentators (cf. Kaus. 13, 5; 26, 40) understand the word *sākala* to mean 'a talisman made of ten kinds of holy wood,' and these are derived from the list of holy trees catalogued at Kaus. 8, 15. Cf. also the splinters from the (holy) *kāmpīla*-wood, Kaus. 27, 7 (see the introduction to II, 10), used against *kshetriyā* (hereditary disease). For similar Germanic uses of nine kinds of wood to allay disease, see Wuttke, *Der Deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, §§ 121, 538; Mannhardt, *Baumkultus der Germanen*, p. 18.

The hymn has been translated by Weber, *Ind. Stud.* XIII, 153 ff.; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 506; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 8, 82 ff.; cf. also the author in *Amer. Journ. Phil.* VII, 478, and Bergaigne et Henry, *Manuel Védique*, p. 137. The hymn figures in the *takmanāsanagana* of the *Gaṇamālā*, *Ath. Paris.* 32, 7 (see Kaus. 26, 1 note); the *Anukramanī* describes it as *vānaspatyam yakshmanāsanadaivatam*. The *Paippalāda* presents the hymn, the stanzas arranged as follows: 1, 5, 4, 2, 3.

#### Stanza 1.

The metre is irregular, *pañkti* (*Anukr.*, *virāt prastāra-pañkti*). The *Paippalāda* has the first half as follows: *dasavṛksha muñkēmam ahimsro grāhyās ka*.

#### Stanza 3.

a. For *ādhitīr* the *Paippalāda* reads *adhītam*. *Sāyana*, 'the Vedas, which he has read formerly, or their meaning, which is to be remembered, he has recalled!' Cf. *Khând.* Up. VI, 7. Ludwig emends *adhīter*, and translates 'from insensibleness he has come away,' but the translation conflicts with the meaning of *adhi gā*; cf. *RV.* II, 4, 8.

c, d. The *Sūtra* embodies the indefinite large numbers 100 and 1000 in the amulet of ten kinds of wood, and the



ten friends (Brahmans according to the scholia) who attend the patient.

#### Stanza 4.

The word *kitīm* occurs only in this stanza, and is very problematic. The Pet. Lex. and Weber, 'sammeln ;' Ludwig, 'pflückung ;' Sāyana, 'covering.' We are connecting the word with *kinóti* in the sense of 'arrange, build up,' having in mind the peculiar amulet or remedy *dasavriksha*, 'consisting of ten woods,' in st. 1. The sense then would be that the gods have found out the magic arrangement of the woods, while the Brahmans contribute the practical knowledge of the woods which are endowed with the healing property. Cf. Grill's similar exposition.

#### Stanza 5.

I have followed Sāyana who, relying alternatively upon RV. II, 33, 4, and Tait. S. IV, 5, 1, 2, makes *īsvarah*, 'lord,' the subject of the sentence, *īsvara eva he rugna tubhyam idānīmtanabhishagrūpena bheshagāni karotu*. But the text of Pāda d is awkward, and rendered somewhat doubtful by the Paippalāda, whose version of c, d is, *sa eva tubhyam bheshagam kakāra bhishagāti ka*. Upon the basis of this reading Grill suggests for Pāda d, *krinavad bhishagāti ka*. Ludwig suggests *sūki*, Vedic accus. plur. neut. in agreement with *bheshagāni* ; Weber, *bhishágām* for *bhishágā*. Sāyana thinks also of *sūkinā* for *sūkih*. I have translated the unanimous text of the Saunakīya-school.

#### II, 10. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 14.

The practice associated with this hymn at Kaus. 27, 7. 8 is colourless : 7. 'While reciting AV. II, 10 (the practitioner) fastens upon the limbs (of the patient who has been placed) upon a cross-road<sup>1</sup> splinters of *kāmpīla*-wood (*crinum amaryllaceae*), and washes him off with (water

<sup>1</sup> The favourite place to divest oneself of evil influences ; see the note in the introduction to VI, 111.

dipped out) by means of a bunch of grass. 8. (Or) he sprinkles (him in the same way).’ Cf. the practices under II, 8. A closely parallel mantra-passage occurs at Tait. Br. II, 5, 6, 1-3; this the commentator on the authority of Baudhâya (see p. 628, bottom) connects with the ceremonies at the birth of a child (*gâtakarma*). According to Baudh. *Gr̥h.* II, 1 and 7, the child is bathed with these stanzas, and this prescription is borne out by Hir. *Gr̥h.* II, 3, 10 ff., where the same stanzas are quoted. They occur also in *Âpast. Mantrabr.* II, 12, 6 (cf. *Âpast. Gr̥h.* VI, 15, 4). This usage does not really conflict with the Atharvanic employment of the hymn, since it aims to free the child from diseases and troubles derived from the womb of the mother. The conception borders closely on that of original sin. That the Atharvavedins regarded the *kṣhetriyâ* in this hymn as a disease may be gathered from the employment of the hymn among the *bhaishagyâni* in the *Kausika*; it figures also in the *takmanâsanagana*, ‘the list of hymns destructive of fever,’ in the *Gaṇamâlâ*; see *Kaus.* 26, 1 note.

The hymn has been translated by Weber, *Ind. Stud.* XIII, 156 ff., and Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 513.

### Stanza 1.

a. *gâmisamsâ* is equivalent to *gâmyâh sapâthah* in II, 7, 2; the word recurs at AV. IX, 4, 15, and Tait. Br. II, 5, 6, 3 (where it is glossed by *âlasyaprakhyâpakât*). *Sâyana*, *bandhavo gâmayah*, *aprâptâbhilashitânâm teshâm samsanât âkrosaganitât pâpât*.

### Stanza 3.

The sense of this and the following two stanzas is interrupted by the refrain; Pâda 3 b is in catenary construction with Pâda 4 a. The other version of the hymn (Tait. Br.) does not exhibit the refrain, and the connection of the passages appears undisturbed.

a. *Sâyana* reads *vayodhâh* for *vâyo dhâh*, glossing it by *vayasâm pakshinâm dhâtâ dhârayitâ*.

**Stanza 8.**

The stanza alludes to the well-known legend which makes the demon Svarbhānu smite with darkness (eclipse) the sun, who is then freed by Indra and Atri; see RV. V, 40, 5-9; Tait. S. II, 1, 2, 1; *Kāth.* S. XII, 13; Sat. Br. V, 3, 2, 2; *Pañk.* Br. IV, 5, 1; XIV, 11, 14; XXIII, 16, 2; *Sāṅkh.* Br. XXIV, 3. 4. The moralising cause of the sun's mishap, his énas (sin), is not expressed distinctly anywhere, nor is it to be taken au grand sérieux. By comparison it is treated as a disease, and, like disease or misfortune in general, ascribed to some moral delinquency, requiring expiation (*prâyasakitti*); cf. st. 1.

**II, 12. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 89.**

The essays on the interpretation of this hymn form an interesting chapter in the history of Vedic study, and we have devoted to the subject an article in the second series of our Contributions, Amer. Journ. Phil. XI, 330 ff., entitled 'On the so-called fire-ordeal hymn, AV. II, 12.' The hymn was first interpreted in the sense of a fire-ordeal by Emil Schlagintweit, in an address before the Royal Bavarian Academy in 1866, entitled 'Die Gottesurtheile der Indier;' this interpretation was adhered to by Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, 164 ff.; Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 445; Zimmer, p. 183 ff.; cf. also Kaegi, 'Alter und Herkunft des germanischen Gottesurtheils,' Festschrift zur Begrüssung der XXXIX. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Zürich (1887), p. 51<sup>1</sup>. The interpretation which is presented here is founded upon our above-mentioned article, where Kausika's significant employment of the hymn was first brought forward; in essential agree-

<sup>1</sup> See also Stenzler, 'Die Indischen Gottesurtheile,' Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, IX, 661-82.

ment with it is the translation and exposition in Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 47, 85 ff.

The hymn is employed in the sixth book of the Kausika which professes to deal with *abhiṣāra*, 'witchcraft.' At 47, 12 it is designated as the *bharadvāgapravṛskā*, 'the hewer, or cleaver of Bharadvāga' (the reputed author; cf. II, 12, 2): 'With the cleaver of Bharadvāga one cuts a staff for practices pertaining to witchcraft.' A staff so procured is then employed variously in Kaus. 47, 14. 16. 18; 48, 22. The direct ritual application of the hymn is indicated in Kaus. 47, 25-29, to wit: 25. 'While reciting the hymn II, 12, one cuts the foot-print of an enemy, as he runs in a southerly<sup>1</sup> direction with a leaf from a *parasu-tree*<sup>2</sup>. 26. He cuts three (lines) along (the length of the foot-print of the running enemy), and three (lines) across (the same). 27. *akṣṇayā samsthāpya*<sup>3</sup>. 28. He ties dust derived from the cut foot-print into a leaf of the *palāsa-tree* (*butea frondosa*), and throws it into a frying-pan. 29. If the dust crackles (in the pan) then (the enemy) has been overthrown.' The Sūtra then proceeds to prescribe still more elaborate and potent charms for the purpose of downing the enemy. Of any connection with the fire-ordeal the tradition makes no mention. There are points of contact between our hymn and RV. VI, 52; VII, 104. The *Anukramāṇi* describes the hymn as *nānadevatyam*, composed by Bharadvāga.

#### Stanza 1.

d. Schlagintweit, 'may these be burned here, if I am burned.' So also Weber, Luc...g, and Zimmer. Grill correctly, 'die sollen glühen jetzt, wenn ich erglühe.' Cf.

<sup>1</sup> South is the region of Yama and the departed, i.e. of death.

<sup>2</sup> Or, with the blade of an axe. At any rate symbolically. The commentators differ as to the meaning of *parasupalāśena*; see Kausika, Introd. p. li, bottom. Sāyana, as usual, follows Kerava. See also the note on Kaus. 30, 14 in the introduction to VI, 25.

<sup>3</sup> The text of this Sūtra is not altogether secure, its meaning and the scholia are obscure.

RV. X, 34, 10; 95, 17; AV. XIX, 56, 5. *Sâyana*, mayi abhi~~k~~ârake tapyamâne dikshâniyamena upavâsâdinâ klîrya-mâne sati tapyantâ~~m~~ *samtaptâ* bhavantu. That is, heaven and earth shall participate in the consecration (*dikshâ*) of the performer for the sorcery-practices against his enemy. The appeal to heaven and earth in Pâda 2, and the misinterpreted fourth Pâda, are really the sole cause of the hypothesis of a fire-ordeal. An appeal to heaven and earth is in occidental minds associated inseparably with asseverations of innocence. A similar construction of it for India is apparently unwarranted.

### Stanza 2.

b. For Bharadvâga, see IV, 29, 5; XVIII, 3, 16; XIX, 48, 6; and Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, pp. 128 ff.

d. Schlagintweit, 'der diesen (unsern) geist beschädigt (i. e. schwur bezweifelt).' Weber, 'wer diesen meinen sinn beschädigt, i. e. meinen schwur antastet, mein wort bezweifelt.' Ludwig, 'der diesen meinen sinn anklagt (verläumd-  
det).' All these renderings are founded upon the theory of the fire-ordeal. *Sâyana*, pûrvam sanmârgapravrittam manah mânasam hinasti. There is no lack of evidence that religious performances were at times the object of enmity and the butt of abuse; cf. stanza 6; RV. VI, 56, and Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, IV, 219 ff.

### Stanza 3.

a. The first Pâda is defective, but occurs in the same form in the Paippalâda. It may be corrected by reading somapâvan, somapâyin, somapâ tvâm, or the like. But Atharvan metres are so generally capable of improvement, that we are in danger of singing our own, rather than Atharvan hymns, when we apply ourselves to the task of improving them.

### Stanza 4.

a. Professor Weber, l. c., pp. 167-8, has assembled some interesting statements in reference to the connection of the

number 80 with the fire-ritual. Sāyana attaches a certain significance to the number three, which he connects with the *trikas* of the Sāma-saṃhitās. The number is solemn and formulary.

c. A clear instance of a Vedic parenthesis; cf. Aufrecht, Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk, pp. 2 ff. For *ishā-pūrtām*, see Windisch, ib., pp. 115 ff. Cf. also RV. X, 14, 8; AV. III, 12, 8.

d. Schlagintweit supplies 'firebrand' in the last Pāda, and translates, 'nehme ich jenen (feuerbrand) an mich mit göttlicher inbrunst.' Weber, in still more direct adherence to the hypothesis of a fire-ordeal, supplies with *amúm* 'glühendes beil,' and translates, 'mit göttlicher gluth nehme ich diesen an mich.' Ludwig, 'jenen (den verläumder) erfasse ich mit der göttlichen glut.' Zimmer, 'halte ich jenen (?feuerbrand, ?axt) mit göttlichem griff.' Sāyana properly refers *amúm* to the enemy, and takes *hāras* in the sense of *krodha* (*hāras* etymologically = *θέρος*; cf. II, 2, 2).

#### Stanza 5.

a. *dīdhīthām* for *dīdhīyāthām*. Sāyana, *ādipte bhavatam*.

#### Stanza 6.

Rekurs with variants at RV. VI, 52, 2; the connection there is less pregnant.

c. Sāyana differently, *tapūmshi tāpakāni tegāmsi āyudhāni vā vṛiganāni vargakāni bādhakāni santu*, i. e. 'may our zealous deeds or weapons be destructive to him.' Perhaps this is simpler.

#### Stanza 7.

This and the following stanza seem to be adapted from the funeral ritual (see Amer. Journ. Phil. VII, 476; XI, 335, 336 ff.). Such as they are they occur also in the same connection in the Paippalāda; cf. RV. X, 14, 13; 16, 2. Stanzas of this character lend themselves naturally to

imprecation and incantation. Here the poet takes the offensive against the thwarting enemy.

a. For *saptá prāṇān*, cf. Tait. Br. I, 2, 3, 3. Shankar Pandit, on the basis of a considerable number of his MSS. (both *Samhitā* and *Padapāṭha*), reads *manyāh* for *magñāh*. So also *Sāyana*, *manyah dhamanyah kanthagatā nādīvi-seshāh*. The MSS. frequently write *y* for *g*, especially in connection with nasals (*anaymi* and *yunaymi* for *anagmi* and *yunagmi*); cf. Maitr. S. I, 3, 35 (p. 42, note 4), and Ind. Stud. IV, 271 note. On general textual and exegetical grounds the reading *magñāh* is preferable.

#### Stanza 8.

Schlagintweit translates *Pādas c, d*, '(entweder) soll das feuer in deinen leib einkehren, (oder) deine rede gehe zu leben.' The sense he imagines to be: 'If the word of the accuser is true, then he shall remain unharmed; if not he shall be injured by fire.' Essentially in the same spirit are Weber's, Zimmer's, and Kaegi's renderings. Cf. RV. X, 15, 14.

#### II, 14. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 66.

It is regrettable that this textually and exegetically difficult hymn is illumined but very little by its abundant employment in the practices of the Atharvavedins. In its more general aspects it figures as one of the *kātanāni* (sc. *sūktāni*), 'hymns designed to chase away (demons and diseases),' at Kaus. 8, 25; next, it occurs in another cycle (*gaṇa*) of hymns of a somewhat problematic character, called *mṛigārasūktāni* or *mṛigarāni*, 'purificatory hymns' (?), at Kaus. 9, 1 (cf. 27, 34). In this sense it is employed twice, Kaus. 72, 4; 82, 14, to purify the entrance to a house, *nissālām iti sālānivesanam samprokshya*. If we could only trust that punning juxtaposition of *-sālām* and *sālā-*, it would remove one of the chief cruxes in its interpretation!

As regards its narrower application, it is associated distinctly with difficulty in bearing offspring: at Kaus. 34, 3-11 it is employed in a charm for preventing miscarriage;

at 44, 11 ff. it forms part of an elaborate practice to obviate sterility in cattle. The first of these practices is as follows: 34, 3. 'While reciting II, 14 (the practitioner) pours dregs of ghee into water (in tubs standing) in three huts which have doors to the east and doors to the west (cf. Kaus. 24, 3), in behalf of the woman afflicted with miscarriage, she being dressed in a black garment. 4. Additional (dregs of ghee he pours) upon lead<sup>1</sup> placed into (the leaf of) a palāsa-tree (*butea frondosa*). 5. Placing (the woman) over the lead he washes her (with the above-mentioned water). 6. Having deposited the black garment (where she has been washed) she goes. 7. The Brahman kindles the hut. 8. The same performances take place in the two easterly (huts)<sup>2</sup> in connection with materials brought on separately (for each hut). 9. He performs the practices with the branches, mentioned (above, Sû. 1: he pours consecrated water over her head as she is seated upon branches of *sim-sapa* [*dalbergia sisu*; cf. Kaus. 8, 16] by the side of a body of water). 10. Having put down to the west of the fire two reeds upon a stalk (? *kānde ishîke*), over the two doors (of the huts)<sup>3</sup>, he causes firewood derived from an *udumbara*-tree (*ficus glomerata*) to be put on the fire. 11. To the woman as she comes home last (of those returning?), cakes of rice, and ornaments of *pramanda* (cf. Kausika, Introduction, p. lii), anointed with the dregs of ghee, are given (cf. Kaus. 32, 29; 34, 1).'

At Kaus. 44, 1 ff. there is an elaborate practice of the expiatory kind (*prāyaskitta*), in which a sterile cow is sacrificed to remove the blemish of sterility from the house. After the cow has been slain, '(the priest) while reciting II, 14 carries a firebrand (around her) thrice from right to left without moving (the firebrand) around himself' (Sû. 44, 21). Later on 'he stops her breath' while reciting II,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AV. I, 16, and the practices connected with it.

<sup>2</sup> The practices up to this point therefore have taken place in that one of the three huts furthest to the west.

<sup>3</sup> Extremely problematic; cf. dhāyine, Kausika, Introduction, p. li, and the scholiasts.



14, 5 (Sû. 44, 15). All this is too general in character, and fails to cast light on the real difficulties of the hymn. Cf. also Ath. Paris. 17, 2. The Anukramanî classifies it as *sâlâgnidevatyam uta mantroktadevatyam*. For previous translations, see Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, 175 ff.; Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 522; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 1, 89 ff.

### Stanza 1.

a. The Pâda might have better been left untranslated: the text is certainly corrupt, and especially *dhisâna*, masculine, imbedded as it is in half a dozen feminines, is open to suspicion. The Paippalâda has *nissâlâm dhishnya* *dhishanam*, and, since *dhishnya* means 'seat of the priest,' the suggestion arises that *nis* is to be separated from *sâlâm* (= *sâlâm*, 'house')<sup>1</sup>, and is to be taken with *nâsayâma* in Pâda d, making some such sense as the following: 'we drive out from the house, from the seat of the priest (*dhishnya*), and from the fire-place (*dhishanâ*)'<sup>2</sup>. Cf. the use of the hymn in Kaus. 72, 4; 82, 14 above, and the Anukramanî, *sâlâgnidevatyam*. But the construction of *nir nâsayâma* with the accusative of place from which is unheard of, and the change of all three words to ablatives would amount to an independent composition. Besides, the employment of the Kausika, and the statement of the Anukramanî, just mentioned, may be due to a more or less conscious, punning perversion of the syllables *sâlâm*, for the purpose of extracting *sâlâ*, 'house,' from them. Grill composes a new Pâda, *nîs sâlâvrîkyam dharshanim*, 'out (do we drive) the bold *Sâlâvrîkî*.' Weber, 'die dreiste, zâhe, ausspringende (? correcting to *dhishanam*);' Ludwig—who entitles the hymn, 'Gegen die *Sâlâ*?'—translates, 'die aus dem hause befindliche (die aus der *sâlâ* hölle gekommene?) freche verlangende,' or, alternatively, 'hinaus die *sâlâ*,' &c., and, once more, as a third possibility, 'aus dem haus hinaus die freche begerliche.' *Sâyana* knows nothing about it:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I, 18, 1; VI, 14, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hillebrandt, Soma und verwandte Götter, 175 ff., 181.

nissâlâ is either the name of a female demon, or sâla a kind of a tree (*vrikshavishesha*, tato nirgatâ nissâlâ).

b. Sâyana to ekavâdyâm, 'she who gives forth a single sound of gruff character.'

c. Kânda is the name of a demon, ἀπ. λεγ. in RV. and AV., but frequently mentioned elsewhere, especially in connection with Marka; see Sat. Br. IV, 2, 1, 4. 9. 10. 14. 20. Sâyana, kruddhasya . . . pâpagrahasya.

d. sadânvâ, 'female demon,' seems to be connected with dânu and dânavâ. Sâyana follows Nirukta VI, 30 in explaining it as 'ever noisy,' sadâ nonûyamânâ.

#### Stanza 2.

b. Sâyana takes âksha as 'gambling-house' (akshakrî-dasthâna, dyûtasâlâ), and upânasâ either as 'granary' (anasâ samîpam upânasam dhânyagrîham) or as 'wagon full of grain' (dhânyapûrnam sakatam). RV. X, 105, 4 does not render the word clear.

c. Nothing is known of the ἀπ. λεγ. magundî (Sâyana, kâkana pisâkî); cf. Weber's combinations, l. c., p. 177.

Read duhitro (as in the dialects), and cf. our note on VII, 12, 1; also Ait. Br. VII, 13, 8.

#### Stanza 3.

a, b. The word adharâd, 'below,' alludes with double entente to hell (adhamâ tāmāmsi). Sâyana, pātālaloko-sti; cf. Zimmer, p. 420. This class of writings are fond of conjuring diseases and misfortunes upon others, strangers and neighbours; cf. AV. V, 22, 4 ff.; RV. X, 155; and the common formula expression, anyāms te asmât tapantu hetāyā<sup>1</sup> in the Yagus-texts.

#### Stanza 4.

The stanza occurs in another connection in the Paippalâda, and may not originally have stood here, since the

<sup>1</sup> 'Heiliger Sanct Florian,  
Schütz unser haus zünd' andre an!'

Cf. Amer. Journ. Phil. XI, 345 ff.

second book of the AV. in general consists of hymns of five stanzas.

a. Sâyana glosses bhutapâtir correctly, bhûtânâṃ pâlako rudraḥ. The word bhûta here suggests more narrowly 'evil beings.'

d. Indro is metrically superfluous, and may be spared from the context. Anukramanî, uparishâdvirâd brihatî.

#### Stanza 5.

a. I have taken kshetriyânâṃ in the sense which it ordinarily has in the AV. (II, 8 and 10; III, 7); Sâyana, kshetrât parakshetrât mâtâpitrisarîrâd âgatânâṃ . . . rogânâṃ. Weber and Ludwig, 'coming from the field.' Grill, 'ob ihr zum wild des Felds gehört.'

#### Stanza 6.

b. In the MSS. the Padap. reads, âsûr gâshthâm ivâsaran; the edition emends gâshthâm to kâshthâm, and we, with most translators and Sâyana, read ivâsaram. Sâyana reads glâshthâm, glossing, paridhâvanena glânâḥ san yatra tishthati sâ glâshthâ ('goal,' 'resting-place'?). Cf. VI, 67, 1.

#### II, 25. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 36.

The plant *prisiniparnî* (hemionitis cordifolia; Sâyana, *ketraparnî* oshadhiḥ) is here employed to off-set the activity of demons called *kânva*, of varied pernicious influence, but especially conceived as devourers of the embryo in the womb. According to Susruta I, 377, 7 it serves, mixed with milk, as a preventive against miscarriage (garbhasrâve). Kesava, at Kaus. 26, 36, prescribes it as a far more general remedy, for one overtaken by misfortune, against miscarriage, still-birth, and demons of various sorts. Dârila says it destroys the demons called *pisâka*. The practice at Kaus. 26, 36 consists in smearing the plant mixed with the dregs of ghee upon the patient. The hymn is one of a list of six grouped together at Kaus. 26, 33 for all sorts of diseases (Sâyana in the introduction, sarvarogabhaisha-

*gyakarmāṇi*), which the *Gaṇamālā* (Ath. Paris. 32, 24) describes as the *gaṇakarmāgaṇo* (a list for collective practices). Kaus. 8, 25 mentions it further among the *kātanāni*, 'hymns with which demons are exorcised.'

The hymn has been translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, 187 ff.; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 20, 92. The *Anukramanī* describes it as *vānaspatyam*.

#### Stanza 4.

For -yópana in this and the next stanza, see Amer. Journ. Phil. XII, 414 ff. Cf. II, 7, 1.

#### II, 26. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 142.

This is a hymn connected with a species of oblation (*havís*)<sup>1</sup>, whose object is to concentrate (*samsrāvyā*) wealth and prosperity upon the sacrificer. Cf. I, 15 and XIX, 1. Our hymn aims at prosperity in the stable, and accordingly it is rubricated along with III, 14; VII, 75; VI, 11, 3, at Kaus. 19, 14 ff. in a series of 'stable-ceremonies' (*goshthakarmāṇi*), to wit: 19, 15. 'He (the owner) drinks the new milk of a cow that has thrown her second calf, mixed with the spittle (of the calf)<sup>2</sup>. 16. He presents a cow (to the Brahman). 17. He pours out (into the stable) a vessel full of water. 18. Having swept together the (previously moistened dung), placing his left hand upon it, he scatters half of it with his right hand. 19. Having placed lumps of excrement, bdellium, and salt into milk from a cow with a calf of a colour identical with hers, he buries (the mixture) behind the fire. 20. On the fourth morning he eats of it. 21. If the milk has turned<sup>3</sup>, then (the performance) is a success.'

The hymn occurs also in the *Paippalāda*; it has been translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, p. 26 ff.; Ludwig,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the introduction to VI, 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Sāyana*, *vatsalālāmisritam*. Cf. Khād. *Gr̥h.* III, 1, 47. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Cheap magic. The milk is sure to turn! Is *vikṛīte* to be emended to *avikṛīte*?

Der Rigveda, III, 371; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 64, 92 ff. Cf. also Bergaigne et Henry, Manuel Védique, p. 138. The Anukramanî designates it as *pasavyam*, the author being Savitar.

#### Stanza 1.

b. Vāyu, the wind, the husband of the distant regions (II, 10, 4), who goes in every direction, is naturally regarded as the companion of the cattle, when away from home—a truly poetic conception! Cf. Tait. Br. III, 2, 1, 4.

c. rūpadhēyāni is taken by the Pet. Lex. as a copulative compound, 'form and colour.' But the analogous bhāga-dhēya and nāmadhēya do not favour such a construction. Perhaps 'formation' is the safest rendering of the word. Cf. e. g. Tait. S. I, 5, 9, 1; Tait. Br. III, 8, 11, 2.

#### Stanza 2.

e, d. Sinivālī, the goddess of the new-moon, and Anumati, the goddess of the full-moon, as representatives of the bright part of the month, are fit to illumine the way home. They also preside over the act of procreation; cf. Zimmer, p. 352. Sāyana, unsupported by MS. authority, comments upon anugate instead of anumate.

#### Stanza 4.

c. 'Poured together,' i. e. 'united, or accumulated.' The translation is stiffer than the original, where *sām siñkāmi* and *sāmsiktāk* play upon one another.

#### Stanza 5.

For the change of verb-form, cf. the note on II, 29, 5.

#### II, 27. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 137.

The history of the interpretation of this hymn is told by the translator in Seven Hymns of the Atharva-veda, Amer. Journ. Phil. VII, 479 ff. It is of interest, because it marks very clearly the value and continuity of the Hindu

tradition. It had been regarded previously by all interpreters as a charm against robbers of provisions, until the obviously correct conception of Dārila in his comment on Kaus. 38, 18 ff. was presented. The translation of this passage, along with the bracketed commentary, is as follows: 38, 18. 'While reciting AV. II, 27 (one approaches) the person against whom the debate is directed (from the north-east, while chewing) the root of the *pâtā*-plant<sup>1</sup>. 19. He addresses (with the charm his opponent). 20. He ties on (the *pâtā*-root as a talisman). 21. He wears (upon his head) a wreath of seven leaves (of the *pâtā*).' Cf. also *Sāntikalpa* 17 and 19<sup>2</sup>. Previous translations of the hymn: Weber, *Ind. Stud.* XIII, 190 ff.; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 461; Grill<sup>3</sup>, pp. 23, 93 ff. The *Anukramanī* designates the hymn as *vānaspatyam*.

#### Stanza 1.

The *Anukramanī* defines the purpose of this stanza correctly by *arinirogastvam aprārthayat*, 'he desired absence of strength in the enemy.'

a. *Sāyana*, incorrectly, takes *prās* as a noun of agency, *prashṭāram vādinam*<sup>3</sup>; see, however, Kaus. 38, 24, *prāsam ākhyāsyān* (*Dār. pratiprasnam ākhyāsyān*; cf. *Vait. Sū.* 37, 2; 38, 6). Neither this word nor *pratiprās* and *pratiprāsita* (Kaus. 38, 18; *Dārila, prativādin*) have any connection with root *as*, 'eat,' but are derivatives from the root *pras*, 'ask.'

c. The construction of *prāsam pratiprāso gahi* is not quite certain. *Sāyana* takes both as accusatives, 'the

<sup>1</sup> The *pâtā* is, according to *Sāyana* at st. 4, identical with the later *pâtā* (*clypea hernandifolia*); cf. Kaus. 37, 1; *Rigvidhāna* IV, 12, 1 (MSS. *pâtā*). See *Ind. Stud.* XVII, 266 (the passage quoted from *Āpastamba* is to be found *Āpast. Gr̥h.* III, 9, 5). The word *pâtā* is doubtless, like other words for plants (*apāmārga*, *arundhatī*), etymologically suggestive; cf. the root *pat*, 'tear.'—For the words supplied by *Dārila*, cf. Kaus. 38, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Erroneously quoted by *Sāyana* as *Nakshatrakalpa*.

<sup>3</sup> But in st. 7 he falls into line with *pratikūlaprasnarūpam vākyam*.

debater and the counter-debaters strike.' We regard *prâti-prâso* as gen. sing. dependent upon *prâsam* (cf. st. 7 a), in which case one should like to emend *arasán* in *Pâda d* to *arasám* (cf. Ludwig). If not, *prâtiprâs* is to be regarded as a collective, 'the opposition.' Possibly both are accusatives, 'overcome the debate and the debaters.'

d. *arasán*, with double entente, 'without sap or moisture (in their throats),' and 'without force.' *Sâyana*, *sush-kakanthân*.

#### Stanza 2.

a, b. The same hemistich occurs at V, 14, 1; cf. I, 24, 1. *Sâyana*, *suparnah* . . . *vainateyah*, i.e. *Garutmant*, *Garuda*. But there is no myth in all this: the eye of the eagle, and the nosing boar find the secret seat of the plant.

#### Stanza 3.

*Sâyana*, in the teeth of the *Padapâtâ*, comments both here and in the next stanza on *taritave* instead of *stâritave*. The *Samhitâ* may be construed either way.

#### Stanza 5.

a. *sâkshe* (*Samhitâ* and *Padapâtâ*), probably for *sâkshye* (*Sat. Br.* I, 3, 3, 13); cf. our note on IV, 20, 7.

b. *Sâyana* glosses *sâlâvrikân* by *aranyasvânah*, in accordance with many other scholia, assembled by Weber, l. c., p. 191. Doubtless jackals, as devourers of corpses, are meant.

#### Stanza 6.

For *galâshabheshaga*, see *Contributions*, Fourth Series, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* XII, 425 ff., and cf. especially AV. VI, 44, 3.

#### Stanza 7.

d. *Sâyana*, with some MSS., reads *prâsam* for *prâś* (*prâsam prashârânam vâdinam mām uttaram* . . . *kuru*).

### II, 28. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 50.

The hymn is counted in the *Ganamâlâ*, *Ath. Paris.* 32, 4, as one of a list 'calculated to bestow long life;' see *Kaus.* 54, 11 note. It is worked up more especially in the

godāna, the ceremony of shearing the first whiskers of a youth. Father and mother, while reciting the hymn, hand the boy over thrice to one another and feed him with dumplings, prepared with ghee (Kaus. 54, 13. 14). Cf. Sāṅkh. Gr̥h. I, 28, 15, and Āsv. Gr̥h. I, 4, 4, where the related stanzas RV. IX, 66, 19-21 are rubricated, and, in general, Maitr. S. II, 3, 4; Tait. S. II, 3, 10, 3; Tait. Ār. II, 5. The Anukramanī designates it as *garimāyurdevatam*, 'devoted to the divinity which bestows life unto old age;' cf. Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 341. Previous translations by Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, 192 ff.; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 48, 94 ff.

#### Stanza 1.

b. The favourite formulary number for all possible varieties of death is one hundred and one: AV. I, 30, 3; III, 11, 5. 7; VIII, 2, 27; XI, 6, 16. The Pāda is hypermetric, and may be relieved by throwing out *imām* or *anyē*.

d. The play of words in *mitrā enam mitrīyāt* cannot be reproduced in English; cf. RV. IV, 55, 5.

#### Stanza 2.

a. *risādā* is not analysed by the Padapāṭha, being reproduced by most MSS. as *risādāh*, by some as *risādā* (dual, agreeing both with *Mitra* and *Varuna*? cf. Vāg. S. XXXIII, 72). Sāyana takes it as nom. sg., *himśakânām attā*, and the scholiasts generally, beginning with Yaska, Nirukta VI, 14, though they differ in their etymological analysis, arrive at similar interpretations. Aufrecht, in Böhtlingk's Lexicon, VI, 305, and Grill, p. 95, take it to mean 'very distinguished,' the latter scholar comparing it with *ἐρικυδής*. One would fain look for *dās*, 'giving,' in the last part of the word. At Maitr. S. I, 10, 2 (p. 140, l. 10) = Tait. S. I, 8, 3, 1, the expression *marúto yagñāvāhasah* occurs as the version of *marúto risādasaḥ* in Vāg. S. III, 44; this may be noted for future reference. I have surrendered the version of the native etymologists in favour of Aufrecht and Grill, though the latter has failed to convince me with his fascinating etymological combination.



c, d. The relation of this hemistich to the preceding is obscure; it seems to have been introduced secondarily and loosely. Agni purifies life (RV. IX, 66, 19): so far he fits in with the preceding. But Agni also knows all the races of the gods (RV. IV, 2, 18=AV. XVIII, 3, 23): this, the major part of the hemistich, belongs to a different sphere of conceptions; see the author in Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XVI, 16 ff. Páda d is obviously formulary, being repeated literally in a different connection at IV, 1, 3. For *vayúnâni*, see Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, I, 295 ff.; Ludwig, *Über Methode bei Interpretation des Rigveda*, pp. 31 ff. *Sâyana*, here as elsewhere, in accordance with *Yâska*, Nir. V, 14, &c., *pragñânâmai • tat, iha tu sâmarthyât pragñâtavyâni vidvân, &c.*

### Stanza 3.

b. The edition of Roth and Whitney has *gánitvâh*, which is the Paippalâda reading. Most MSS. used by Shankar Pandit read *ganítrâh*; so also *Sâyana*, *ganitrâh ganishyamânâh*. But *ganítra* is not quotable as an adjective: I accept the more recondite reading *gánitvâh*.

### Stanza 5.

The last stanza occurs in Tait. S. II, 3, 10, 3; Maitr. S. II, 3, 4; Tait. Âr. II, 5, 1 (the last two with variants).

### II, 29. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 47.

The tenor of the hymn is vague, and it exhibits strong traces of patch-work, being compiled from a variety of sources. In the ritual it is applied chiefly as a remedial charm against a disease in which thirst plays a prominent rôle (*trishnâgrîhita*; cf. st. 4). It is described at Kaus. 27, 9-13, as follows: 9. 'While reciting II, 29 (the performer) at sunrise seats (the patient and a healthy person) back to back. 10. Having seated upon branches the patient with his face to the east, and the healthy person with his face to the west, having churned a stirred drink in a cup made of vetasa-reed by means of two (vetasa-reeds, used as) stirrers, upon the head of the person afflicted with thirst, he

presents it to the person not suffering from thirst. 11. (Thus) to him he transfers the thirst. 12. (To the patient) he gives water (freshly) drawn to drink<sup>1</sup>. 13. While reciting the second half of st. 6 he does as there stated (i. e. he covers them with one and the same garment, and lets them drink of the stirred drink). The performance implies the transference (vaguely suggesting the modern transfusion) of the disease upon some friend or menial. Cf. Kaiyata to Pāṇini V, 2, 92, as cited by Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, 159 note. In the Teutonic folk-practices, transference of disease takes place without knowledge of the healthy; cf. Wuttke, Der deutsche Volksaberglaube, § 492 ff. The nature of the disease which harasses the patient with thirst is not stated; it is, of course, likely to have been febrile in character.

The hymn figures also at Kaus. 54, 18 in the *kūḍākaraṇa*, the ceremony of tonsure. This in its character as a life-giving hymn (*āyushya*; cf. sts. 1, 2). The third stanza, a familiar Yagus-formula, is quoted at Vait. Sū. 22, 16. Previous translations: Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, 194 ff.; Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 493.

#### Stanza 2.

The special quality of Agni as a bestower of life is alluded to very frequently, e. g. II, 13, 1; 28, 1; cf. the parallels cited in the introduction to the latter hymn. Pāda d is repeated elsewhere, e. g. I, 10, 2 d.

#### Stanza 3.

The stanza, quoted at Vait. Sū. 22, 16, is repeated with variants in Maitr. S. IV, 12, 3; *Kāṭh.* S. V, 2; Tait. S. III, 2, 8, 5; *Kāty.* Sr. X, 5, 3. The second hemistich also in *Kāṭh.* S. XXXII, 2. In all these the difficult duals *dhattam* and *sāketasau* are replaced by the singulars *dadhātu* and *sāvarkasam* (*Kāṭh.* *súvarkasam*), and all these texts understand *āśīr* to be the nominative of the stem *āśīr*, 'milk added to soma;' see especially Vait. Sū. and *Kāty.* Sr., l. c. (*āśiram*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. stanzas 5 and 6 of the hymn.

in the text of the Sûtra). This construction fails here, and we have, as also Sâyana (alternatively), and the former interpreters, taken *âśh* from stem *âśis*, 'prayer.' The dual dhattam in Pâda b seems to refer proleptically to dyâvâ-prithivî in st. 4, as Sâyana assumes without hesitation. The entire stanza is adapted secondarily; we must in such cases follow the adaptation sympathetically, not the original sense which is entirely out of keeping with the situation.

c. *gâyam* in the MSS. (*Samhitâ* and *Padapâtha*) seems to stand for *gâyan* (the other versions *samgâyan*). Sâyana takes *gâyam* as the noun, 'victory and lands obtaining,' &c. This, too, is possible.

d. For anyân sapâtnân, cf. Nala, I, 13, 14; III, 2, and expressions like πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων, very common in Greek; see the author in Amer. Journ. Phil. VII, 101.

#### Stanza 5.

The transition from the praying modal form in Pâdas a, b to the prophetic aorist in c, d, is a common one in the Atharvan, e.g. II, 26, 5.

#### Stanza 6.

c, d. Cf. the Sûtra in the introduction above. It seems difficult to conceive this hemistich in any other connection than that indicated by the Sûtra. There it fits admirably. The patient and the healthy person clothed in the same garment assume a magically deceptive identity, like that of the Asvins<sup>1</sup>, so that the disease passes from one to the other. And yet this may not be a sautra mantra, but an adaptation of materials, originally composed in a different connection for a different purpose! Sâyana, here as elsewhere, follows the Sûtra through thick and thin.

#### Stanza 7.

a. Sâyana says that Indra was struck by the demons, Vṛitra, &c., but does not refer to any particular narrative.

<sup>1</sup> The Asvins, moreover, are the heavenly physicians, presumably conceived as being themselves free from disease. Thus both persons engaged in the practice are symbolically made healthy.

Cf. RV. I, 32, 12. 14 ; Tait. S. VI, 5, 5, 2. Weber suggests that the mention of Indra's injury indicates that the patient's thirst is due to fever consequent upon wounds.

## II, 30. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 100.

The practices in the Kausika (part of the *śrīkarmāṇi*, 32, 28–36, 40) are stated at 35, 21. They seize upon and embody with rather delicate symbolism the comparisons and metaphors which naturally appear in such poems. The performances are, however, not built up upon this hymn alone, but upon three others, VI, 8, 9, and 102, as follows: 'While reciting the four hymns just mentioned, he places between two chips, taken respectively from a tree and a creeper which embraces it, an arrow<sup>1</sup>, *sthakara*-powder<sup>2</sup>, salve, *kushtha* (*costus speciosus*), sweet-wood, and a stalk of grass which has been torn by the wind ; he mixes them with melted butter and anoints (the woman he loves)<sup>3</sup>.' Cf. the following stanzas of the hymns: VI, 8, 1 ; II, 30, 3 ; VI, 102, 3 ; II, 30, 1 ; and VI, 102, 2. The paraphernalia and emotions of love are concretely embodied in a mixture, and drastically transferred upon the woman.

Previous translations: Weber, *Ind. Stud.* V, 218 ; XIII, 197 ff. ; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 517 ; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 52, 97 ff. The *Anukramāṇi*, *kāminīmano-bhimukhīkaraṇa-kāmaḥ*.

### Stanza 1.

b. The use of the root *manth* suggests the later *man-matha*, 'god of love.'

<sup>1</sup> This represents, of course, *Kāma*'s, the love-god's, arrow. Cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* V, 225 ; XVII, 290.

<sup>2</sup> No less than four forms of this word occur, *sthakara*, *sthagara*, *tagara* (-rī), and *takarī*. It is a fragrant powder ; see, e.g. Tait. Br. II, 3, 10, 1–3 ; Gobh. *Gṛih.* IV, 2, 29.

<sup>3</sup> So *Sāyana*, *striyā āṅgam anulimpet*. Differently *Kesava*, *āṅgam samālabhet ruḍyartham*, i. e. 'he anoints himself so as to make himself attractive.'

d, e. The two Pâdas are formulary; see I, 34, 5; VI, 8, 1-3.

#### Stanza 2.

a, b. Weber, Ludwig, and Grill regard *kâminâ* as dual, 'the loving pair.' I have adopted this, and not followed *Sâyana* in construing it as instrumental singular. The sense would then be, 'if ye shall unite her with (me), her lover.' The two *Asvins*, who woo *Sûryâ* for Soma (RV. X, 85, 8. 9. 14. 15), play here the part of gods of love; cf. AV. XIV, 1, 35. 36; 2, 5. 6; VI, 102, 1. The anacoluthon between the two hemistichs is reproduced in the translation.

c. *bhâgâso*, 'fortunes, good fortunes,' possibly with a double entente (*bhâga* = vulva); cf. st. 5. The Pâda, moreover, suggests secondary adaptation; *vâm* seems to refer primarily to the *Asvins*, 'your fortunes (i. e. the good fortune bestowed by you) have arrived.'

#### Stanza 3.

The sense seems to be that the time of the birds' amorous chirping, when they call to one another to mate, is the proper time for the lover's call to his mistress. Weber, Ind. Stud. V, 219, and Ludwig suggest, however, that the cry of the birds is regarded as a good omen. *Sâyana*, *vaktum iḥhavo bhavanti*. In speaking of the arrow-point and the shaft, the poet has in mind the arrow as the weapon of the god of love; see III, 25, 1. 2; Ind. Stud. V, 225; XVII, 290; Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. XIV, 40, 269.

#### Stanza 4.

a, b. The entire mental condition of the maiden, and perhaps also her utterances, shall be altered: the passage is formulary. *Sâyana*, 'by this the conflict between her speech and her thought is removed.'

c. *Sâyana* on *visvarûpânâm*, 'having limbs full of faultlessness, and not previously enjoyed (in sexual love).' But the word may mean simply 'of all sorts.'

**Stanza 5.**

d. bhága here seems to be used in a double meaning ('fortune,' and 'vulva'); it is to be noted that Sâyana does not paraphrase the word. Cf. XX, 136, 5. The Anukramani, dampatî parasparam manograhanaṃ akurutām.

## II, 31. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 22.

The Atharvan contains three charms against worms, II, 31 and 32; V, 23<sup>1</sup>. The first of these seems to be of the general sort; the second is directed against worms in cattle; the third is intended to cure worms in children. We must not, in my opinion, suppose that the assumption of the presence of worms was preceded by acute diagnosis. Professor A. Kuhn, in his admirable treatise on the connection between Teutonic and Vedic medicinal charms (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, XIII, pp. 49 ff.; 113 ff.), has shown that the greatest variety of diseases are regarded in the naive view of folk-medicine as due to the presence of worms (see pp. 135 ff.); doubtless similar conceptions are at the base of the Hindu formulas. This accounts for 'worms in the head' (II, 31, 4); 'the variegated worm, the four-eyed' (II, 32, 2), and the like. Cf. also Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 98, 393; Wise, *Hindu System of Medicine*, pp. 307, 348 ff.; and Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus der Germanen*, pp. 12 ff. Less certain is the same scholar's view that the similarity of the conceptions in this matter points back to proethnic charms, since the equal endowment of the two peoples (Hindus and Germans) may of itself suffice to account for the parallel results. But I must say that the more modern scepticism

<sup>1</sup> Cf. elsewhere, Tait. Âr. IV, 36; Âpast. Sr. XV, 19, 5; Gobh. Gr̥h. IV, 9, 19; Mantrabrâhmaṇa of the Sâma-veda II, 7; also Maitr. S. III, 14, 11; Tait. S. V, 5, 11, 1; Vâg. S. XXIV, 30; and the correlated hymn, RV. I, 191.

which stoutly denies the possibility of such productions in Indo-European times is at the present time more dogmatic than is at all warranted by the evidence. It is likely a priori that some of these folk-notions had crystallised in prehistoric times; if there was an Indo-European people—some will deny even that—there was also a crude Indo-European folk-lore. Cf. also the introduction to IV, 12.

Kausika implicates this hymn in a rather elaborate and difficult practice, 27, 14–20, as follows: 14. 'While reciting AV. II, 31 he makes an oblation of black lentils<sup>1</sup>, the kind of worms called *algandū*<sup>2</sup> and *hanana*, (all) mixed with ghee. 15. The young (of worms: *Dārila*, *krīmīno bālān*<sup>3</sup>) he winds about from right to left upon a black-spotted arrow (*Dar.*, *kalmāshavarṇe sare*), and then smashes (the arrows)- 16. He roasts (the worms in the fire). 17. He then lays on (the worms with the arrow as firewood in the fire: *Dar.*, *tān bālān sasarān*). 18. With his left hand, his face turned to the south, he throws up dust and scatters it (over the patient, *Kesava*). 19. He (the patient) grinds up (the dust). 20. He then lays (ordinary) firewood on the fire.' The unsavoury practice, introduced by *Kesava* with the words *arushī-udaragandulaka-bhaishagyāny ukṛyante*<sup>4</sup>, comports well with the fierce imprecation: the acts symbolise the destruction of the imaginary worms in the patient, and contain various allusions to the wording of the hymn.

The hymn has been translated by Kuhn, l.c. 137; Weber, *Indische Studien*, XIII, 199 ff.; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 323; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 6, 98. The *Anukramanī* describes the divinity to which the hymn is addressed as *mahīdevatyam*

<sup>1</sup> The word *khalvaṅga*, thus translated, is not altogether clear. It is discussed in Kausika, Introduction, p. xlix.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, not *alāndū*; see Kausika, Additions and Corrections, and cf. the note on AV. II, 31, 3.

<sup>3</sup> But *Kesava* very differently, *govāla(m) kṛititam sarasamdhyaṃ pariveshīya*, i.e. the hair of a cow's tail is wound about an arrow! Cf. *Sūtra* 26, and the introduction to II, 32. Cf. also *Kesava's* explanation of Kaus. 29, 20. *Sāyana* follows *Kesava*.

<sup>4</sup> For *gandulaka*, cf. perhaps *algandū*, above, and in stanza 2.

(! cf. the word *mahî* in st. 1) *uta kândram*; its author is *Karva*.

**Stanza 1.**

a. In RV. VII, 104, 22 = AV. VIII, 4, 22, Indra is called upon to crush the Rakshas as with a mill-stone: the present passage seems to realise the comparison, so that indirectly Indra's bolt (*vâgra*) is in the mind of the poet; cf. also *ârman* and *pârvata* in st. 19 of the same hymn.

d. Cf. the symbolic crushing of lentils in the practice, Kaus. 27, 14, where *khalvaṅga* takes the place of *khâlva*; so also in Kaus. 27, 26 (cf. Kausika, Introduction, p. xlix). Kesava defines both *khalvaṅga* and *khâlva* as *krishnakānakāḥ*. Read here *metri gratia kháluân*. Cf. also V, 23, 8 c, d.

**Stanza 2.**

a. At V, 23, 6. 7 *adr̥śhta* is an epithet of *kr̥mî*; *adr̥śhta* by itself is used substantively in AV. VI, 52, 2 (= RV. I, 191, 4), and 3; cf. also RV. I, 191, 9 = AV. VI, 52, 1 and AV. V, 23, 6, where the sun is designated as the slayer, *adr̥śtahân*, of unseen (vermin); cf. Zimmer, p. 98. In AV. VIII, 8, 15 both *dr̥śhtá* and *adr̥śhta* also occur as designations of vermin, and it seems quite likely that *dr̥śhtá* is an afterthought in the style of *sura* after *asura*; *diti* after *aditi*, and the like.

b. The Paippalâda and Sâyana read *kurîram* for *kur̥rum*; the latter defines it, *kurîram gâlam tadvad antar avasthitam kr̥mikulam*.

c. The MSS., both of the hymn and the Sûtra, hesitate between the two writings *algându* and *alându*, and I had decided in the Additions and Corrections to the Kausika (p. 76, Sû. 14) in favour of *algându*. This is the reading adopted by Sâyana and Shankar Pandit. In the Nâgarî-character the two forms are almost identical (lga is lâ as soon as the g-stroke is prolonged downward); hence the confusion. Sâyana, *sonitamâmsadûshakân gantûn*. Sâyana has *salgân* for *salûnân*. Here, as in st. 4 c, d, *kr̥mîn* is obviously a gloss; the *Anukramanî*, uncritically, defines the metre of the stanza as *uparishâdvirâdbrihatî*.



## Stanza 3.

a, b. The mighty weapon is the charm which is called outright 'thunderbolt' (vágra) in VI, 134 and 135. Perhaps the fire of the symbolic bolt is supposed to burn them (dûná ádûnáḥ). The ritual (Sûtras 16 and 17, above) embodies the idea in practice, and we are not in the position to say but what this particular act was associated with the stanza from the start—a question of principle which seems destined for ever to divide the doctors. Sâyana obviously has in mind paritapati in Sû. 16 in his gloss paritaptâ aparitaptâḥ.

c, d. To render doubly certain the complete destruction of the disease, even those which are *prima facie* already driven out are submitted to this phase of the charm.

## Stanza 4.

a, b. Read ánvāntrīam śirshaṇīam átha u, &c. Cf. with this Mantrabrāhmaṇa (of the Sāma-veda) II, 7, 2, krimim ha vaktratodinam krimim āntrānukārinam. Sâyana (with some MSS.) reads pārshṇeyam, 'in the heel,' and Ludwig, rather arbitrarily, translates 'im Rücken,' as though pārshṭheyam stood in the text.

c. avaskavá, like most of the names in the charm, is ἀπ. λεγ. Weber, l.c. 201, and Zimmer, p. 393, define it as 'he who peels, pares off.' Sâyana, avāggamanasvabhāvam. By the side of vyadhvará (this form twice in VI, 50, 3)<sup>1</sup> we have vyadvará in Sat. Br. VII, 4, 1, 27 (defined by the scholiast as adanāśilo dandaśúkādih) and vyádvarī (with different accent) in AV. III, 28, 2<sup>2</sup>. One or the other is a folk-etymological modification: vyadhvará, 'piercing,' and vyadvará, 'gnawing.' The Padapāṭha divides vi adh-vará (most futile), and Ludwig in his translation of VI, 50, 3

<sup>1</sup> So the vulgata. Sâyana and Shankar Pandit with most of his MSS. vyadvará. See the note there.

<sup>2</sup> Here Sâyana reads vyadhvarī (duḥkhahetur dush/amārgaḥ tadvatī); see the note on the passage.

has arrived at the same result, 'abseits vom wege' (Der Rigveda, III, 500). The same analysis in *Sâyana* to our stanza, *vividhamârgopetam, nânâdvârâni kṛtvâ tatra gakh-antam*.—*krîmîn* here, as in 2 c, is a gloss, misunderstood by the *Anukramanî*, as above.

### Stanza 5.

c. *Sâyana* reads *te* for *yé* and *tanvas* for *tanvâm*.

### II, 32. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 23.

This charm against worms in cattle (*Kesava, gokṛimi-bhaishagyâni*) elicits the following treatment in the *Kausika* 27, 21–26: '(The performer) chants the hymn at sunrise, and pronounces the name of the cow, "O thou, N. N."<sup>1</sup> At the end of the hymn, while exclaiming "the (worms) are slain," he throws *darbha*-grass (upon the cow). He goes through the same performance at noon. In the afternoon he (throws the *darbha*-grass) upon the cow, her face turned to the west<sup>2</sup>. Having cut off a tuft of the (cow's) tail he continues as in *Sûtra* 14 (the performance in connection with AV. II, 31, which see).'<sup>3</sup>

Charms closely related with this are found in *Tait. Âr.* IV, 36 (cf. *Âpast. Sr.* XV, 19, 5), where verses similar to stanzas 3 and 4 are employed to relieve the cow who yields the milk for the *gharma*, if she is sick with worms; further in the *Mantrabrâhmaṇa* of the *Sâma-veda* II, 7 (see the *Calcutta Journal Ushâ*, vol. i, fasc. 7)<sup>3</sup>, and in *Gobh. Grîh.* IV, 9, 19, 20, where the stanzas of *Mantrabr.* are employed to destroy worms both in man and cattle.

The hymn has been translated by A. Kuhn, in Kuhn's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Gobh. Grîh.* III, 8, 3; *Lâty. Sr.* III, 6, 3; and *Kâty. Sr.* XXVI, 5, 1, where *idâ* is mentioned as the typical name of a cow.

<sup>2</sup> The implication is that in the preceding steps of the ceremony the cow's head is turned to the east; cf. *Dârila*, p. 77, note 7.

<sup>3</sup> The same work has also been printed in Serampore (*saka* 1794=A.D. 1872).

Zeitschrift, XIII, 138 ff.; Weber, Indische Studien, XIII, 201 ff.; Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 500; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 7, 100; cf. also Hillebrandt's Vedachrestomathie, p. 47. The Anukramanî, âdityadevatyam, aneno-ktarshir (i.e. Kanva: cf. the introduction to II, 31) uktakriyâm akarot.

#### Stanza 1.

The removal of hantu in Pâda 1 restores a good gâyatri stanza (read, âditîa<sup>2</sup>). The Anukramanî designates it as tripâd bhuriggâyatri.

a. The rising sun and Ushas, the dawn, are especially calculated to dispel the evils associated primarily with night, and then, generally, misery and disease; cf. RV. I, 50, 11, 13; AV. I, 22, 1; V, 23, 6; IX, 2, 15; 8, 22; XIII, 1, 32.

#### Stanza 2.

The stanza is repeated at V, 23, 9 with the variants trisîrshânam trikakûdam in Pâda 1; these readings combined show that the poet in designating the worms has in mind the demon Visvarûpa who is familiarly known to have had three heads. Cf. also Mantrabr. II, 7, 2. krimim dvisîrsham argunam dvisîrsham ka katurhanum. Professor Kuhn, l.c. 147, lays especial stress upon the agreement of the Vedic and Teutonic charms, in that they point out the colours of the worms.

a. Sâyana, visvarûpam nânâkâram; Ludwig, 'den vollgestaltigen.' The epithet 'four-eyed' is originally at home with the four-eyed dogs of Yama, and is due, primarily, to some mythological conception; cf. our note on IV, 20, 7. But in the view of the Hindus 'four-eyed' means 'with spots over the eyes;' see Contributions, Third Series, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XV, 165 note. Sâyana, katurnetram.

b. The Pet. Lexs. render sârânga by 'bunt, scheckig;' Weber, 'schwärzlich;' Ludwig, 'bräunlich.' The native explanations of the word are stated by Prof. Weber, Indische Studien, VIII, 275.

c. The Pâda is a catalectic anushûbh.

## Stanza 3.

The stanza recurs in V, 23, 10. The Tait. Âr. IV, 36, and Mantrabr. II, 7, 1. 2 have similar stanzas: *atrinâ tvâ krime hanmi kanvena gamadagninâ, visvâvasor brahmanâ* (Tait. Âr.); and, *hatas te atrinâ krimir hatas te gamadagninâ, gotamena tinikrîto-trâi-va tvâ krime brahmavadyam avadya. bharadvâgasya mantrena samtinomi krime tvâ* (Mantrabr.) Reliance upon the great seers of the past is a common-place expression in charms and exorcisms; cf. e. g. I, 14, 4; IV, 20, 7.

c. Hillebrandt and Grill regard *vaḥ* as a gloss. But it is written also in V, 23, 10, and its expulsion does not effect good metre, the final cadence being  $\cup - - \cup$ .

## Stanza 4.

Recurs in V, 23, 11. The Tait. Âr. reads at IV, 36, *hataḥ kriminâm râgâ, apy eshâm sthapatir hataḥ, atho mâtâ-tho pitâ, atho sthûrâ atho kshudrâḥ, atho krishnâ atho svetâḥ, atho âsâtikâ<sup>1</sup> hatâḥ, svetâbhiḥ saha sarve hatâḥ*; cf. also the next stanza of our hymn. For *sthâpati*, see Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, 202 ff.; Über den Vâgapeya, 9, 10 (769, 770), Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie, XXXIX (1892); Über die Königsweihe, p. 65 (Transactions of the same Academy, 1893). *Sâyana, sakivaḥ*. The scholiast at Tait. Âr. has *anyo-pi râgavyatiriktaḥ prabhuḥ*. The etymologies suggested are unsatisfactory (see Pet. Lex. and Weber, l.c.); it has occurred to me that possibly the word might be a loan-word with folk-etymological modification, being Avestan *shoithrapaiti* (cf. Achemenian *khshatrapâvan*), 'satrap,' a word which later again finds its way into Indo-Scythian coins in the form

<sup>1</sup> Scholiast, *âgatya sâtyamânâḥ asmâbhir eva bādhyamânâḥ*. Cf. with this also Mantrabr. II, 7, 4. *krimim indrasya bâhubhyâm avâñkam pâtayâmasi, hatâḥ krimayaḥ sâsâtikâḥ sanñlamakshikâḥ*. The scholiast defines *sâsâtikâḥ* by *âsâtikayâ* (! for *âsâtikayâ*?) *saha vartamânâḥ*.

kshatrāpa ; cf. Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, III, 161 ; IV, 186, 200.

#### Stanza 5.

Repeated in V, 23, 12. The Mantrabr. II, 7, 3 presents a passage which concerns stanzas 4-6 of our hymn, *hataḥ krimīnām kshudrako hatā mātā hatā pitā, athai-shām bhinnakaḥ kumbho ya eshām vishadhānakaḥ*.

a, b. Sāyana, without regard to the oxytone accent of *verás* (nomen agentis), renders *veráso* . . . *páriverasaḥ* as follows, *niverasthānāni mukhyagrihāḥ* . . . *paritaḥ sthitāḥ samīpagrihāḥ*. Weber renders the two words by 'diener' and 'umdienenden;' Grill by 'hörige' and 'zugehörige;' Ludwig and Hillebrandt by 'hörige' and 'der hörigen hörige.'

#### Stanza 6.

The metre of the stanza is quite irregular ; the Anukramanī describes it at *katushpān nivrīdushvik*. The first and third Pādas are catalectic ; in the second Pāda *yābhyām* is *yābhiām*, or the like ; the fourth Pāda may also be sustained as a catalectic *anushubh* by substituting *tava* for *te*, or resolving *te* into *taḥ* or *taya*.

c, d. The Paippalāda reads, *atho bhinadmi tam kumbham yasmin te nihitam* (!for *nihitam*?) *visham* ; cf. also the parallel stanza RV. I, 191, 15. Sāyana substitutes *shukambham* for *kushumbham*, and he has the support of some MSS. His comment is *avayavavishesha*, 'some part of the body.' Ludwig translates *kushumbham* by 'tail,' but the parallel passages of the Paippalāda and Mantrabr. obviously point to some word like 'receptacle.' This word as well as *kusumbha* and *kusumbha*, 'water-pitcher of hermits,' seem to me to be extensions of *kumbha* by popular etymology, introducing the influence of *kosha*, *kosa*, 'basket,' and perhaps in the case of *kusumbha* the stem *sumbhā-*, 'purify.' Direct etymological analysis of such words is difficult because they become so readily the play-ball of kindred notions ; cf. Weber, l. c. 204.

## II, 33. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 44.

The commentators fitly treat this charm as a cure for all diseases (sarvabhaishagyam). The practices at Kaus. 27, 27-8 are of the simplest sort, and their symbolic relation to the hymn superficially obvious: 27. 'The stanzas of the hymn are recited over the patient while (fetters with which he has been bound) are being torn off. 28. He is sprinkled with water mixed with the dregs of ghee from a water-vessel.' The hymn figures also in a list designed to bestow long life (āyushyagana) in the Ganamālā, Ath. Paris. 32, 4; see Kaus. 54, 11 note. According to Sāyana the hymn is also a member of the amholingagana, 'a list characterised by (driving away) distress,' consisting of II, 33; III, 11; IV, 13; V, 30; X, 8. But the Ganamālā, Ath. Paris. 32, 31, strings together a very different group under the same caption; see Kaus. 32, 27 note. Cf. also Vait. Sū. 38, 1; Ath. Paris. 33, 3.

The hymn recurs with variants, RV. X, 163; AV. XX, 96, 17-22; the first stanza at Pār. Gr̥h. III, 6, 2. In its R̥gveda form it constitutes also a part of the Āpast. Mantra-brāhmaṇa I, 17, 1-6, employed at Āpast. Gr̥h. III, 9, 10; see Winternitz, Das Altindische Hochzeitsritual, p. 99. The many, often perplexing designations of the parts of the body are paralleled in the catalogues of the parts of the horse's body, at the horse-sacrifice, TS. V, 7, 11 ff. (cf. also I, 4, 36; VII, 3, 16); Maitr. S. III, 15, 1 ff.; Vāg. S. XXV, 1 ff. Cf. also AV. X, 2; XI, 8.

The hymns in question have been translated and compared with certain Teutonic charms by Adalbert Kuhn in his ever-charming work on 'Indische und germanische Segenssprüche,' Kuhn's Zeitschrift, XIII, 63 ff. These comparisons are of permanent interest for folk-psychology, even though the genetic relationship of the charms may be doubted. The Atharvan version has been rendered in addition by Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, 205 ff.; for RV. X, 163 see Ludwig's and Grassmann's translations.

## Stanza 2.

a. Sāyana here defines *ushñhābhyaḥ* etymologically as, *ūrdhvam snigdhābhyaḥ raktādinā utsnātābhyo vā nādībhyaḥ*, but at RV. *snāyubhyaḥ* for *nādībhyaḥ*. Cf. AV. VI, 134, 1; IX, 8, 21; X, 10, 20, and the schol. at Pāṇini III, 2, 59.

## Stanza 3.

b. *hālikshnāt* is obscure: Sāyana, *tatsambandhād* (tat refers to *klomnāḥ*) *māmsapindavisheshāt*, 'a ball of flesh adjoining the lungs.' The word may possibly be related to *hirā*, 'canal, vein.'

## Stanza 5.

c, d. The tautological use of *bhasadyam* and *bhāsadam* is justified in the mind of the Atharvan poet, because it heightens the effect of the cumulative pun upon *bhāmsasaḥ*. RV. X, 163, 4 exhibits but two of these stems.

## Stanza 7.

d. *kasyāpasya vībarhena* (sc. *brāhmaṇā*). For Kasyapa, see the notes on I, 14, 4; IV, 20, 7.

## II, 36. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 94.

The practices associated with this hymn are part of the 'women's rites' (Kaus. 32, 28-36, 40), and they are presented under the special rubric of *pativedanāni* (Kesava, *patilābhakarmāṇi*), 'practices by which a husband is obtained,' Kaus. 34, 12-16 (cf. also Kaus. 75, 7), as follows: 13. 'While reciting the hymn the maiden is given to eat a pudding of rice and sesame, such as is cooked for guests. 14. Upon an altar, made out of clay from a cave inhabited by animals (cf. stanza 4), are placed the substances recited in the hymn (gold, bdellium, &c.; cf. st. 7); these are anointed with the dregs of ghee, and given to the maiden

at the door<sup>1</sup>. 15. Having sacrificed by night rice and barley from a copper vessel to *Gâmi*<sup>2</sup>, the maiden walks forth with her right side turned towards (the vessel; cf. st. 6). The maiden, having been washed and cleaned to the west of the fire, while stanza 5 of the hymn is being recited, is made to do what is told in the stanza (upon a ship) anointed with the dregs of ghee (i. e. she is made to ascend the ship).’ After that follow certain oracles to decide whether the maiden shall succeed in obtaining the husband or not.

The hymn has been translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. V, 219 ff.; XIII, 214 ff.; Ludwig, Rigveda, III, 476; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 55, 102 ff.; cf. also Zimmer, p. 306.

#### Stanza 1.

a. Literally, ‘may a suitor come to our favour,’ i. e. a suitor who shall gain our favour. *Sâyana*, *sobhanâm buddhim â gamet . . . kalyânîm buddhim prâpya*. Cf. *Sâñkh. Grîh.* I, 6, 1 ff.; *Âpast. Grîh.* I, 2, 16; 4, 1-2; Ind. Stud. V, 276, 291 ff.

b. The suitor comes ‘with our fortune,’ since the betrothal of a daughter is regarded in that light.

c. *Sâyana*, *samaneshu samânamanaskeshu . . . yad vâ samânam manyamâneshu sahrîdayeshu*.

d. *Sâyana* reads *ûsham* for *oshâm*, and glosses, *ûsham ûshati rugati apanudati dukkhagâtam iti ûsham sukha-karam*.

#### Stanza 2.

a, b. Cf. RV. X, 85, 40. 41, where Soma, Gandharva, and Agni are said to be the mythical first husbands of every maiden. *Sâyana* has in mind the same passages, since he glosses *brahma* with *gandharva*, and identifies *Aryaman* with *Agni*, leaning upon the slender support of *Âsv. Grîh.*

<sup>1</sup> So that she may adorn and anoint herself with them.

<sup>2</sup> The personified goddess of femininity, or maternity; *Dârila*, *gâmika* (?) *mâtṛikâ*. Cf. AV. V, 1, 4, and Kaus. 34, 20.



I, 7, 13. Cf. AV. XIV, 1, 31, which shows that *sámbhṛitam* alludes consciously to *sambhalá* in st. 1.

c. Dhâtar, the god of divine order and creation, just as the three gods in the first hemistich, is especially charged with the arrangement of marriage ; see VI, 60, 3.

#### Stanza 4.

*Sâyana*, with one of Shankar Pandit's MSS., reads *maghavân* (*mamhaniyabhogyapadâarthayuktaḥ*), in agreement with *âkharáḥ* ; also *abhirâdhayantî*, which he glosses by *abhivardhayanti*, *yad vâ . . . putraparvâdibhiḥ samṛiddhâ bhavantî*. For the juxtaposition of Indra and Bhaga, cf. VI, 82. For Bhaga in relation to matters of love, VI, 102, 3.

#### Stanza 6.

a, b. Judging from IV, 22, 3 ; V, 23, 2 ; X, 10, 11, the divinity addressed as 'lord of wealth' is Indra (*Maghavan* in st. 4).

c, d. The sense is: Every suitor who approaches her shall indicate his esteem, or admiration, so that the event shall not fail to result auspiciously. Cf. the symbolic realisation of this arrangement in Kaus. 34, 15, above.

#### Stanza 7.

a. Some MSS. read *gûlgulu* for *gûggulu* (*Sâyana*, *dhûpanadravyavisheshaḥ*).

b. *aukshá*, 'balsam,' according to *Sâyana* = *pralepana-dravyam*. It seems to be simply 'bull's grease;' see the sloka quoted by Kerava at Kaus. 34, 14 (repeated by *Sâyana* on our passage), as also by Dârila, Kerava, and Ath. Paddh. at Kaus. 79, 9 (in elucidation of the word *aukshe*), and cf. our introduction to AV. I, 34. See also the analogous passage AV. VI, 102, 3, and *aukshágandhi* as the name of an *Apsaras*, IV, 37, 3.

c. For the plural *pátibhyaḥ*, see Ind. Stud. V, 205 ff., 221.

d. *pratikâmáya* is emended by the Pet. Lex. to *pratikâmyâya* (cf. sts. 5, 6, 8, and VI, 60, 3) ; *Sâyana*, *enâm kanyâm kâmayamânam*. The Paippalâda reads *patikâmâya*,

which makes good sense, 'in order to obtain the love of a husband.'

**Stanza 8.**

The second *nayatu* seems superfluous, derived, perhaps, from some parallel expression in which *nayatu* was the last word. The entire stanza is loosely connected with the hymn; the plant addressed seems to have no reference to the proceedings in hand. Cf. AV. III, 18.

III, 1. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 121.

In accordance with our title for this and the following hymn is their designation in the ritual as *mohanâni* (sc. *sûktâni*), 'charms for causing bewilderment;' see Kaus. 14. 17. With them go in the subsequent *Sûtras* (18-21) the following performances: 18. 'Chaff (of rice), underlaid with porridge, is sacrificed from a mortar. 19. (Or) in the same way small grain<sup>1</sup> (is offered). 20. Twenty-one pebbles are shaken (in a winnowing-basket<sup>2</sup>) against (the enemy). 21. (A pot of rice) is offered to the goddess *Apvâ*.' The symbolism is obvious: the chaff or the small grain symbolises the dispersion of the enemy; the pebbles shaken against them the destructive attack of the sacrificing king. An offering is made to the goddess of evacuation (from the body). See the note on III, 2, 5. The present hymn has been rendered by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 518; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* XVII, 180 ff. The *Anukramavî*, *senânmohanam*.

**Stanza 1.**

*Agni*, the fire, figures largely as the typical leader of the vanguard of armies, e.g. in the battle-hymn, RV. X, 84, 2, and in Tait. S. I, 8, 9, 1; Tait. Br. I, 7, 3, 4. A special 'army-fire,' *senâgni*, is mentioned at Kaus. 60, 5, and in the

<sup>1</sup> *Dârila*, *kanikvikâh*; *Kesava*, *kanikâh*; *Sâyana*, *kanikikâm*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Dârila* and *Kesava* on the *Sûtra*, and emend *sûrye* in both texts to *sûrpe*.

scholion to Pâraskara's *Gr̥hya-sûtra* I, 10. The preparation of such a fire is described at Kaus. 16, 9 ff. Professor Weber, l. c., suggests that the name of the war-god Kumâra (Skanda) is in reality one of the manifestations (mûrti) of Agni-Siva-Rudra ; cf. our introduction to XI, 2.

### Stanza 2.

Professor Aufrecht in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, XXVII, 219, advances very good reasons for believing that this stanza is constructed awkwardly out of Rig-veda reminiscences. Especially noteworthy is his emendation of *ámîmr̥inan* to *ámîmr̥idan*, 'they have taken pity,' in the light of RV. II, 29, 4 ; VI, 50, 5 ; X, 34, 3. Yet we must question whether the Atharvan versifex did really compose that ideal stanza, suggested by Aufrecht, or the more uncouth performance, handed over to us by the redactors. I incline to the latter view, and have rendered the text as reported unanimously in the Saunakiya-tradition<sup>1</sup>, though fully conscious that *ámîmr̥idan* is the better reading in the abstract. The stanza puns upon *marut* and the base *mr̥ina*.

### Stanza 3.

The anacoluthon in the two hemistichs can be removed, as Sâyana does, by emending *tán* in Pâda c to *tâm*. Maghavan in Pâda a, in reality goes with Indra in Pâda c.

### Stanza 4.

Repeated with variants at RV. III, 30, 6. Sâyana comments upon the Rig variant *prá sú ta* (te), not upon *prásûta* (Padapâtha). In Pâda d, I have emended (independently from Weber) *vîshvak satyám* to *vîshvaksatyam*, literally, 'having fulfilment away,' i. e. 'bereft of fulfilment.'

<sup>1</sup> The Paippalâda also has *ámîmr̥inan*.

## III, 2. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 121.

For the employment of the hymn in the practices, see the introduction to the preceding. Previously translated by Weber, *Indische Studien*, III, 183 ff.; cf. also Bergaigne et Henry, *Manuel Védique*, p. 139 ff. The *Anukramanī*, *senāmohanam*.

**Stanza 5.**

Repeated with variants at RV. X, 103, 12. For the variants *pratimohāyantī* and *pratilobhāyantī* see Contributions, Fourth Series, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* XII, 422 ff. The goddess *Apvā* (metrically *apuvā*), 'impurity,' is a drastic embodiment of 'defecation from fear.' The enemy shall not contain themselves from fear. Cf. *udarabhedhi bhayam* at *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, III, 15, 33, and passages like *Tait. S.* VI, 2, 2, 5; 3, 2, 3. *Yāska*, *Nirukta* IX, 33, as restored by Weber, clearly explains the word in this way. See in general *Ind. Stud.* IX, 482; XVII, 184; and *AV.* IX, 8, 9.

## III, 3. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 112.

This and the following hymn are made the basis, at *Kaus.* 16, 30–33, of a performance that ensures the restoration of a king who has been driven out from his kingdom by a hostile king (*pararāgena*, according to *Dārila*), to wit: 30. 'In the domain of the kingdom, from which the king has been driven out, a rice-cake in the form of a couch (*sayanavidham*)<sup>1</sup> is placed upon *darbha*-grass, and submerged in water. 31. A lump of earth taken from that

---

<sup>1</sup> This reading is not quite certain: most MSS. of the *Sūtra*, and *Dārila* read *sayanavidhim*. *Kesava*, however, and after him *Sāyana*, read *senāvidham* (*senākāram*), 'having the form of an army;' cf. for the interchange between *aya* and *e* our remarks in *Amer. Journ. Phil.* V, p. 27. Either reading makes good sense: the couch would symbolise permanent, peaceful possession of the kingdom; the army, its conquest by force of arms.

(region) is spread over the fire-place<sup>1</sup>, and (the king) consumes a mess of porridge, mixed with milk. 32. The utensils are taken from the same place as the lump of earth. 34. On the morning of the fourth day (the king) eats the (submerged) rice-cake, and then he is called (to his kingdom).’ Professor Weber remarks that an exiled potentate could scarcely expect to be restored by any more simple device. The symbolism of the practice is obvious : especially the bed and the clod of earth from the native sod (‘heimathsscholle’) are suggestive. Cf. Kausika’s rite at 16, 27. 28 in connection with AV. I, 9 (introduction). Stanzas 1 and 2 are rubricated at Vait. Sû. 9, 2 and 30, 27. The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 441 ff.; Weber, *Indische Studien*, XVII, 185; cf. also Bergaigne et Henry, *Manuel Védique*, p. 140 ff. The *Anukramanî*, *nânâdevatyam utâ-gneyam*.

#### Stanza 1.

Agni figures here as the war-god, capable of bringing victory to the cause of the dethroned king. Cf. III, 1 and 2. With him are united the fighting Maruts who hitch up Agni that he may bring (vah) the king. *Sâyana*, curiously, makes the king subject of *âkîkradat* (cf. RV. X, 45, 4), ‘the king calls (!) upon thee that he may again enter his kingdom.’ In *Pâda d amúm* is perhaps replaced by the name of the king, in the manner of the ritual; cf. e.g. *Vâg. S.* IX, 40; *Tait. Br.* III, 2, 3, 7.

#### Stanza 2.

The stanza is difficult and full of double intent. The crucial word seems to us to be *sautrâmanya*. This is a sacrifice originally devised by the gods to cure Indra from the effects of over-indulgence in soma; see our *Contributions*, Third Series, *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* XV, 153 ff.; Oldenberg, *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft*

<sup>1</sup> The *Sûtra*, *gyotirâyanam*; *Dârila*, *gyotisha âyatanam sthânam uttaravedim avakîrya*.

der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1893, p. 342 ff. But secondarily this rite is also employed by an exiled king, who is also shaky, as it were (*maṅkur iva kakāra*, like the *somâtipûta*, Sat. Br. V, 4, 11, 13)<sup>1</sup>. Throughout this stanza Indra is both the god, and the dethroned king; the gods are the heavenly physicians (the *Asvins* and *Sarasvatî*), as well as the Brahmins who are engaged in the restoration of the king. We have therefore rendered *sautrâmanyâ dâdhṛishanta* by 'infuse courage with the *sautrâmanî*-sacrifice.' The veiled sense of the entire passage is: 'However far the king (Indra) is he shall come back to friendly relations with his people, when the priests (*devâh*) chant their songs and apply the *sautrâmanî* to his restoration. Indra is the typical king, AV. IV, 6, 11; VI, 98, 1; Tait. S. II, 2, 11, 6; the *Brâhmaṇas* are the human *devas*, times without end, Sat. Br. II, 2, 2, 6; Tait. S. I, 7, 3, 1; Maitr. S. I, 4, 6; Kaus. 6, 26; cf. Indische Studien, IX, 152; X, 16, 35, 36.

### Stanza 3.

*Varuṇa*'s relation to water appears here as in IV, 16, 3 (see the note there); *Soma* grows upon the mountains (*Veda* and *Avesta*). The sense is: Even if the exiled king is separated by mountain and sea from his people, let him quickly, untrammelled by such restraints, as an eagle, come to them.

### Stanza 4.

a. The accent of *havyám* is suspicious: we should expect *hávyam*. It is either to be emended, or indicates that the *Pâda* has been adapted from a different sphere. The eagle brings the soma from a distance to be offered to Indra. For such adaptations, cf. e. g. the hymn I, 2.

---

<sup>1</sup> For the *sautrâmanî* in general, see Weber, Indische Studien, X, 349, and especially the same author's recent treatise, 'Über die Königsweihe (*râgasûya*),' in the Transactions of the Royal Academy at Berlin, 1893, p. 91 ff.

**Stanza 6.**

d. We have rendered áva gamaya, 'render accepted,' because the word does not mean elsewhere 'bring down' (Weber). Our authority is Dârila on Kaus. 16, 27, avagamana = anurâga, 'affection ;' see the introduction to I, 9. Sâyana, imam râgânam asmin râshtre bodhaya (similarly Ludwig).

**III, 4. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 113.**

The Sûtra treats this hymn along with the preceding as a charm for the restoration of a king ; see the introduction to III, 3. Support for such a construction may be derived from st. 5. This, however, is not borne out by the text of the stanzas themselves. These are more general in character, and seem to indicate as their theme the election of a chief. See Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 250 ; Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 162 ff. Note especially st. 2, and the play upon the word várûna (as if from root var, 'choose') in sts. 5, 6. The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, III, 252 ; Zimmer, p 164 ; Weber, Indische Studien, XVII, 190 ff. ; cf. also Bergaigne et Henry, Manuel Védique, p. 141 ff. The Anukramanî, aindram.

**Stanza 1.**

The first hemistich is hypermetric, and Weber, Zimmer, and Bergaigne-Henry each differ in their attempts at restoration. We are not at all certain that this need is urgent : Pâda a is a good gagati-line, ending at úd ihi ; for Pâda b see Oldenberg, Die Hymnen des Rigveda, pp. 66, 67. If the pruning-knife must be used pâtir in b is most easily spared, and a most natural interpolation.

a. gan is vox media, either injunctive, or perfect-aorist. The latter in its sense of prophetic aorist is in the Atharvan stylistically very close to the injunctive : often things desired are stated as having been already accomplished. See e. g. I, 23, 4.

**Stanza 2.**

Rekurs with marked variants at Tait. S. III, 3, 9, 2; Maitr. S. II, 5, 10.

**Stanzas 5, 6.**

The expression *ayám rāgā várūnah* in st. 5 a is too pointed to signify merely 'that king Varuna:': *várūna* is used here with false etymological intent as 'chooser;': the word plays upon the sense of *ahvat*, and *vrīnatām* in st. 2. Similarly *várūnaiḥ* in the next stanza means (Indra), with the remaining gods (*Varuna*, *Mitra*, &c.), all choosing the king, and again, with double entente: 'Come on, O king, thou hast come to an agreement with the leaders of thy people who are the electors' (cf. III, 5, 7). All this is thoroughly Atharvanesque.

**Stanza 7.**

Cf. Vait. Sū. 13, 2, where this stanza is employed in connection with a personified *Pathyā Svasti*, the wife of *Pūshan* (ib. 15, 3), 'the prosperous path,' as an embodiment of success and well-being. Cf. also ib. 24, 8; 37, 20, and the *Pet. Lex.* under *pathyā* 3. In *Pāda d* most MSS., both of the *Samhitā* and *Padapāṭha*, read *vasa*, 'rule;': some MSS., *Sāyana*, and the Western authorities, *vasa*, 'dwell.' Cf. AV. XII, 4, 27. For the interchange of *s* and *ś*, see the present writer in the *Proc. Amer. Or. Soc.*, May, 1886 (*Journ.*, vol. xiii, p. cxvii ff.). Cf. also the note on V, 19, 5.

## III, 5. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 114.

The *parṇa*-tree figures in many sacerdotal performances, being identical with the *palāsa* (*butea frondosa*). Its branches and especially its wood are employed directly, and in the form of utensils, at most sacrifices (cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 59); its sanctity is accentuated by myths which derive the plant directly from heaven, and that, too, in connection with the descent of the *soma* (cf. st. 4). A divine archer, who guards the *soma*, shoots at



the eagle that robs the soma ; the eagle looses a feather (*parṇa*), which alights upon the earth and becomes the *parṇa*-tree. See RV. IV, 26 and 27, and the extensive legendary material attaching thereunto, and cf. Adalbert Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*, pp. 148, 192 ; *Contributions, Fifth Series, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* XVI, 20, 24.

No very specific instructions are recorded in the ritual regarding the manipulation of the hymn. At Kaus. 19, 22, in the course of the so-called *pushṭikarmāṇi*, 'practices designed to engender prosperity' (Kaus. 18, 19-24, 46), we have the mere statement that this and other hymns, dealing with amulets, are recited, while the amulet in question (*mantrokta*), after it has been steeped in sour milk and honey for three days (Kaus. 7, 19), is fastened on the person desiring its protecting influence<sup>1</sup>. Accordingly, the *Ātharvanīya-paddhati* (Kaus. 19, 1 note) mentions it in a long list of *pushṭikā mantrāḥ*. Cf. also *Sāntikalpa* 17, and 19<sup>2</sup>. The *Anukramanī* describes it as *saumyam* (cf. st. 4) . . . (*etena*) *parṇamanim uktarshir* (i.e. *Atharvan*) *astaut*. Translated by Weber, *Indische Studien*, XVII, 194 ff.

#### Stanza 1.

d. For *āprayāvan* of the vulgata, read *āprayāvam* (gerund) with the *Index Verborum* ; cf. XIX, 55, 1, and *Vâg. S.* XI, 75.

#### Stanza 4.

For the relation of the *parṇa* to soma, see the introduction above.

In Pāda c Weber emends *priyāsam* to *bhriyāsam*, and *Sāyana* hovered on the edge of the same correction, *priyāsam* *bhriyāsam* *dhārayeyam*. It is, however, not certain, for in *Lāṭy. Sr.* III, 2, 10 (also *Drāhyāyana*) we have *manas tanūshu piprataḥ*, parallel to *manas tanūshu bibhrataḥ*, RV.

<sup>1</sup> *Sāyana*, *tegobalāyurdhanādipush/aye*.

<sup>2</sup> Cited erroneously by *Sāyana* as *Nakshatrakalpa*.

X, 57, 6; Vāg. III, 56; Kaus. 89, 1; Tait. Br. II, 4, 2, 7. Nay, we have the passage with *piprataḥ* in another place in the Tait. Br. (III, 7, 14, 3) itself, and it would seem, therefore, that *piprataḥ* (Pet. Lex. 'erhalten') has a meaning closely analogous to that of *bibhrataḥ*.

#### Stanza 5.

Both Weber and Sāyana cite in illustration of the meaning 'friend' for *aryamán* the passage Tait. S. II, 3, 4, 1, 'he, verily, who gives, is a friend (*aryamán*).' Weber renders Páda d, 'über die gunst des freundes selbst,' a rendering which rather forces the meaning and position of *utá*.

#### Stanzas 6, 7.

The two stanzas prove conclusively that the hymn belongs to the sphere of practices connected with the consecration of a king, and the firm establishment of his royalty. The four classes of persons whose aid is regarded as desirable for the king belong to the so-called *ratna*, 'jewels,' of the court, i. e. they are honoured and indispensable members of his household. Their number altogether is about a dozen, and according to Tait. Br. I, 7, 3, 1 ff., they are the 'givers and takers of royalty (*rāshṭrasya pradātāraḥ*, *rāshṭrasya-pādātāraḥ*).' As a preliminary to the consecration of a king they must be conciliated, and an oblation is offered in the house of each. See for the entire subject Professor Weber's notes on the two stanzas, and his still more elaborate exposition of this interesting theme in his monograph, *Über die Königsweihe*, p. 19 ff.; cf. also Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 252; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 246, 249, 251.

7 a. Weber in the note on this passage, and *Über die Königsweihe*, p. 22 ff., presents serious evidence in favour of reading *yé-rāgāno* (*árāgāno*) for *yé rāgāno*, 'they who make kings, though themselves not kings:' see Sat. Br. III, 4, 1, 7. 8; XIII, 2, 4, 18. Certainly this suits the character of the *sûtá* and *grāmanī* better than the title *rāgā*. Nevertheless minor potentates, influential in the choice of a greater king, may be alluded to here; cf. the expressions

*rāgā várunah* and *várunaih* in III, 4, 5, 6, and our note to the passage. Weber himself has not embalmed his suggestion in the translation, 'die kön' ge königsmacher auch.'

### III, 6. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 91.

The arvattha-tree (*ficus religiosa*) is a strong tree of hard wood whose branches grow into other trees, resulting in their destruction<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand the union of the two trees is regarded as sexual (VI, 11), and emblematic of strength. In this hymn, as well as in the associated practices, the arvattha is employed to destroy enemies. At Kaus. 48, 3-6, the hymn is worked up in the following sorcery-practice (*ābhikārika*): 3. 'While reciting III, 6 (the performer) ties on as a talisman the substance mentioned in the hymn (i.e. wood from an arvattha-tree which has fastened itself upon a khadira-tree), after an oblation has been poured upon it, and it has been anointed (with ghee). 4. As many enemies (as this practice is aimed at) so many fetters, anointed with *īṅgiḍa*-oil<sup>2</sup>, besmeared with the dregs (of that same oil?), (the performer), having recited the hymn over them, (places) along with the threads<sup>3</sup> into a soma-vessel, and digs them into the vital spot<sup>4</sup> (of the enemies). 5. While reciting st. 8 of this hymn along with IX, 2, 4 (q. v.), he pushes off what is mentioned in the stanza (namely, a boat) by means of a branch (of the arvattha-tree). 6. While reciting st. 7 he causes (the fetters) to float down (the water).' The practices are not quite clear, nor do the commentators seem to understand them at all points. Cf. also *Sāntikalpa* 19<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Kāth.* S. XIX, 10, *esha* (sc. arvattho) vai vanaspatīnām sapatnasāhaḥ.

<sup>2</sup> The oil of *īṅgiḍa* takes the place of ghee (*āgrya*) in witchcraft; see the *paribhāṣhā*, Kaus. 47, 3, and cf. 14, 28; 25, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Which threads? *Dārila, sūtreṇa sambandham kṛtvā*.

<sup>4</sup> This presupposes an effigy of the enemy who is thus reached by proxy. Cf. 47, 51.

<sup>5</sup> Erroneously quoted by *Sāyana* as *Nakshatrakalpa*.

The hymn has been translated by Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers*<sup>1</sup>, p. 224 ; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* XVII, 204 ff.; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 21, 104 ff.; cf. also Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 58, 257. The *Anukramanī*, *vānaspatyāsvatthadevatyam*.

#### Stanza 1.

Both *asvatthā* and *khadirā* are masculines, i. e. males ; hence the virility of the *asvatthā* is, as it were, in the second power. The *asvatthā*, moreover, is intimately related with the production of fire (cf. Tait. Br. I, 1, 3, 9), being in fact an embodiment of the lightning. Hence its special fitness for aggressively hostile practices ; see Weber's note, l. c.

#### Stanza 2.

b. *Sāyana* reads *vāibādha dodhataḥ* without support from the MSS. (*Samhitā* or *Padapāṭha*). We have adopted this emendation which is indeed self-evident in the light of st. 7. It is of interest to note that the Pet. Lexs., Weber, and Grill felt constrained to resort to the same remedy. The name 'displacer' for the *asvattha* becomes clear in the light of the natural history of the tree ; see the introduction above, and Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde* I<sup>2</sup>, 304 ff. *Sāyana* takes *vaibādha* as 'sprung from the *vibādha*, i. e. the *khadira*,' the latter being so-called because it strikes with its thorns (*kantakair bādhatē*).

#### Stanza 3.

a. *Sāyana* with the *Paippalāda* reads *nir abhinaḥ* (*nirbhidya utpanno'si*) ; some of Shankar Pandit's MSS. (both *Padapāṭha* and *Samhitā*) support this by reading *nirābhinno* (*nir ābhinnaḥ*) ; cf. *Pāda c*.

b. *Sāyana*, correctly, *arṇave antarikshe* ; cf. RV. VIII, 26, 17 ; TS. IV, 5, 11, 1.

c. *Sāyana*, the *Paippalāda*, and some of Shankar Pandit's MSS., *nir bhinddhi* ; cf. *Pāda a*.

#### Stanza 4.

a. *Sāyana*, the *Paippalāda*, and some of Shankar Pandit's MSS., *kāratī*.

## Stanza 7.

The stanza is repeated at IX, 2, 12 with the variant *sáyakaprazuttânâm* for *vaibâdháprazuttânâm*. The similes in this and the next stanza are put into practice in the rites of the Sûtra ; see the introduction above.

## III, 7. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 15.

This hymn and the practices connected with it harbour the peculiar conception that the horn and the skin of the antelope have the power to drive out inherited disease. Kaus. 27, 29-31 we have the following performances : 29. 'While reciting AV. III, 7 (the practitioner) fastens (an amulet made from the horn of an antelope upon the patient), gives him (water) to drink, lets him rinse himself (with water), and at the time when the stars fade away (at dawn) he sprinkles him with water which has been warmed by quenching in it the kindled piece of antelope's skin pierced by the peg with which it is fastened (when it is spread out)<sup>1</sup>. 30. From a heap of undetermined measure he offers as much barley (cf. AV. II, 8, 3) as can be taken up by a single grasp (of the hand). 31. He gives food (to the patient).' The relation of the antelope and the practices to the *kshetriyá* are extremely obscure. Again as in II, 8 it seems to rest upon a rapprochement with *kshetra*, 'field,' at least if we trust the vague suggestion of the obscure stanzas, Vâg. S. XXIII, 30. 31; Maitr. S. III, 13, 1; Tait. S. VII, 4, 19, 2; cf. also Tait. Br. III, 9, 7, 2; Sat. Br. XIII, 2, 9, 8. Here the antelope is said to eat grain (*yád dharinó yávam átti*; cf. *yava* in Kaus. 27, 30). But we are

<sup>1</sup> The words 'he sprinkles him, &c.' to the end of the sentence are all of them a paraphrase with the help of the scholiasts of the words *saṅkudhânagvâlena . . . avasiññati*. For *saṅkudhâna*, see Kaus. 26, 16, as explained in the introduction to I, 22 (p. 263); for *avagvâla*, cf. also Kaus. 28, 2, in the introduction to IV, 6 (p. 374), and Kaus. 27, 33; 29, 8; 30, 8; 32, 10.

attempting to explain *obscurum per obscurius*. Perhaps the swiftness of the animal (st. 1) symbolises the rapid removal of the disease. The skin of the antelope is used for an amulet at Kaus. 16, 3, the horn at Sat. Br. III, 2, 2, 20; Âpast. Sr. X, 9, 17; Sântikalpa 17, and 19. We must not forget, of course, that *vishânâ*, 'horn,' suggests *ví shyati*, 'loosen,' and that the entire employment of the horn may therefore be in its capacity as a 'loosener' of disease (cf. the introduction to VI, 44). The hymn puns freely upon these words; cf. sts. 1, 2. In general there are many points of contact between Kausika's practices and the stanzas. The first two stanzas occur (with variants) at Âpast. Sr. XIII, 7, 16; the second *ib.* X, 10, 3. The hymn has been translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. XVII, 208 ff.; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 8, 105 ff. The *Anukramanî* has, *saptarâkam yakshmanâsanadevatam uta bahudevatyam, ânushrubham, bhrigvaṅgirâ âdyâbhis tisrîbhir harinam astaut, parayâ* (st. 4) *târake, parayâ* (st. 5) *paḥ, parâbhyâm* (sts. 6, 7) *yakshmanâsanam*.

#### Stanza 1.

a. At Âpast. Sr. XIII, 7, 16 most MSS. read *raghushyato*, genitive of the participle *raghushyant*, but two MSS. report the reading of our text.

c, d. *vishânayâ vishûkṣnam* are in punning alliteration with one another and with *ví shyati*, 'loosen' (understood; cf. *vîshâne ví shya* in st. 2).

#### Stanza 2.

b. For *padbhîs* the Âpast. Sr., *ib.*, reads *paḍbhis*; see our Contributions, Second Series, Amer. Journ. Phil. XI, 350 ff. (cf. also Sat. Br. XIII, 2, 7, 6), and especially pp. 352-3, where we have endeavoured to prove that the expression 'with (four) feet' has come to have the general value of 'quickly, nimbly, briskly.' The fact that human beings have but two feet, the swifter animals four, is of far greater salience to the Hindu mind than to ours; cf. Maitr. S. I, 5, 10 (p. 78, l. 12), Ait. Br. III, 31, 13, and especially Tait. S. V, 4, 12, 1.

c. Two of Shankar Pandit's MSS. have gulphitām for gushphitām; they are supported by Sāyana (gulphitam gulphavad grathitam), and the unanimous reading of the MSS. at Āpast. Sr. X, 10, 3; XIII, 7, 16. Another variant of the word is gushñitam, Sat. Br. III, 2, 2, 20.

#### Stanza 3.

b. 'The roof with four wings (sides)' alludes vaguely to the antlers of the antelope, compared with the roof upon a house; the exact meaning of paksha, as part of a house, is not clearly defined; see our notes on AV. IX, 3, 4. 21. Sāyana, katushkoṇam kḥadir iva. Possibly Grill is right in translating 'a roof which rests upon four posts;' he thinks that the four feet of the animal (st. 2) are compared with posts.

#### Stanza 4.

The stanza is closely parallel with II, 8, 1; see the discussion there.

#### Stanza 5.

Parallel passages, at RV. X, 137, 6; AV. VI, 91, 3, mark the stanza as formulaic; its connection with the rest of the stanza is probably purely liturgical. The hymns of the third book are theoretically entitled to six stanzas only (or to six stanzas at least); see AV. XIX, 23, 3, and cf. the literature cited in Amer. Journ. Phil. VII, 470 (bottom).

#### Stanza 6.

a. Weber translates āsutéh, 'through the act of propagation.' This would comport well with hereditary disease, but does not accord with the use of the word and the root ā su in general. Sāyana, strikriyamānāyā āsuteh, āsūyate āsiḥyate ity āsutir dravibhūtam annam.

b, d. Note the alliteration between vyānasé and nāsayāmi.

#### Stanza 7.

d. I have, very hesitatingly, construed āpa . . . ukḥatu transitively, in accordance with the usual force of the ex-

pression, and the close parallelism with II, 8, 2 c, d (cf. also VI, 83, 1), where *kshettriyaṃ* is an accusative dependent upon *āpa . . . ukḥatu*. For the subject of the verb cf. *sá* in st. 1. Perhaps *apavásé* in *Pádas* a, b is also to be taken transitively, 'when the constellations shine away (as they fade out in the morning the evil powers of night), &c.' *Sāyana*, as the *Pet. Lex. s. v. āpa vas*, construes all the derivatives from root *vas* in this stanza intransitively; cf. our note on II, 8, 2.

### III, 9. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 67.

The hymn, one of the most perplexing in the AV., is directed against a variety of bodily disorders, or demoniacal forces, among which *vīshkandha* and *kābavá* stand out most clearly. For *vīshkandha* see our discussion in the introduction, and in the note on the first stanza of II, 4. The *Kausika* rubricates the hymn at 43, 1, 2, where *Dārila* describes the performance as a *piśākanāśanam*, *Kesava* (and *Sāyana* in his introduction) as a *vighnasamanam*, to wit: 43, 1. 'While reciting III, 9, an amulet of *aralu* (*calosanthes indica*, a tree) is fastened (to the sufferer) by a reddish brown thread (cf. st. 3); he is given a staff to carry (cf. st. 2), and he also carries a weapon<sup>1</sup>. 2. He is fumigated with (the smoke of burning) grain-chaff.'

The hymn has been translated by Weber, *Ind. Stud. XVII*, 215 ff. The *Anukramanī* designates it as *dyāvāprithivīyam uta vaiśvadevam*.

#### Stanza 1.

a. The *Pet. Lexs.* and Weber see in *karsápha* and *visaphá* (both *ἀπ. λεγ.*) the designations of certain demons or diseases (Weber, 'des Abmagernden, Durchdringenden'). *Sāyana* operates on the same line by means of characteristic etymologies, *karsaphasya* (*karasaphasya*) *kṛśasaphasya*

<sup>1</sup> The commentators prescribe that the staff shall be anointed with the dregs of ghee and then be polished off, as in *Kaus.* 23, 11. The same treatment is also prescribed for the weapon.



vâ svâpadasya vyâghrâdeḥ, visaphasya vigatasaphasya spardhamânapurushakâlasarpâdeḥ vispashṭasaphasya vâ krûragomahishâdeḥ. But the statement that beneficent heaven and earth are father and mother of demons is startling<sup>1</sup>; the usual Atharvanic way is to say that heaven and earth are the parents of some curative plant: III, 23, 6; VIII, 7, 2, &c. There is nothing in the way of such an interpretation, and it is to be noted that the amulet of aralu-wood, Kaus. 43, 1 (see above), is not otherwise indicated in the hymn. I do not venture to decide.

### Stanza 2.

a. Sâyana with some MSS., both Samhitâ and Padapâṭha, and the Paippalâda read asleshmânaḥ for asreshmânaḥ. Our translation is purely conjectural. Sâyana depends upon the practices of the Sûtra: 'They (the people) carried the aralu-talisman, the staff, &c., being asleshmânaḥ, i. e. unaffected (aslishṭâḥ) by troubles, &c. ;' or, 'the gods, being free from phlegmatic diseases (sleshmopalakshitatridoshadûshitasarîrarahitâḥ), carried them.' The first of these suggestions, barring the precision of its application, appears to contain something of the truth.

### Stanza 3.

a. Sâyana, quoting in support RV. II, 39, 4, and relying upon Bharatasvâmin's interpretation, renders khrîḡalam by tanutrânam, 'protection of the body,' and Kausika's operations seem to render this quite likely: he prescribes the fastening of an amulet by a reddish-brown thread. But in the RV., khrîḡale=va visrâsaḥ, the word seems to mean 'crutch, support.'

o. Sâyana with some MSS., Samhitâ and Pada, and the Paippalâda read sravasyâm; kâbavâ is explained characteristically as follows: kabuḥ karburavarnaḥ krûraḥ prâṇi, tatsambandhî vighnaḥ kâbavaḥ.

<sup>1</sup> It seems, however, to derive support from RV. I, 191, 6, which Sâyana quotes very aptly.

d. *bandhúraḥ*, apparently plural of *bandhúr*, is hopelessly obscure; our translation 'fastenings' is no better than *Sâyana*'s *asmâbhir baddhaḥ*, or his alternate *bandhurâḥ asmâbhir dhâryamânâḥ manidandâdayaḥ*. The word ought to be identical with the stems *vandhúr*, RV. I, 34, 9 (*trâyo vandhúraḥ*; cf. *trivandhurâ*), *bandhúra*, and *vandhúra*, 'the seat of a wagon.' The matter is complicated still further by *bândhurâ* with discordant accent in st. 4.

#### Stanza 4.

The basis of this translation is again very unstable owing to the word *bândhurâ* which is lexically and grammatically obscure. *Sâyana* presents an entirely different result: 'O ye people who desire glory (by conquering the enemy), but go (into battle) bewildered as the gods by the wile of the Asuras, may your weapons (*bandhurâ sambaddhâ dhritâ khaḍgâdirûpâ hetiḥ*!) destroy the *kâbava* as the ape the dog!'

#### Stanza 5.

*Sâyana* upon the basis of many MSS. (both *Samhitâ* and *Padapâṭha*) reads *bhatsyâmi* (*badhnâmi*). Shankar Pandit adopts this reading. In Pâda d, *Sâyana* with some MSS. reads *karishyatha* for *sarishyatha*; cf. st. 4.

### III, 11. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 49.

This hymn, whose first four stanzas are essentially the same as RV. X. 161 = AV. XX, 96, 6-9, must have originally had the general value indicated by our title. But the *Sûtra* (Kaus. 27, 32-33) specialises, and directs its employment against *grâmya* (sc. *vyâdhi*), 'venereal disease,' (*Dârila*, *mithunasamyogât*). *Kesava* prescribes it against children's diseases and venereal diseases (*bâlarogagrîhite ka maithunadoshabhaishagyâny ukryante . . . maithunarâgaya-kshmani bhaishagyam*); *Sâyana*, against diseases of children, or disease contracted from women (*bâlagraharoge nirantrastrisamgatiganitayakshmani ka*). The practices

are as follows: 27, 32. 'While reciting the hymn the patient is given to eat a porridge containing rotten fish<sup>1</sup>. 32. He is taken to the forest<sup>2</sup>, and (in the morning), when the constellations begin to fade, he is sprinkled with water which has been warmed by quenching in it burning sesame, hemp, cow-dung, and sacred firewood<sup>3</sup> (all gathered in the forest).'

The hymn figures in the *takmanâsanagana* (Ath. Paris. 32, 7), and the *âyushyagana* (ib. 32, 4) of the *Ganamâlâ*; see Kaus. 26, 1 note; 54, 11 note. See also 58, 11, and Vait. Sû. 38, 1. Stanza 4 is quoted in Ath. Paris. 18<sup>2</sup>, 1. The *Anukramanî*, *aindrâgnam âyushyam*. The hymn has been translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. XVII, 231. There is no basis, as far as can be seen, for his caption, 'Bei schwerer Geburt.'

#### Stanza 1.

For the disease *agñâtayakshma* (cf. AV. VI, 127, 3), and *râgayakshma*, see Wise, Hindu System of Medicine, p. 321 ff.; Grohmann, Ind. Stud. IX, 400; Zimmer, p. 375 ff.

#### Stanza 2.

d. Most of Shankar Pandit's and, apparently, all of Roth and Whitney's MSS. read *âspârsam*. *Sâyana*, as the vulgata, *âspârsham* (*prabalam karomi*).

#### Stanza 3.

a. The divine attribute 'thousand-eyed,' predicated to Indra, Agni, Vishnu, &c. (see Pet. Lex. s. v. *sahasrâkshâ*), is here transferred to the powerful oblation. Cf. the note on IV, 20, 4<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For *pûtisapharî*, see Kausika, Introduction, p. lii.

<sup>2</sup> In order to wipe away the effects of the dissolute habits of the village (*grâmya*).

<sup>3</sup> For *gvâla*, cf. Kaus. 27, 30 in our introduction to III, 7 (also Kaus. 28, 2; 29, 8). For *sântâ*, see Kaus. 8, 15. 16.

**Stanza 8.**

The correlation of the hymn with diseases of children (Kesava and Sáyana) is based upon this stanza. Kausika, however, has other matters in mind.

## III, 12. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 140.

The hymn forms in the ritual a part of a *gana* or series entitled *vástoshpatiyāni* (sc. *sūktāni*), 'hymns pertaining to Vástoshpati, the lord of the homestead,' Kaus. 8, 23 ff. (see index B, p. 384<sup>b</sup>, of the edition). More specifically it is employed in Kaus. 43, 8-11 as part of an extensive ceremony at the erection of a house entitled by the Atharva-Paddhati (see p. 118, note 11) as *br̥hakkhālākarma*, 'the great ceremony of house-building,' in distinction from a less elaborate ceremony at Kaus. 23, 1 ff., entitled *laghu-sālākarma* (see p. 61, note 12).

The performances at Kaus. 43, 3 ff. begin with an introductory rite in connection with AV. VII, 41, designed to remove obstacles in the way of the builder; apparently this is known by the special name of *syenayāga*, or *syenegyā*. See the discussion of this somewhat obscure point in the fifth series of our Contributions, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XVI, p. 12. Then the materials for building are brought on, and the excavation for the house is made, and next the actual work of erection is accompanied by the recitation of the stanzas of our hymn, to wit: 43, 8. 'The hymn AV. III, 12 is recited while the (central post<sup>1</sup>) is being fixed and erected. 9. Having anointed it, the sixth stanza of the hymn is recited while the act stated in it is being performed (i. e. while the cross-beam is being placed upon the post). 10. Having taken a pitcher of water, and the fire, they enter the house while reciting the eighth stanza. 11. (The house) is rendered

<sup>1</sup> So according to Dārila, *madhyamasthūnām*; Kesava and Ath. Paddh., more generally, *sālām*. Cf. Hir. *Gṛh.* I, 27, 2, *dvārasthūnām ukkhrayati*; also Āpast. *Gṛh.* VII, 17, 3.

firm by reciting the two 'firm' stanzas (dhruvābhyām, sts. 1 and 2). The ceremonies are concluded in Kaus. 43, 12-15 with sprinkling the house, the recitation of more mantras, an especial oblation to Vāstoshpati, feeding the Brahmans, and final blessings.

The hymn has been treated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 463; Zimmer, p. 150 ff.; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* XVII, 234 ff.; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 59, 108 ff.; cf. also Hillebrandt, *Vedachrestomathie*, p. 45. The Anukramanī designates the hymn as sālāsūktam, and vāstoshpatīsālādaivatam. Similar themes are treated in *Āsv. Gr̥h.* II, 8; *Pār. Gr̥h.* III, 4; *Sāṅkh. Gr̥h.* III, 2, 3; *Hir. Gr̥h.* I, 27; *Āpast. Gr̥h.* VII, 17; *Āpast. Mantrabr.* II, 15; Bhāradvāja's *Gr̥h.* II, 3; cf. Oldenberg, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxix, pp. 92, 212, 345 ff.

#### Stanza 1.

a, b. The words dhruvām and kshéme convey each the idea of good settlement, and sound foundation; cf. *Vāg. S.* XVIII, 7; *Tait. S.* IV, 7, 3, 1, ksémas ka dhrtis ka, and *RV.* I, 73, 4; VII, 88, 7, dhruvāsu kshitishu. Hence the renderings of Ludwig, Weber, and Hillebrandt 'im glücke, in frieden,' &c., do not quite catch the point. Cf. also *AV.* IV, 1, 4.

d. ūpa sām karema seems to convey the idea of close union. In the only other passage quoted by the *Pet. Lex.* it refers to sexual intercourse, bhartāram upasamkaret (*Bṛihat-Samhitā* 77, 26). Sāyana, vyavaharema.

#### Stanza 2.

The wording of the stanza is formulaic. In *Pār. Gr̥h.* II, 17, 9 Pāda b is applied to the furrow of the field; see also the other *Gr̥hya*-texts, cited in the introduction.

For sūnṛtāvati, 'full of abundance,' see Oertel in the *Proceedings of the Amer. Or. Soc.*, May, 1891 (*Journ.*, vol. xv, pp. xcv ff.), and our *Contributions*, Fifth Series, ib. XVI, p. 19. Ludwig, 'reich an trefflichkeit'; Zimmer, 'reich an wonne'; Weber, 'reich an frohen liedern'; Hillebrandt, 'reich an lieblicher rede'; Grill, 'reich an herrlichkeiten.'

## Stanza 3.

Hillebrandt and Grill regard the first two Pādas as defective, but they are anuśtubh, no poorer than many others in the AV. The Anukr., *bṛihatī*.

a. *dharuṇī* is in intentional relation with *dhruvā*, hence 'a supporter;' cf. Tait. S. IV, 3, 7, 2. Grill, 'vielfassend, vielbergend;' Zimmer and Hillebrandt, 'geräumig.' The Pāda is catalectic.

b. *bṛihákkhandāh*, 'with broad roof.' The translation is problematic, the word being ἀπ. λεγ. *khandas* does not by itself ever occur in the meaning 'roof' (*khadis*, *khadman*). Some support may be derived from st. 5 c, *trīnam vāsānā*, since in Hir. *Grīh.* the roof is smoothed with a stanza containing the same Pāda. The words there used are *kṣannām* (sc. *sālām*) *abhimṛisati*. *Sāyana*, *prabhūtakṣādana*, *mahadbhis kṣandobhir devair upetā vā*. For *pūti-dhānyā*<sup>1</sup> of the text of the Saunakiya-sākhā, the Paippalāda reads *pūtadhānyā*; this underlies our translation. Cf. *paripūteshu dhānyeshu*, Manu VIII, 331, and perhaps also the expression *kṛitā dhānāh*, RV. III, 35, 7.

d. Cf. *Sāṅkh. Grīh.* III, 3, 9, ā syandantām dhenavonityavatsāh. The majority of Shankar Pandit's MSS. (both *Padapāṭha* and *Samhitā*) read āspandamānāh.

## Stanza 4.

o. Most MSS., and the editio princeps, read *ukṣhāntu*; *Sāyana*, Shankar Pandit, with some MSS., and the Paippalāda, *ukshāntu*, the basis of our translation. Again, our translation presupposes the reading *udnā* for *unnā* of the edition: the MSS. read *utnā* (cf. VII, 45, 2; VII, 18, 1, and the Index Verborum, p. 67). The Paippalāda, Shankar Pandit with some of his MSS., and *Sāyana* have *udnā*; cf. RV. I, 85, 5, (*marútaḥ*) *udābhir vy ūdanti bhūma*.

<sup>1</sup> *Sāyana*, with desperate literalness, *pūtigandhopetagīrnadhānyayuktā*, 'endowed with evil smelling, old, grain!' Ludwig suggests *pratidhānyā* or *prātidhānyā*, 'gut zu verschliessen.'

d. For ní tanotu, cf. AV. VII, 90, 3; VII, 31, 3, and the plant nitatnî, used to prevent the falling out of hair at AV. VI, 136, 1. Sâyana, nitarâm karotu.

#### Stanza 5.

a. The words mânasya patni are addressed directly to the house (sâlâ), as may be gathered from IX, 3, 21; the house, after it is erected, is deified, since the weal or woe of its inhabitants are now dependent upon its behaviour. Sâyana, mânaniyasya vâstupateh patni, 'O wife of Vâstupati who is to be honoured<sup>1</sup>!' Grill's etymological combinations are superfluous; his comparison of Zend nmânô-pathni and nmânô-paiti (Gâthic, demâna) contrary to phonetic law. Ludwig and Weber, 'herrin des maasses;' Ludwig at IX, 3, 5 ff. (Der Rigveda, III, pp. 464-5), 'herrin des verweilens;' Zimmer and Hillebrandt, 'genie des baues;' Grill, 'hort der rast.'

b. Sâyana reads nirmitâ for nimitâ.

#### Stanza 6.

a, b. The expression á roha, 'ascend,' harbours two double ententes, borrowed from other well-known events in life. First, sexual connection, in a manner similar to the union of the two sticks with which fire is churned (see e.g. VI, 11, 1, and cf. III, 6, 1); secondly, the various acts of ascending which form parts of the consecration of a king, the râgasûya (cf. Kaus. 17, 3, 9; AV. IV, 8). The rule of the king is indicated clearly in the next Pâda (cf. AV. I, 10, 1), and in the anointing of the post, prescribed at Kaus. 43, 10. The word virâgan in Pâda b, which we have rendered 'ruling,' again suggests the alternate meaning, 'shining;' cf. 'the shining roof' in AV. III, 7, 3. The vamsa is a very important part of the house; sometimes it splits, and elaborate performances are prescribed in Kaus. 135 to meet that misfortune.

<sup>1</sup> Still worse is the alternate interpretation, mîyamânam dhân-yâdikam mânam tasya patni pâlayitri.

c, d. Both Pādas are hypermetric; the first may be mended by excluding *grīhāṇām* (so in our version), which seems to have crept in from st. 9 c; the second by changing *sārvavīrah* to *sūvīrah* or *sāvīrah*. The translators render *upasattāro*, erroneously, by 'inmates;' this is certainly incorrect, as may be gathered from Vāg. S. XXVII, 2. 4, *mā ka rishad upasattā te agne*; AV. II, 6, 2, *mā te rishann upasattāro agne*. Sāyana, *upavadanakartārah*; Ludwig, fancifully, 'nicht sollen dich verletzen die belagerer der häuser!'

### Stanza 7.

Occurs with many variants in the *Gṛīhya-sūtras* of Āśv., Pār., Sāṅkh., Hir., Āpast., Bhāradvāja, Mānava; see the introduction, and Professor Kirste's edition of the *Hiranyakesin*, p. 54, notes.

b. The reading *gāgatā saha*, also in Hir. and Bhār.; Mān. has *gagadā saha*; Pār. *gagadaiḥ saha*; the other texts show still greater differences. For *gagat*, see Zimmer, p. 150, and AV. IX, 3, 17. Oldenberg in the *Sacred Books*, vol. xxix, pp. 345, 395, and xxx, p. 205, renders both *gagat* and *gagada* by 'companion;' Ludwig, 'mit dem lebenden;' Weber, 'nebst allem was sich rührt.' The others, as above. Sāyana, *gamanasīlena gavādinā saha*.

c, d. Sāyana has *kumbhāḥ* which approaches the reading of Sāṅkh., *kumbhyāḥ*; and *kalasīr*, like Āpast. and Bhār. The last seems preferable to *kalāsair* of our texts; cf. the note on VI, 59, 2 b.

### Stanza 8.

In the *Paippalāda* this stanza is wanting here, appearing (with variants) in another hymn; Grill in his translation places it before stanza 7, without a statement of his motive. Cf. Kaus. 43, 10; Vait. Sū. 16, 1 (with the *vikāra*, *adhvaryo* for *nāri*), and in general AV. IX, 3, 22, and Kaus. 66, 25.

c. Sāyana reads *pātrim* and *samindhi* (*samdiptān kuru*). Shankar Pandit, with most of his MSS., reads *imām pātrīn*, referring *imām* to the house.



d. Weber emends, *abhí ksharáty enân*, but neither change is necessary. See II, 12, 4, *ishāpūrtām avatu naḥ*.

### Stanza 9.

Identical with AV. IX, 3, 23, and quoted frequently in the Atharva-Parisishṭas (16; 19<sup>3</sup>, 3, &c.).

### III, 13. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 146.

The first six stanzas of this hymn recur in Tait. S. V, 6, 1, 2-4; Maitr. S. II, 13, 1, in connection with certain oblations of water (*kumbheshṭakāḥ*, or *apām grahāḥ*), and they are evidently originally at home in the Yagus-ritual. The etymological puns, heaped up in the first four stanzas, explain the various names of water quite in Nirukta and Brāhmaṇa-style. The seventh stanza does not occur in the Yagus-samhitās; it is the one that is characteristically Atharvanic: it narrows down the general subject of the praise of the waters to the special subject in hand, the deflection of a river from its course<sup>1</sup>. The Kausika, 40, 1-6, supplies the very interesting practices engaged in for the same purpose, to wit: '1. He who desires that a river shall go a certain way, walks along that way, pouring out water, while reciting the present hymn. 2. He sticks up the (kinds of grass or reeds called) *kāśa*, *dividhuvaka*, and *vetasa*<sup>2</sup>. 3. While reciting st. 7 a, he places gold upon the mouth of the river (that is, the point from which the river shall branch into the desired channel). 4. With st. 7 b he ties a frog, striped like the reed-plant *ishikā*, through the arm-pits (pits of the fore-feet) with two threads, one red and the other blue<sup>3</sup> (and places him into the outlet). 5. With st. 7 c he envelopes

<sup>1</sup> For its employment in the Vaitāna-sūtra, see the note on the stanza.

<sup>2</sup> For the explanation of these varieties of water-plants, see Dārila and Kesava. Sāyana, *kāśaivaḥlapaṇerakavetasāḥkhāḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the introduction to VII, 116, and the notes on IV, 17, 4; VIII, 8, 24.

the frog in an avakâ-plant (blyxa octandra)<sup>1</sup>. 6. With st. 7 d he pours water (over the frog)<sup>2</sup>.

The symbolism of these performances is unmistakable: they anticipate the presence of the water with all its life. The gold (40, 3) reflects 'the golden-coloured, clear, pure waters' (AV. I, 33, 1: see also st. 6 of our hymn); the river grasses and reeds symbolise the river-vegetation. Above all the frog, securely tied so that he cannot leap away, and the water-bringing avakâ affiliate this practice with one of the most interesting practices of Vedic common life; see our article, 'On a Vedic group of charms for extinguishing fire by means of water-plants and a frog,' in the second series of Contributions, Amer. Journ. Phil. XI, 342 ff.

The hymn has been translated by Weber, Indische Studien, XVII, 240 ff.; cf. also Bergaigne et Henry, Manuel Védique, p. 143. The Anukramanî, vârunam (cf. Kaus. 40, 7), uta sindhvaivadam.

#### Stanza 1.

The etymologies in this and the next three stanzas are dominated by that punning spirit which has made etymology by far the feeblest product of the linguistic endeavours of the Hindus. In the present instance, however, the derivation of nadî, 'river,' from nad, 'roar,' is likely enough. The mythological event alluded to is the well-known rush of the waters over the dead body of the (cloud-) dragon Vritra, slain by Indra; cf. e.g. RV. I, 32.

#### Stanza 2.

Varuna (and Mitra) are also instrumental in procuring water, but it is rather the quiet streaming down of refresh-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Amer. Journ. Phil. XI, p. 349, and add Sat. Br. XIII, 8, 3, 13; Lâty. Sr. III, 5, 13 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Kaus. 40, 7-10 continues with an expiatory performance, consisting chiefly of oblations to Varuna, the god of the waters, in case this new watercourse should threaten the surrounding country with an inundation. The hymn is employed further with many others at Kaus. 41, 12 for sprinkling certain oblations, offered by one about to start upon a business tour. Cf. also Ath. Paris. 10.

ing rain, than the storm-flood at the time of the monsoon. The notion of conquest by thunderbolts, as weapons used against demon serpents, is not present. See Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*, III, 122 ff. (especially pp. 125-6). The root *valg*, which here represents the motion of the waters, seems to contain an almost playful touch: it is used of the gamboling of animals. The allusion to Indra's 'meeting of the waters as they went' is obscure. The *Maitr. S.* reads *samprákyutâ* for *yât prêshitâ*.

### Stanza 3.

b. The lexicons and the translators derive *ávivarata* from *var*, 'enclose.' *Sâyana*, correctly, it seems to us, from *var*, 'choose,' *avivarata vritavân yushmân svâtmasât kartum aikhat*. What sense is there in saying of Indra that he hindered the waters, and when did the waters flow against his will ('contre le gré d'Indra,' Bergaigne)? An obvious paradox. Soma is said, *RV. IX, 94, 1*, to purify himself by acting wisely in choosing the waters: *apô vrinânâh pavate kavîyân*; cf. also *V, 48, 1*. Indra here is said to appropriate the waters for his purpose, the benefaction of men.

### Stanza 4.

The exact mythic attitude of this stanza is not clear. Is Indra the subject of *ápy atishthat* or some god hindering, or trying to hinder? Cf. *RV. VIII, 6, 16*: 'He, O Indra, who lay confining thy great waters, him didst thou smite.' Cf. also *RV. I, 32, 12*, where one god, or a certain god (*devá ékah*), resists Indra. The verb *ápy atishthat* means either to stand upon (so *Sâyana*, *adhyatishthat*), or 'stand in the way' (*Pet. Lex.*). We incline to the former view. The way in which the word *mahîr* in *Pâda c* is utilised is somewhat obscure: it seems to be brought in partly for the sake of furnishing an etymological basis (*sit venia verbo*) for the *m* of *udakâm*, and partly (note the *iti*), to infuse a dash of archaism into the reminiscence.

### Stanza 7.

This seems to be distinctly ritualistic (*sautra*) in character. The calf may be the frog of the *Sûtra* above. Cf.

also its use in Vait. Sû. 29, 13, for which see the introduction to VI, 106. The waters are cows, because the frog, the water-animal, is their child. Or the new river-bed may be the calf; cf. RV. III, 33, 1.

### III, 14. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 143.

For the employment of the hymn in the ritual, see our introduction to II, 26. Cf. also Ath. Paris. 16. The Anukramanî, nânâdevatyam uta gosht/hadevatâkam. Previous translations: Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 469; Weber, Ind. Stud. XVII, 244 ff.; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 64, 112 ff.

#### Stanza 1.

c, d. Sâyana defines ahargâtâ by ahany-ahani gâyate. The expression occurs once more, V, 28, 12, and 'auspicious' comes very near to its sense. Its opposite is anahargâtâ, Sâṅkh. Sr. XIV, 51, 2-5, 'born on an unlucky day' = pâpanakshatre gâtâh, Kaus. 46, 25, and elsewhere. Cf. Weber, Nakshatra, II, 314-15 note. Either it is, 'born on a good (punya) day,' or 'born by day in distinction from night' (cf. naktamgâtâ, I, 23, 1). The word adrîshîa, II, 31, 2; RV. I, 191, 1 ff., &c., would then approach the opposite meaning. Cf. aharbhâg and ahadrîts. 'With the name' may mean 'with the kind, or species;' cf. V, 4, 8.

#### Stanza 3.

Both milk and honey are frequently added to the Soma. Hence the milk is here spoken of as honey, Soma being the middle term as it were. Cf. Hillebrandt, Soma und verwandte Götter, pp. 219, 238 ff.

#### Stanza 4.

b. sâke=va (Padap. sâkâ iva) has occasioned unnecessary discussion. The word is not treated at all independently in the lexicons. The Western authorities generally regard it as acc. plur. neut. of sâkrî, saknâs, &c. Sâyana's sakâ

makshikā has good support in the literature. At Tait. S. V, 5, 12, 1; Maitr. S. III, 14, 13; Vāg. S. XXIV, 32 the word occurs in connection with other animals (Mahidhara, sakunti; Mādhava, sakā makshike=ty eke, dirgha-karno mṛigavishesha ity apare), and as the word is preceded or followed there by suka, 'parrot,' and sâri (see the note on st. 5), there is no doubt but what Sâyana has hit the point. I should not be surprised to find the sakā identical with the kṛiśa, mentioned at Kaus. 10, 2, along with suka and sârikā. Cf. also Tait. S. V, 5, 18, 1, and commentary. Grill suggests an improbable remedy, sâkeva=sâka(m) iva or sâkâ iva, 'like vegetables' (cf. German, 'wie's unkraut').

#### Stanza 5.

b. sârisâkeva (Padap. sârisâkâ iva) is doubtful. Sâyana, helplessly, kshaṇena sahasraso bhivardhamânâḥ prâvivishâḥ; the suggestion seems incredible even from Sâyana. sâri (=sâri, sârikâ, and sârikâ) is a certain bird which, like the parrot (suka), imitates the human voice; see Tait. S. V, 5, 12, 1; Maitr. S. III, 14, 14; Vāg. S. XXIV, 33. It appears there in connection with suka, 'parrot,' and sakâ (cf. st. 4). It seems hardly possible that our passage does not harbour these very two words, and accordingly I have emended to sârisukeva (=sârisukâḥ iva, with double sandhi). Cf. also Kaus. 10, 2. The translators have again endeavoured to find sâkrîṭ, sâknâs in the second part of the word. For further suggestions, all of which seem to me to be silenced by the considerations advanced in this and the preceding notes, see Grill, l. c.

#### III, 15. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 148.

The Sûtra rubricates the hymn in various non-significant practices. At Kaus. 50, 12 the merchant, while reciting the hymn, sets up (or, loads up) his ware (or, his shop), after it has been anointed with the dregs of ghee. At 59, 6 the person who desires merchandise recites the hymn. Cf. Gobh. IV, 8, 19 ff.; Khād. IV, 3, 7. The hymn is also

worked up in the comparatively late indramaha or indramahotsava festival, Kaus. 140, 16; Ath. Paris. 19<sup>1</sup>; and sts. 7, 8, which are scarcely connected with the body of the hymn, are rubricated in Kaus. 70, 13. 14. The Anukramanî, vairvadevam utai•ndrâgnam; the author is paṇyakâmo•tharvâ.

Previous translations: Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 215; Zimmer, p. 258; Weber, Ind. Stud. XVII, 247 ff.; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 69, 113 ff. Cf. also Hillebrandt's Vedachrestomathie, p. 38.

#### Stanza 1.

Indra who gathers in the stakes at all contests (dhanagît, dhanamgayá) is their possessor (îrâna), and hence in the position to bestow wealth (dhanadâ). The same attributes are given to Agni in various passages of the RV., justifying the appeal to him in the sequel (st. 3 ff.).

#### Stanza 2.

The first two Pâdas are repeated in a different connection at VI, 55, 1; cf. Tait. S. V, 7, 2, 3.

#### Stanza 3.

Cf. RV. III, 18, 3, where the stanza occurs in its proper connection. The word *ikṣâmâno* doubtless suggested its adaptability for the present mixtum compositum.

#### Stanza 4.

The brackets about the two first Pâdas are designed to show the looseness of the connection with the rest; but there is no reason for doubting that they were put here by the Atharvan poet. They were put here because they speak of the 'far road which we have travelled.' Sâyana treats them as an independent (fourth) stanza, and then continues with the following divisions, thoroughly subversive of good sense: our 4 b-f and 5 a, b (six Pâdas)=5; our 5 c, d and 6 a, b=6; our 6 c, d=7; our 7=8; our 8=9.

a. Weber emends *sarânim* to *sarânim*, translating, 'Diesen Weg du glättestest uns, o Agni!'

e. The Paippalâda reads, *saṃrarâṇâ havir idam gusha-ntâm*. But the plural is vague.

f. *karitam* and *utthitam* are rendered in accordance with Grill and Sâyana, *karitam âkaritam vikrayâdikam utthitam tasmâd vyavahârâd utpannam lâbhayuktam dhanam*. The other translators, flatly, 'our going and our departure.'

#### Stanza 5.

d. *devân* is metrically superfluous: the sense, too, 'devas who shut off gain,' has an Avestan rather than a Vedic ring. The word is a gloss, suggested by *devâh* in Pâda b.

#### Stanzas 7, 8.

The two stanzas seem to have no connection with the rest of the hymn. They are Yagus-formulas (st. 8, with variants in Tait. S. IV, 1, 10, 1; Maitr. S. II, 7, 7; Kâth. S. XVI, 7; Vâg. S. XI, 75), and are employed fittingly as *puronuvâkyâ* and *yâgyâ* in connection with a *pûrnâhuti* at Kaus. 70, 13. 14, on the occasion of the ceremony of building the householder's fire (*agnyâdhânam*). The Atharvan tradition regards six stanzas as the normal number for the hymns of the third book (see AV. XIX, 22 and 23, and Ath. Paris. 46, 9. 10).

### III, 18. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 107.

This hymn is a repetition with variants of RV. X, 145. The Anukramanî there gives it the name *indrâny-upanishad* (*Shadgurusishya, indrânyrîshikâ*; Sâyana, *indrânyâ ârsham*)<sup>1</sup>. It constitutes also a part of the Âpast. Mantra-brâhmana I, 15, 1-6, and the stanzas are employed at Âpast. Grîh. III, 9, 5. 6 (cf. Kaus. 33, 7; Gobh. Grîh. II, 6, 6 ff.) in a charm practised with the *pâtâ*-plant (clypea

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for the relation of *Indrânî* to marital life, our Contributions, Sixth Series, Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch. XLVIII, 551 ff.; 579.

hernandifolia ; cf. our introduction to II, 27). The practices of Kausika (36, 19–21) differ entirely from those of Âpastamba. The plant which is used there is the *bânâ-parṇi* (so also Kaus. 36, 38). Dârila glosses, *sarapuṅkhâ* ; Kesava, *mâsikâ* (cf. Kausika, Introduction, p. liii)<sup>1</sup>. It seems to have been suggested to the ritualist by the epithet *uttânaparṇâ* in stanza 2, but Sâyana there has in mind again the *pâtâ*, since he quotes AV. II, 27, 4, and in his comment on st. 1 says outright, *pâtâkhyâm oshadhim*. Kausika's performance is as follows: 36, 19. 'While reciting III, 18, a *bânâparṇi*-plant is mashed, mixed with a spray (of milk) from a red she-goat, and scattered round about the bed (of the rival woman). 20. While reciting stanza 6 a, a leaf (of the plant) is fastened beneath the bed. 21. While reciting stanza 6 b (a leaf) is thrown upon the (bed).' We would draw especial attention to the totally different employment of the stanzas in Âpast. *Gr̥h.* III, 9, 5. 6, in illustration of the loose, subjective symbolism which governs their manipulation. The general purpose of the practice is, however, there the same as with Kausika.

The hymn has been translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. V, 222 ; XVII, 264 ff. ; Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 307. The Rigveda version by Ludwig (932) and Grassmann in their well-known works<sup>2</sup> ; the version of the Âpast. Mantrabr. by Winternitz, Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell, p. 98. The Ath. Anukramanî, atharvâ-nena sûktena sapatni-pranutyai vâṇâparṇâm oshadhim astaut.

### Stanza 2.

a. Sâyana here and at RV., *uttânaparṇe uttânâni ūrdhva-mukhâni parṇâni patrâni yasyâḥ*.

<sup>1</sup> According to the Pet. Lex. the common name for this plant is *umhâlî*, similar to the indigo-plant ; it is also known as *sûryavamsî*. Both *bânâparṇi* and *sarapuṅkhâ* seem to mean 'having arrow-form leaves.'

<sup>2</sup> The RV. version seems on the whole secondary to that of the AV. : *dhama* for *nuda* in st. 2 c ; *kuru* for *kṛidhi* in 2 d.



## Stanza 4.

c. I read ádha, 'now,' upon the basis of adhá in some MSS., Sâyana's adha, and with reference to áthâ in the RV. Most MSS. read adhák ('low shall be my rival,' &c.); this is the text adopted by the vulgata, and Shankar Pandit.

## Stanza 5.

A very similar stanza occurs XII, 1, 54; Sâyana is seduced by its pratika, ahám asmi sáhamána(h), to confuse it with the present, and to suppose that Kaus. 38, 30 quotes it, instead of XII, 1, 54.

## Stanza 6.

The Sûtra does not place the plant about and upon the husband, but about and upon the rival. Sâyana follows through thick and thin. Âpast. Gr̥h. III, 9, 6 correlates the stanza with the husband: 'she embraces the husband with her arms,' with the stanza alluding to the word upadhâna (Mantrabr. I, 15, 6).

## III, 23. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 97.

This hymn furnishes the mantras for the well-known house-practice, called pumsavanam in the Gr̥hya-sûtras<sup>1</sup>. The Atharvanic form of it is described in Kaus. 35, 1-4, as follows: 1. Now the rites for producing a son. 2. (They are made) in behalf of the woman after she has laid aside the linen soiled by her menses, under a male constellation. 3. While reciting III, 23 an arrow is broken to pieces over her head, and (a piece of the arrow) is fastened (upon her as an amulet). 4. Into a cup made from a plough (the practitioner) puts milk of a cow which has a calf of a colour identical with her own, and rice and barley, mashes it up, adds to the mixture two adhyandâ plants, or leaves from a great palâsa (butea frondosa) and a vidarî (batatas pani-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sâñkh. I, 19, 20; Âsv. I, 13; Pâr. I, 14; Gobh. II, 6; Khâd. II, 2, 17 ff.; Hir. II, 2; Âpast. VI, 14, 9.

culata), and does with the mixture as in the case of the paidva-ceremony (i.e. he puts it up the right nostril of the woman with his right thumb; cf. Kaus. 32, 21, in the introduction to X, 4)<sup>1</sup>.

Stanzas 2-4 are repeated with variants in *Sāṅkh. Gr̥h.* I, 19, 6; stanzas 2, 4, 5 (entire or in part) in *Hir. Gr̥h.* I, 25, 1. The hymn has been translated by Weber, *Ind. Stud.* V, 223; XVII, 285 ff.; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 477 ff.; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 319. The *Anukramanī*, *kāndramasam uta yonidevatyam, brahmā-nena putram prārthayad yonim abhishṛūya pragāyā iti*.

#### Stanza 2.

d. Ten lunar months reconcile this statement with the biological facts; see Weber, *Nakshatra*, II, 313; Zimmer, 366.

#### Stanza 4.

*Hir. Gr̥h.* I, 25, 1, *yāni prabhūni vīryāny rishabhā ganayantu naḥ, tais tvam garbhini bhava . . . prasūr dhenugā bhava. Sāṅkh. Gr̥h.* I, 19, 6, *purushāḥ* for *rishabhāḥ*.

#### Stanza 5.

a. Ludwig, 'das prāgāpatyam vollziehe ich dir;' Zimmer, 'ich verschaffe dir Zeugungsfähigkeit;' Weber, 'ich thu dir an das Zeugungswerk' (*Ind. Stud.* XVII, 286); 'ich schaff' dir Zeugungsfähigkeit' (*ib.* V, 224); *Sāyana*, *pragāpatinā . . . nirmitam pragotpattikaram karma*.

#### Stanza 6.

Cf. VIII, 7, 2, and perhaps III, 9, 1. The plants are undefined; see the *Sūtra*, and *Sāṅkh. Gr̥h.* I, 19, 1; 20, 3-4.

<sup>1</sup> The complicated practice is not clear in every detail. For *phālakamasa* and *adhyānde*, see Kausika, *Introduction*, pp. lii and xlv, and *Sāṅkh. Gr̥h.* I, 19, 1 ff. The *Gr̥hya*-texts, cited in the preceding note, contain quite a number of parallels. There seems to be a cheap symbolism in the choice of the names of the two plants, *adhyāndā*: *anda*, 'egg,' and *vidarī*: *vi dar*, 'burst, cleave.'

## III, 25. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 102.

The practices of the Sûtra, Kaus. 35, 22-28, embody symbolically a large portion of the statements and similes of the hymn, to wit: 22. 'While reciting the hymn he (who wishes to subject a woman) pushes her with his thumb (cf. st. 1). 23. He puts on (the fire) twenty-one (pieces of kûdî-wood)<sup>1</sup>, with their thorns to the east (or forward; cf. st. 3), adorned (i. e. anointed with ghee), over which the hymn has been pronounced. 24. (Then he puts on the fire) the twenty-one tips of the kûdî, together with threads (which have been wound about them). 25. For a period of three days (literally, nights) he burns thrice each day kush/ha (costus speciosus) dipped in butter. 26. Having put the mattress (?) of his couch face downward he sleeps upon it (three nights)<sup>2</sup>. 27. He places warm water into a tripod, fastens<sup>3</sup> it to the foot (of his bed), and lies agitating it with his great toes. 28. By means of a bow which is dârbhyûsha (? cf. Kaus. 32, 8, in the introduction to VII, 74, and Kausika, Introduction, p. li), and has a bowstring of hemp, with an arrow whose barb is a thorn, whose plume is derived from an owl, whose shaft is made of black âla-wood (see Kausika, Introduction, p. xlv), he

<sup>1</sup> The word kûdî is to be supplied from the next Sûtra. For kûdî = badarî, 'Christ's thorn,' see Kausika, Introduction, p. xlv. Dârila observantly sees in this practice the symbolic realisation of st. 3, yâ plihânam iti lîngât.

<sup>2</sup> This translation of the Sûtra is a doubtful paraphrase of Kesava's and Sâyana's statements. The Sûtra is: dîrghotpale -vagrîhya samvisati. Dârila, mamâkese (!? maññakam) adha/krîâ (? krîvâ) tatra samvisati; Kesava, kha/vâm adhomukhapat/rikâm grîhîtvâ . . . svapiti; Sâyana, kha/vâyâ adhomukhapat/rikâm grîhîtvâ trîrâtram svapiti. 'The practice refers symbolically to st. 1 b, 'do not hold out upon thy bed.' All this does not explain dîrghotpale; cf. the equally difficult utpale, Kaus. 36, 7 (see the introduction to IV, 5).

<sup>3</sup> Read, apparently, with Sâyana and one MS. prabadhyâ- for prabaddhâ-.

pierces the heart of an effigy<sup>1</sup> made of potter's clay' (ibid. p. xlvii). The last Sûtra embodies st. 2.

For Kâma in general as a cosmic force, see the introduction to IX, 2. For Kâma as the god of love, Weber, Ind. Stud. V, 225; Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, V, 407; Zimmer, p. 300. In both forms he is brought into close relation with Agni (fire); cf. Hir. Gr̥h. I, 3, 7.

The hymn has been translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. V, 224; XVII, 290 ff.; Muir, l. c., p. 407; Ludwig, Der Rig-veda, III, 516; Zimmer, p. 307; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 53, 115 ff.; cf. also Bergaigne et Henry, Manuel Védique, p. 144. The Anukramanī, maitrāvaruṇam kâmeshudevātākam ka.

#### Stanza 1.

b. Sâyana reads *drithâh*, glossing, *sayanavishayam âdaram mâ kârshîh*, 'have no regard for matters connected with the bed (sleep).'

#### Stanza 2.

b. *samkalpa*, literally 'determination.' Sâyana, with naive picturesqueness, *idam me syâd idam me syâd iti bhogavishayasamkalpanam*. Cf. Tait. S. III, 4, 7, 3.

#### Stanza 4.

c. Grill regards *nîmanyuh* as the equivalent of *nîrmanyuh*, 'versöhnt.' The word seems, however, to have a slightly different meaning, lit. 'having laid down your pride or anger.' Sâyana, *nyakkritapranayakalahâ*.

#### Stanza 5.

c, d. The passage is formulary, being repeated at I, 34, 2; VI, 9, 2; Pâda d is repeated at VI, 42, 3; 43, 3.

### III, 28. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 145.

Contrary to modern superstitions which regard the birth of twins as auspicious, and prize animals born in pairs, the prevailing Hindu view is that the birth of twins is an

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kaus. 36, 14 in the introduction to VI, 130.

ominous occurrence to be expiated by diverse performances, and that the cattle itself is, as a rule, to be given to the Brahmans. But there are not wanting indications that a favourable view of such events also existed, and one may suspect shrewdly that the thrifty Brahmans, who stood ever ready to gather in all sorts of odds and ends (cf. the elaborate oratio pro domo, XII, 4, in connection with the *vasâ*), gave vigorous support to any tendency towards superstitious fear which might show its head in connection with such occurrences. Weber, *Indische Studien*, XVII, 298 ff., has assembled quite a number of passages which represent the Hindu attitude towards twins. Cf. also Tait. S. II, 1, 8, 4.

The hymn is rubricated thrice in the Kausika, in the thirteenth book, which is devoted to expiatory performances (*prâyasakitti*), in connection with all sorts of omens and portents. It is employed in chapters 109, 5; 110, 4; 111, 5, on the occasion of the birth of twins from cows, mares, asses, and women. The practices consist in cooking a porridge in the milk of the mother, offering ghee, pouring the dregs of the ghee into a water-vessel and upon the porridge. Then the animal and its young are made to eat of the porridge, to drink of the water, and they are also sprinkled with the same water. The mother is then given to the Brahmans, and in the case of the human mother a ransom 'according to her value, or, in accordance with the wealth (of the father),' is paid. Cf. Weber, *Omina und Portenta*, p. 377 ff.

The hymn has been translated by Weber, *Indische Studien*, XVII, 297 ff. The *Anukramanî*, *yâminyam* . . . *brahmâ-nena yaminim astaut pasuposharâya*.

### Stanza 1.

. Since the mother of the twins was born under an arrangement which made a separate act of creation necessary for each individual, the birth of two at a time is apartû, 'unseasonable, portentous.' Pâda b is hypermetric and may be relieved in a measure by throwing out *bhûtakr/to*, but

even this does not yield good metre. In Pāda d, riphātī, 'growling,' is not altogether certain. Sāyana, upon the basis of the Dhātupāṭha (riph rinph, himsâyâm), renders it by bhakshayantī, 'eating.' In Āpast. Sr. XII, 22, 7 the root occurs in the sense of rikh, likh, 'scratch,' which suits the context quite as well. For the interchange of gutturals and labials, see Contributions, Sixth Series, Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. XLVIII, 557 note, and the note on XI, 2, 25.

#### Stanza 2.

Cf. XII, 4, 5. 10-12. In Pāda b, vyádvarī, 'devouring,' looks very well by the side of kravyád, 'flesh-eating.' In the form vyadvará the word occurs also at Sat. Br. VII, 4, 1, 27, and the scholiast derives it from ad, 'eat.' But at II, 31, 4; VI, 50, 3 (twice) we have vyadhvará<sup>1</sup>, and Sāyana reads vyadhvarī in our stanza ('causing misfortune, afflicted with an evil way'), dukhahetur dushṭamārgaḥ tadvatī. The two words are blended and diversified by popular etymology, and it may be that one of them only is original. Cf. the note on II, 31, 4.

#### Stanzas 5, 6.

The mother of twins is invited to enter the world of the blissful which is described in all its attractiveness, and yet, implicitly, is not desired, for the time being, by the owner of the cow. In yamīnī, 'mother of twins,' there is a pun 'fit for Yama, the god of heaven, and death:' this makes it still more appropriate that she shall go there. The first hemistich is formulaic: see VI, 120, 3. Cf. also XVIII, 2, 24; 3, 9.

#### III, 30. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 134.

In Kaus. 12, 5 this hymn heads a *gana* or series of seven Atharvan charms (III, 30; V, 1, 5; VI, 64; 73; 74; 94; VII, 52), which are designated as *sāmanasyāni* (sc. sūk-

<sup>1</sup> Thus the vulgata. Shankar Pandit's edition with Sāyana and most MSS., vyadvará.

tâni), 'designed to produce harmony.' The practices which are undertaken with them are stated in the sequel, Kaus. 12, 6-9, as follows: 6. 'A jar full of water, anointed with the dregs of ghee, is carried about the (quarrelling) throng and poured out in their midst. 7. The same proceedings are undertaken with a jar full of brandy (surâ). 8. (They who desire peace) are given to eat the pickled flesh of a young cow three years old. 9. Food, brandy, and water from the (public?) drinking-place are anointed with the dregs of ghee (and consumed).' In justification of this translation, see the commentaries here, and at Kaus. 35, 19: the relation of the proceedings to the charm are not clear in every detail; see especially st. 6, and VI, 70, 1.

The hymn has been treated previously by Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V, 439; *Metrical Translations*, p. 139; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 256, 516; Zimmer, p. 316; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* XVII, 306 ff.; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 30, 116 ff.; Hillebrandt, *Vedachrestomathie*, p. 45. The *Anukramanî* designates the hymn as *kândramasam sâṃmanasyam*, its author being Atharvan. The Atharvan abounds in such songs of harmony; they occur also outside of the Atharvan literature, e.g. RV. X, 191; Maitr. S. II, 2, 6; *Kâth.* S. X, 12; Tait. Br. II, 4, 4, 4 ff. See also the charm against family quarrels (kule kalahini) in Kaus. 97, and cf. in general Zimmer, p. 316.

#### Stanza 1.

Sâyana reads *sâṃmanushyam* in Pâda a, and *aghnyâs* in Pâda d.

#### Stanza 2.

The opposite of this picture of peace is portrayed vividly at Sat. Br. IV, 1, 5, 3 ff., where a certain tribe is described as not living in peace: 'father fought with son, and brother with brother.' See also the story of Kyavana as told in the *Gaiminiya-Brâhmaṇa*, Proc. Amer. Or. Soc., 1883 (*Journal*, vol. xi, p. cxlv): 'then neither did mother know son, nor son mother.'

b. Sâyana reads *mâtâ* for *mâtrâ*.

c. Our edition has *santivân*; Shankar Pandit and the Paippalâda, *santivâm*, which is obviously the correct reading, and is at the base of Sâyana's comment, *sukhayuktâm*.

### Stanza 3.

a. Sâyana reads *dvishyât* for *dvikshat*.

### Stanza 4.

a. Sâyana, *indrâdayas . . . vimatim na prâpnuvanti*. Prof. Weber suggests that the gods here referred to are the Brahmans; this is not necessary since the gods are frequently endowed with human foibles: see the note on VI, 111, 3. The point is, that a charm, strong enough to prevent even the bickerings of the gods, will surely produce harmony among men.

### Stanza 5.

a. Sâyana glosses *gyâyasvantas* by *gyeshthakanishtabhâvena parasparam anusarantas*, i. e. following one another in the order of age, the younger after the older. Ludwig, p. 256, renders it 'vorzüglich'; p. 516, 'überlegen.' For *kittînaḥ* I am tempted to suggest 'of the (same) mind,' cf. *sahâ kittâm eshâm* in AV. VI, 64, 2; RV. X, 191, 3; Maitr. S. II, 2, 6 (p. 20, l. 12): Tait. Br. II, 4, 4, 5.

b. Our translation of *samrâdhâyantaḥ* agrees with Sâyana's, *samânasamsiddhikâḥ*, *samânakâryâḥ*.—'Going along the same wagon-pole,' i. e. pulling at the same wagon like a team.

d. Cf. Vâg. S. VII, 25 c. The Pâda is hypercatalectic; the Anukramanî designates the stanza on this account as *virâdgagati*. Weber suggests *sadhrikîn*, by way of cure; Grill, the omission of *vaḥ*, or a change to *sadhriko*; cf. st. 7.

### Stanza 6.

The stanza is irregular (Anukr., *prastârapaṅkti*), the second half being an *anushṭubh*. Since stanzas 5 and 7 are connected by concatenation (Pâda 5 d = 7 a), stanza 6 might be regarded as a very early intrusion. But Kausika employs it particularly for his practices (see above), and



thus the criticism must be made for a very early period, to say the least. The stanza may, however, have stood in a different position in the hymn.

#### Stanza 7.

The stanza concatenates with 5 ; cf. e. g. the relation of RV. II, 38, 7 and 9, where st. 8 interrupts a similar relation.

b. Sâyaṇa reads *ekasnushṛīn*. On p. 256 Ludwig emends *samvānanena* to *savanena*, but on p. 516 he adheres to the text and translates it by 'versöhnungsspruch.' Sây., *varīkaraṇena anena sāmmanasyakarmaṇā*.

c. In RV. I, 71, 9, Mitra and Varuṇa are said to be guarding the *amṛita*.

d. Ludwig on p. 516 emends *saumanasó* to *saumanasám*, but this is unnecessary if we remember that the leader or chief is referred to in *gyāyas-*, in st. 5 a, and *eka-*, in 7 b. Moreover at Tait. S. IV, 7, 3, 1, *saumanasáh*, masc., is an abstract = *saumanasám*.

#### III, 31. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 51.

This extraordinary composition makes draughts upon a variety of mythological and philosophical (psycho-physical) conceptions for the purpose of accentuating the desired separation from misfortune, and union with life. Accordingly each of its eleven stanzas ends in a refrain which states this desire distinctly. Further the hymn is divisible into two halves, the first of which (sts. 1-4) has for its key-note the subject of separation illustrated by cosmic examples ; the second (6-11) illustrates union with the principles of life. The intermediate stanza is more problematic ; it has been discussed by the translator in connection with his treatment of the marriage of *Saranyū* in the third series of his Contributions, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XV, pp. 181 ff.

The principal employment of the hymn in the ritual is in connection with the initiation (*upanayana*) of the young Aryan into the Brahmanical community. At Kaus. 58, 3

the hymn is recited in the presence of the young man, in connection with a list of kindred hymns. The last two stanzas are employed at Kaus. 24, 31, along with others, on the occasion of the solemn rising from a couch, at the ceremony of the full-moon of the month *āgrahāyana*. Cf. also Vait. Sū. 13, 10. The *Gaṇamālā*, Ath. Paris. 32, 6, counts this hymn as one of three which make up the *pāpmagana* and are *pāpmahan*; see Kaus. 30, 17 note. Similarly the *Anukramanī* (*pāpmahādevatyam*). It has been translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. XVII, 306 ff.

#### Stanza 1.

a. The MSS. read *avṛitan*, which Roth and Whitney have emended to *akṛitan*. *Sāyana* reads *vyavṛitam* (*viyo-gayatam*), and takes *devā* correspondingly as vocative dual (*devau arvinau*). This reading with *m* I find also in the *pāpmagana* of the *Gaṇamālā*, cited above, and one wonders whence it comes from. I would suggest the emendation *avṛitran* (*avṛitram*), literally 'the gods have separated themselves from old age.' The gods are *agāra*, 'free from old age,' and Agni is mentioned particularly RV. VI, 68, 9 (cf. *Pāda* b). The middle passive of *vi*+*vart* in this sense governs the instrumental; see Pet. Lex., vol. vi, col. 775. The metre, however, does not favour the suggestion.

#### Stanza 4.

b. The paths are the heavenly paths, travelled by the gods (*devayānāḥ*); cf. III, 15, 2; VI, 55, 1; Tait. S. V, 7, 2, 3.

#### Stanza 5.

Cf. RV. X, 17, 1; AV. XVIII, 1, 53. The passage as it appears here is doubtless the product of adaptation. Prof. Weber has interpreted it as an additional instance of thorough separation, the motif of the first four stanzas. According to his view *Tvashar* is making preparations to marry his own daughter, and everybody (*tout le monde*) is scattering in consternation at the unholy proceeding. I have subjected Prof. Weber's construction to a detailed

criticism in my essay quoted above. The chief difficulty is in *ví yâti*, which means 'pass through,' not 'go apart, scatter.' The passage seems to mean that the whole world on the occasion of the marriage of Tvashṭar's daughter to Vivasvant—not to himself—pass through (a given point of observation) to witness the marriage. Thus they might illustrate separation from their ordinary places of abode. Or, a still more literal and philological translation of the passage would be: "Tvashṭar is preparing a marriage for his daughter," thus saying (or noting) he (who? Tvashṭar or Vivasvant?) passes through the entire world.' But the other versions read *sám eti*, and all the following stanzas (6–11) have for their theme union with the principle of life. Since, now, *ví* occurs no less than thirty times in the entire hymn, it is possible that *sám* has given place to it, and the passage would thus revert to its original meaning in RV. X, 17, 1; AV. XVIII, 1, 53. Sâyana takes *ví yâti* in the sense of going asunder, *vahatum . . . prasthâpayati iti bud-dhyâ tasya avakâsam dâtum idam visvam bhuvanam prithi-vyantarikshâdirûpam ví yâti parasparam vigatam bhavati*.

#### Stanza 6.

a, b. Or, 'Agni bestows life's breaths.' Agni is frequently identified in the Upanishads with the breaths of life: see Maitri-Upanishad VI, 5. 9. 33; Prasna-Upanishad I, 7. Sâyana, 'the Agni of the belly, the cause of the digestion of food and drink.' Similarly the sun (cf. the next stanza) in Maitri-Up. VI, 1. 5; Prasna-Up. I, 5; II, 8; Tait. Âr. I, 14, 1.

#### Stanza 11.

For *vrishtyôd* (Padapâṭha, *vrishtyâ úd*) read *vrishtyâ(ḥ) úd* with Roth, Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. XLVIII, 684.

#### IV, 3. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 147.

At Kaus. 51, 1–6 the following practices are prescribed:  
1. 'While reciting AV. IV, 3 (the shepherd) follows the cattle, (alternately) raising and digging into (the ground)

a pole of khadira-wood (acacia catechu, a hard wood), which has been anointed with the dregs of ghee<sup>1</sup>. 2. He pours out water, sweeps together the (moistened dust)<sup>2</sup>; then he offers, while walking, thrice to Indra milk of a cow with a calf of the same colour as herself. 3. He offers the bali (tribute offering) to the (four) regions. 4. He reveres each of the regions<sup>3</sup>. 5. In the middle (between the four regions) he offers a fifth bali-offering. 6. The remainder he pours down (upon the ground).’ The hymn is one of the *raudragana* in the *Ganamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 17; see Kaus. 50, 13 note. The *Anukramanî* accordingly designates it as *raudram uta vyâghradevatyam*. It has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 499; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 33, 118 ff.

#### Stanza 1.

*Sâyana* suggests, very properly, that the man (*purusha*) in question is the robber mentioned below. *Pâda d* is difficult; Ludwig compares RV. I, 24, 7, which according to Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, I, 113 ff., refers to the banyan-tree (*nyagrodha*, *vaṭa*). The branches of that tree take root anew, are *nîkîna*, or *nihita*, and therefore grow until they are out of sight (*hîruk*, an *antarhitanâmadheyam*, a word for ‘out of sight’ according to Yâska’s *Naighantuka*, III, 25). Prof. Roth, as quoted by Grill, p. 118, suggests an arrow, or spear, but the expression *devô vânaspatîr* (cf. VI, 85, 1) is favourable to the other construction. *Sâyana*, helplessly, *vanânâm adhish/hâtâ devas tatrâ•ntarhito var-tate tadvad vyâghrâdayo•pi antarhitâ bhavantu*.

<sup>1</sup> The symbolism is transparent : he pierces the imaginary track of the dreaded hostile creatures, and thus pierces the creatures themselves.

<sup>2</sup> According to *Kesava* and *Sâyana* he then places his left hand upon the dust and with his right scatters half of it. The words *ninayanam samuhya* refer back to the practice at Kaus. 19, 17. 18; see the introduction to II, 26, p. 303.

<sup>3</sup> According to *Kesava* he recites in this connection AV. III, 26; cf. Kaus. 14, 25.

## Stanza 2.

c. 'The rope full of teeth,' by familiar figure of speech, the serpent; cf. VII, 108, 1; XIX, 47, 7. 8 (partially verbal parallelism with our stanza); Sat. Br. IV, 4, 5, 3.

## Stanza 5.

c. Literally, 'let him go on the falling down of the paths,' i. e. 'where the paths are precipitate.' Sâyana arrives at a similar result, even though he handles his text very freely, *sa ka pathâm madhye dhvamsena dhvamsakena kashṭena mârgena apa gakhatu*. Ludwig, 'wo die pfade abbrechen;'; Grill, 'auf nächstem wege pack' er sich.'

## Stanza 6.

b. Sâyana reads *api śirshnâh*, glossing, *śirasi bhavâ himsakâh sringâdayah* *avayavâ api mûdhâ bhavantu*, 'the destructive members of the body on the head, horns, &c., shall be dulled.'

c. All translations, including our own, are mere guesses. *nimrûk*, 'sunset,' is not found except in connection with the setting of the sun. Sâyana's *drishṣivishayo na bhavati* has suggested our 'out of sight shall go.' Grill has in mind the root *mark*, 'injure,' something like *nimrûkto*, 'injured, destroyed;'; but there is no such word. *godhâ* (Pet. Lex. 'sinew') is equally difficult. Sâyana, 'a kind of wild beast.' As it has also the meaning 'large lizard,' we have said 'dragon,' a pure conjecture. Ludwig's 'in der tiefe soll das krokodil gehn' does not differ materially. Grill, 'mit lahmmer sehne geh's zu grund.'

d. *sasayûr* (ἄπ. λεγ.) *mrigâh* is also not clear. Sâyana, 'the evil beast inclined to lie down.' Ludwig, 'tief hinab-springend geht das wild.' We have adopted with profound misgivings the translation of the Pet. Lex., Grill, and Zimmer (p. 79). The latter regards *sasayûr* as an epithet of the tiger (cf. sts. 1, 3, 4, 7); cf., however, *sasaghâtin*, and *sasâda*, names of birds of prey. Prof. Roth, however, as quoted by Grill, holds now a different opinion, 'a bird of prey which swoops down from on high.'

## Stanza 7.

a, b. Cf. VI, 56, 1 ; X, 4, 8, a similar formula calculated to regulate the snapping of the serpent's mouth. The Pa-dapâtha treats samyâmaḥ both times as a noun-compound, but it is easier to construe it as sam yâmaḥ, an injunctive aorist. The sense is the same. Sâyana treats ví yamaḥ also both times as a noun, samyamaḥ samyamanaṁ samyag vyâghrâdinâṁ mantrasâmarthyena niyamaṇaṁ yad asti nâ -sau viyamaḥ viruddhayamaṇaṁ bhavati, &c. The passage seems to refer to the jaws of the wild beasts.

c, d. This may either refer to bráhma, 'charm,' or to some plant or amulet, of which the Sûtra, to be sure, makes no mention. The hemistich is hypermetric, fairly curable by throwing out âtharvanâm. The Anukramanî, kakum-matî garbhoparishâdbriḥatî.

## IV, 4. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 31.

A characteristic mixture of pharmaceutical applications and drastic symbolism constitutes the practices of the ritual, Kaus. 40, 14 ff., as follows: 14. 'The hymn IV, 4, and, in addition, the following mantra is recited: "Bulls have dug thee up, thou art a bull, O herb! Thou art a bull, full of lusty force; in behalf of a bull do we dig thee up!" During these recitals the plants ukkushmâ and parivyâdha<sup>1</sup> are dug up with an iron instrument (Dârila, a ploughshare). 15. Two decoctions are made from these plants, poured into milk, a drawn bow is placed into the lap, and then the decoctions are drunk<sup>2</sup>. 16. (The same

<sup>1</sup> Dârila and Kesava, ukkushmâ kapikakṣhu (mucuna pruritus) parivyâdhaḥ suravâlakaḥ (or, sūkaravâlakaḥ); Sâyana mentions only one plant, kapitthakamûlam, the root of feronia elephantum. For ukkushmâ, cf. st. 4.

<sup>2</sup> We now correct Sûtra 15 as follows, dugdhe phânâv adhigyaṁ (sc. dhanur) upastha âdhâya pibati. Cf. Kausika, Introduction, p. lviii ff. The symbolism is quite apparent; see stanzas 6 and 7 of the hymn.

performance takes place) while he sits upon a stake or a pestle<sup>1</sup> (generous suggestions! cf. VII, 90, 3). For hymns (and their collateral practices) dealing with the same subject, see VI, 72; 101; VII, 90; Kaus. 40, 16-18; 36, 35-7.

#### Stanza 1.

The Gandharvas, the divine libertines (IV, 37, 11), who enjoy themselves in the company of the heavenly nymphs, the Apsaras, are peculiarly likely to stand in need, and have a knowledge of regenerating plants. Hence the Gandharva digs them up. But why should Varuṇa need an aphrodisiac? At VII, 90, 2, a charm for inhibiting the redundant sexual power of an enemy, the divine law of Varuṇa 'withers excessive fire.' The paradox may be only a seeming one. Varuṇa, as is well known, not infrequently appears in opposition to Indra, and his name even is occasionally, by etymological play (root var), assimilated to Vṛitra, the demon, whom Indra at RV. I, 32, 7 turns in a castrate (vādhri); cf. RV. IV, 42, 7; X, 124, 4. 5, and Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*, III, 144 ff. Sāyana does not comment upon this extraordinary imputation against Varuṇa, the most highly respected of all the gods.

#### Stanza 2.

c. I have followed Sāyana in regarding úd egatu as transitive, udvṛttam karotu, and, utkrishṭavīryayuktam karotu. Cf. the similar double use of the root úd ar (úd iyarti), and the simple root ir. The Pet. Lex., 'sich rühren, sich erheben.' This translation fits poorly for Pāda c.

#### Stanza 3.

a, b. Sāyana with some MSS. (*Samhitā* and *Padapāṭha*) reads virohitō for virōhato, and construes it as an epithet of the penis, putrapautṛādirūpeṇa virohanasya nimittam pum-

<sup>1</sup> The first part of Sūtra 16 in the edition is to be regarded with Kesava as an independent Sūtra. Kesava was not at hand until the body of the text was in print.

*vyañganam*. The sense is changed very little. Our translation of *abhítaptam ivá•nati* by 'exhales heat like a thing on fire' is somewhat uncertain, since *ánati* means 'breathe.' The Pet. Lexs., 'nach luft schnappen, lechzen;' accordingly 'longs for cooling like a thing on fire.'

#### Stanza 4.

a, b. *Sâyana* supplies *írayatu* with *úd*. This is at least approximately correct, as may be learned from RV. X, 97, 8, *úk kkhúshmâ óshadhînâm gávo goshthád ive••rate*. The only question is whether the simple verb, rather than the causative, is to be supplied: 'The fire of the plants &c. shall arise.' The ritual embodies with stereotyped symbolism the words *úk kkhúshmâ* in the plant *ukkhushmâ*; see the introduction.

c, d. *Sâyana*, supported by a few MSS., reads *sampûshâm* and *tanûvasam*, glossing, *samyak poshayitrînâm oshadhînâm sambandhi yad vrishnyam víryam asti tad asmin purushe tanûvasam sarírádhînâm kṛtvâ dhehi*.

#### Stanza 7.

Repeated at VI, 101, 3; cf. the practice, Kaus. 40, 15, above.

d. *Sâyana*, with one of Shankar Pandit's MSS., reads *anu valgúyatâ (nrítyatâ manasâ)*. The Pet. Lexs. and Whitney, Index Verborum, regard *sádâ* as the instrumental of a  $\lambda\pi$ .  $\lambda\epsilon\gamma$ . *sád*, 'mounting.' But such a root-abstract is naturally feminine, and the participle *ánavaglâyatâ* is neuter, agreeing with *pásasâ* supplied from Páda a. *Sâyana* correctly takes *sádâ* as 'ever.'

#### IV, 5. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 105.

The purpose of this hymn, regarded from within, is clear, and its position in the ritual in connection with one of the *striakarmâni* (Kaus. 32, 28–36, 40) makes it certain that the Atharvavedins dealt with it in the light indicated by our



title. Four of its stanzas (1, 3, 5, 6) appear in a different arrangement, and in connection with other material, in RV. VII, 55, and, as usual, the Atharvan recension smacks of adaptation to a particular purpose<sup>1</sup>. The Rigveda form itself, however, is open to the same suspicion; both versions may have draughted into service materials whose original connection in olden times (*purāṇa*) has passed out of sight. Professor Aufrecht, Ind. Stud. IV, 337 ff., presented as early as 1858 a peculiarly lucid interpretation of both hymns (cf. Zimmer, pp. 149, 308), and more recently Professor Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, II, 55 ff., has made a determined attempt—in our opinion unsuccessful—to vindicate the interpretation of the Rigveda version as undertaken by Śaṅgurusishya and the *Bṛihaddevatā*. According to Pischel, Vasishṭha entered the house of Varuṇa after he had fasted three days in order to steal food, and employed this charm to put all waking persons and dogs to sleep<sup>2</sup>.

There is at any rate no question as to the purpose of the stanzas as arranged by the Atharvan diaskeuasts. Dārila describes it as *maithunakaravighnanāsakartar*, 'removing obstacles in the way of an assignation.' The practices are stated at Kaus. 36, 1–4, as follows: 1. 'While reciting IV, 5 a sleeping-charm is performed. 2. The house is sprinkled with water from a vessel which has been anointed with the dregs of ghee, and the rest is poured upon the inside of the door. 3. The same act is repeated naked. 4. Then a mortar<sup>3</sup> is addressed (with the hymn); next, the northern corner (of the house), the southernmost foot of the

<sup>1</sup> Note especially *asyai* in st. 6 of the AV. for *sārve* in st. 5 of RV.; also *svāptu* for *sāstu* (archaic) in the same stanzas.

<sup>2</sup> Pischel argues that Brahmins are known to have committed thefts in later times (*Mṛikṣhakaśikā* 46, 10, &c.; see also *Rig-vidhāna* I, 26, 2; *Manu* XI, 251). On the same principle it might be argued that Vedic Rishis acted as clowns (*vidūshaka*) and even cooks, as in modern times. Cf. also *Pañk. Br.* XXI, 11, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Does the mortar symbolise the vulva, just as the pestle the *membrum virile*, Kaus. 40, 16 (see IV, 4, introduction)?

woman's bed, and the ropes (of the bed).' The hymn is rubricated also in Ath. Paris. 8, 1, and it has been translated by Aufrecht, l. c.; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 53, 119 ff. The Anukramanī, vārshabham.

#### Stanza 1.

a. 'Having a thousand horns,' of Agni, RV. V, 1, 8; Tait. Br. III, 7, 2, 7; AV. XIII, 1, 12 (cf. RV. V, 2, 9). Sâyana, both here and at RV. VII, 55, 7, suggests Sûrya, the sun; Aufrecht, l. c., p. 344, the moon, the father of sorcery; Grassmann, in his translation of the Rigveda, I, 343, the starry heaven. In RV. I, 154, 6 the stars are said to be bhûri-sṛṅga, 'having many horns;' this seems to fortify Grassmann's view. Agni is also fitted for this epithet, since his flames and sparks may be viewed as horns. But fire (light) little befits the occasion.

#### Stanza 3.

c. Sâyana, punyagandhayaḥ sobhanagandhayuktâḥ. Pischel, l. c., p. 57 ff., adduces proof that the Hindus of later times imagined that their women gave forth fragrance during intercourse; hence, that the women here mentioned are awaiting their lovers. This narrow construction of the word is hardly necessary in the light of Manu V, 130; Mârkanḍeya Purâna XXXV, 12, quoted by Pischel himself.

#### Stanza 5.

d. Sâyana, idam drisyamânam harmyam yathâ darsanasaktisûnyam tathâ, 'as these premises, though seen, are (themselves) devoid of the power of seeing.'

### IV, 6. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 25.

According to the commentators, Dârila, Kesava, and Sâyana, the performances for removing poison at Kaus. 28, 1-4 include the recitation of this as well as the next hymn (IV, 7). Kausika, however, rubricates only IV, 6, as follows: 1. 'While reciting IV, 6, in a low voice, and making

obeisance to Takshaka<sup>1</sup>, the patient is made to sip water and is sprinkled with water. 2. The same performance takes place with water into which has been put a branch of the *krimuka*-tree, which has been ground to pieces, and then the patient is sprinkled with water warmed by quenching in it a heated old garment<sup>2</sup>, or a heated old skin of an antelope, or a heated wisp of a broom<sup>3</sup>. 3. In a water-vessel which has been smeared with the dregs of ghee a mixed drink is stirred by means of two arrows (whose points) have been daubed (with poison ; cf. st. 7), and whose points are upward<sup>4</sup> ; then lumps of earth<sup>5</sup> are broken into it (while the hymns are being recited) stanza by stanza, and the mixture is drunk until vomiting takes place. 4. Then the patient is given to drink yellow curcuma in ghee (cf. IV, 7, 2, and especially 3).'

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rig-veda*, III, 512.

#### Stanza 1.

For the cosmogonic conception in the first hemistich, cf. Muir, *Orig. Sanskrit Texts*, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 21. In the *Râmâyana* (cf. IV, 10, 22), the demon *Râvana* is represented as a

<sup>1</sup> Takshaka Vairâleya, a serpent-god ; cf. Kaus. 29, 1 ; 32, 20 ; 56, 13, and Ind. Stud. I, 35.

<sup>2</sup> Dârila, *gîrnavâsaḥ* ; Kerava, *dunnakaḥ*, or *dullakaḥ*. The passages are not given in the edition.

<sup>3</sup> The Sûtra abounds in subtle symbolic allusions. The *krimuka*-tree embodies the bow (*kârmuka*) ; cf. sts. 4, 6. The garment, and the old antelope-skin refer to IV, 7, 6. For *gvâla* cf. Kaus. 27, 29, in the introduction to III, 7. Dârila glosses *avakara* by *ukura-ikâtrinâni* ; Kerava by *ukaridîkâ mârganikâtrinam* ; Sâyana has *patitamârganikâsarakalaiḥ* ; cf. Kausika, Introduction, p. xlv, bottom.

<sup>4</sup> For *ûrdhvaphalâbhyâm* see Kausika, Introduction, p. lii, s.v. *phala*. The poisoned arrows with their points upward symbolise the flight of the poison away from the patient ; cf. sts. 4, 5.

<sup>5</sup> Dârila glosses *rayidhâranapindân* by *bhûmis tanmayân pindân*. But Kerava (and Sâyana with him, as usual) has *madanaphalâni*, 'fruit from the madana-plant.' And Kerava remarks anent this plant, *yathâ kḥardayati*.

Brāhmaṇa with ten heads. Sāyana identifies the Brāhmaṇa with Takshaka, in accordance with the Sūtra, above.

#### Stanza 2.

Cf. Vāg. S. XXXVIII, 26, and for the seven rivers, Max Müller, Chips from a German Workshop, I, 63; Muir, l. c., p. 490, note; Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 21.

#### Stanza 3.

The poison is evidently a plant (Sāyana, kandaviṣa), since the eagle is constantly associated with the origin and functions of medicinal and magic plants; see I, 24, 1; II, 27, 2; IV, 20, 3; V, 14, 1, and especially our note on IV, 20, 3. For amīmadaḥ in Pāda c, cf. madāvati in IV, 7, 4 a.

#### Stanza 4.

c. The rendering of apaskambhá is mere conjecture. Neither the root skambh nor stambh occurs with the preposition ápa. The Pet. Lexs., and Zimmer, l. c., p. 300, 'the fastening of the point upon the shaft of the arrow;' Ludwig, 'widerhaken.' Sāyana has two explanations neither of which is satisfactory, apaskabhyate vidhāryate antarikshe iti apaskambhaḥ kramukavṛikshaḥ (cf. Kaus. 28, 2, above) tasya sālyād sakalāt . . . yadvā avaskabhyate dhanushi dhāryate iti apaskambho bānaḥ. Our own 'tearing (arrow)' is based upon the supposition that apa + skambh may mean 'uproot,' or the like, as opposite of skambh.

#### Stanza 5.

For the parts of the arrow as described here, see Zimmer, l. c., p. 300. Sāyana, prāñganāt pralepāt . . . apāshthāt apakrishṭāvasthād etatsamgñād vishopādānāt. We have translated apāshthāk khrīṅgāt, 'from its barbed horn,' deriving apāshthā from the root as in āsri, 'corner;' cf. ashthivantau, 'the knees.'

Sāyana ascends the dizziest height of absurdity in his rendering of kulmalāt, to wit: kutsitaprāṇimalāk ka yad

udbhutam visham, 'the poison sprung from the filth of loathsome animals.'

#### Stanza 7.

Sâyana agrees with all Western authorities in deriving âpîshan from the root pish, to wit : aushadham apimshan. He glosses vishagîrî by kadamûlâdivishotpattihetuḥ parvataḥ.

#### IV, 7. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 26.

The practices, Kaus. 28, 1-4, obviously refer to this hymn as well as IV, 6. See the introduction to the preceding hymn. Translations are offered by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 201 ; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 28, 121 ff. The *Anukramanî*, *vânaspatyam*.

#### Stanza 1.

All Western interpreters regard *varanâvatî* as a river ; cf., in addition to the authorities given above, Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 20. Sâyana, *varanâ nâma vrikshaviseshâḥ te asyâm santi*·ti *varanâvatî* ; cf. *varanâ* (*crataeva roxburghii*), AV. VI, 85, 1 ; X, 3, 2 ff., where the same puns upon derivatives of the root var are displayed. The formation of the word *varanâvatî* might be compared with *sîtikâvatî* and *hlâdikâvatî* in RV. X, 16, 14=AV. XVIII, 3, 60 ; see our Contributions, Second Series, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* XI, p. 341 ff. Cf. also *madâvatî* in st. 4 (cf. IV, 6, 3 c), as a designation of the poisonous plant. *varanâvatî* would then be the name of the curative plant, the antidote, 'affording protection.' But the ceremonies in the Sûtra (28, 1) begin with the use of water, and the appearance of *vâr* in Pâda a also points to the name of a river.

#### Stanza 2.

d. Cf. RV. I, 187, 10 ; Âpast. Sr. XII, 4, 13. Cf. for this and the next stanza the ritual, above, Kaus. 28, 4.

#### Stanza 3.

a. In deciding upon the meaning of *tiryâm* we have had in mind the evident concatenation of st. 2 with 3 a, b. The

thought is continued, and, as is customary in catenary constructions, a new motif is added, *tiryām* (sc. *vishām*) in addition to the *prāṭhyām*, &c. of stanza 2. Since *prāṭhyām*, &c. indicate directions, we have regarded *tiryām* in the same light, i.e. as a variant of *tiryāñk*; cf. X, 2, 11. 24. 25. 28; 8, 19; XI, 4, 25; XV, 3, 6. *Sāyana* also attributes *tiryām* to *vishām*, but in the sense of 'secret, hidden,' *tiro-bhavam prakāśannatvena prayuktam*. This rendering is certainly possible. The Western translators all err because they attribute the word to *karambhām*: Pet. Lexs. and Zimmer=*tilya*, 'made from sesame'; Ludwig, 'einen breiten kuchen'; Grill emends to *atirya* (= *ati* + *riya*), 'overflowing.'

b. The vulgate reads *pībasphākām* (*Padapāṭha* in Whitney's Index, *pībañ* + *phākām*). Shankar Pandit's MSS. read *pībaspākām* (*Padap. pībañ* + *pākām*); *Sāyana*, *pīvaspākām*, 'a rich mess.' For *udārathām*, see RV. I, 187, 10. The Pet. Lexs., and Grill, 'dampfend'; Ludwig, 'hochaufgegangen'; *Sāyana*, 'prosperous' (*udriktārtiganakam*). Our own translation, 'cheering,' is equally conjectural.

#### Stanza 5.

Far from clear (cf. VI, 44, 1). Ludwig, 'wie einen wall (eine aufschüttung) um das dorf richten wir auf'; Grill, upon the basis of the Pet. Lex., 'als wie mit einer heeres-schaar umstellen wir dich mit dem wort.' *Sāyana*, 'the poison which is heaped up like a throng of people' (*gana-samūham iva upakītam visham*). He adds that the comparison with the throng suggests the power of the poison (*grāmadrīṣhāntena vishasya prābalyam uktam*), and thus nearly meets our own rendering, which, to be sure, suggests the frequency of the poison, rather than its strength.

#### Stanza 6.

a, b. The Sūtra (28, 2) ought to be helpful here. Three articles are mentioned there, *dūrsa*, *agina*, and *avakara*, two of which are given here in the same terms. It would seem to follow that the third, *avakara*, is identical with *pavāsta*,

and accordingly Sâyana says outright, *pavastaiḥ pavanâya astaiḥ sammârganîtrinaiḥ*. All this may be correct : the implication appears to be that the poisonous plant, itself worthless, is bartered for worthless things, stray wisps of broom-straw, old garments, and worn-out skin. But the word *garat*, 'old,' is not mentioned in the hymn, and the symbolism of the Sûtra is obscure ; we cannot therefore regard all this as in any way secure. Moreover the difficult task of making this interpretation fit the only other occurrence of *pavâsta* (dual, *pavâste*), RV. X, 27, 7, remains. Sâyana quotes the passage and glosses the dual by *dyâvâ-prithivî*, here as well as in the RV.

#### Stanza 7.

Repeated at V, 6, 2 in an equally obscure connection. Sâyana, 'those enemies, O people, who were hostile to you in the witchcraft-practices which they performed, may they not by these practices injure our men here.'

#### IV, 8. COMMENTARY TO PAGE III.

This hymn is founded upon certain practices, well known in connection with the consecration of a king throughout the Vedic literature. Professor Weber has recently devoted to this subject a characteristically excellent treatise, 'Über die Königsweihe, den Râgasûya,' Transactions of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, 1893. Two noteworthy performances are indicated in the hymn : the king is sprinkled with water, derived from holy rivers, and mixed with the essence of holy plants (*śāntiyudakam* : see Kaus. 17, 1, and 9, 1 ff.) ; and he steps upon a tiger-skin. Both practices figure prominently in the descriptions of the *râgasûya* in the *Yagus-samhitâs*, *Brâhmanas*, and *Sûtras* : see the index to Weber's treatise under 'salbung,' and 'tiger-fell.' The hymn reflects throughout the spirit of antique popular institutions, and a genuine appreciation of the dignity of royalty.

The Atharvan ritual presents it in connection with a

double treatment of the *râgasûya*, either as a more solemn and elaborate priestly *srauta*-practice, or a more popular and direct *grîhya*-practice. The former is given at Vait. Sû. 36, 1-13: it presents in a compendious form the practices current in other *srauta*-works, with particular attention to the chronology of the months. The sprinkling (*abhishekanîya*) and the tiger-skin figure as the prominent points. The more popular phase of the practice is stated in a double form at Kaus. 17, 1-29. The first (Kaus. 17, 1-10) is the simplest. Only the king and his chaplain (*purohita*) are here actively engaged: 1. 'While reciting the hymn he who is about to sprinkle a king prepares at the banks of a great river<sup>1</sup> "holy water" from the ingredients prescribed (in st. 5; cf. Kaus. 9). 2. He causes a porridge to be cooked, and sprinkles the king who stands upon *darbha*-grass on the south-side of the *vedi* (called) *parigrîhyâ*<sup>2</sup>. 3. He seats the king upon a couch (placed) on a bull's skin<sup>3</sup>. 4. They (the king and the *purohita*) fill for one another a water-vessel (with water). 5. They exchange them. 6. The Brahman says: "In common to us be the good we do, in common the bad." 7. (The king says): "He (of us two) who shall do evil, his may the evil be; the good deed alone shall belong to both of us." 8. (The *purohita*) gives the porridge (to the king) to eat. 9. Then he causes him to mount a horse, and turn to the north-eastern direction (*aparâgitâ*, "the unconquered").

<sup>1</sup> According to Dârila near the rivers Gangâ, Yamunâ, or Sarasvatî.

<sup>2</sup> Dârila, *parigrîhyâ parigrîhyavedih parigrahanam, sa yogo* (!). Cf. Tait. S. II, 2, 10, 5; Maitr. S. I, 6, 3 (p. 89, l. 14); Âpast. Sr. IV, 5, 4, and AV. XII, 1, 13.

<sup>3</sup> I fail to see why Professor Weber (l. c., p. 140, note 5) ignores my obvious emendation of *talpârshabham* to *talpa* (i. e. *talpe*) *ârshabham*. The bull's skin takes here the place of the tiger-skin. The more elaborate ceremony (*mahâabhisheka*), described in the sequel (Kaus. 17, 11 ff.), brings in the tiger-skin. The present form of the *râgasûya* is the 'simple one' (*laghu*, *laghvabhisheka*), according to Kesava and Sâyana.



10. A thousand (cows), or a choice village, is the fee for the priest.'

The Kausika continues further with another mode of consecration for an *ekarâga*, 'sole ruler<sup>1</sup>.' In this the tiger-skin takes the place of the bull's skin. Four princes and a number of servants and subjects participate in this. See Weber, l. c., p. 141 ff.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 458; Weber, l. c., 139. By itself it figures as the *abhishekagana* in the *Gaṇamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 30.

#### Stanza 1.

c, d. The king is all-powerful. But there is yet another king, more powerful than he, death. Death is present in person now, as at all times, but he shall assent to the rule of the king.

#### Stanza 3.

This stanza recurs in a hymn to Indra, RV. III, 38, 4. The manly Asura is primarily Indra. Since Indra is the typical king (*kshatriya*), stanzas in praise of Indra lend themselves readily to adaptation to praises and beatification of royalty; cf. III, 1, 4; 2, 5, and elsewhere.

#### Stanza 4.

The tiger, as well as the lion (st. 7), is the king of animals: Sat. Br. V, 5, 4, 10; XII, 7, 1, 8; hence his skin is a mark of royalty. Control of the regions is a *sine qua non* of royalty; cf. e.g. Maitr. S. II, 1, 12, and the *dig-vyâsthâ-pana-mantrâh* at Tait. S. I, 8, 13, 1. 2; Tait. Br. I, 7, 7, 1. 2.

---

<sup>1</sup> I am inclined to think that 'sole ruler,' and not 'simple king,' as Weber (p. 141) renders it, is the meaning of *ekarâga*; cf. *ekarâg* in Ait. Br. VIII, 15, 1 (scholiast, *eka eva râgâ*); AV. III, 4, 1; RV. VIII, 37, 3, and *ekavriśhâ*, AV. IV, 22, 1. 5, a hymn which is rubricated in the sequel of this description (Kaus. 17, 28). Kesava, moreover, introduces Sûtra 11 with the words, *mahâ-bhishekavidhiṃ vakshyâmaḥ*. The entire passage Kaus. 17, 11-29 deals with this more pompous ceremony.

See in general, Contributions, Fourth Series, Amer. Journ. Phil. XII, 432.

d. The heavenly waters are the very ones with which the king is consecrated. By a bold figure of speech they, as they are about to moisten him, are said to long for him!

#### Stanza 6.

a. Some MSS. and Sâyana read *ábhi . . . asrigan* for *ábhi . . . asiñkan*. Sâyana glosses, *âbhimukhyena samsrig-antu*.

#### Stanza 7.

c, d. The passage is not quite clear: *subhúvaḥ* may refer to the waters, or to the attendant priests (so Sâyana, *seva-kaganâḥ*). The word *dvîpînam* harbours a double entente: *dvîpa* is 'island.' Vaguely, the position of the king, as he is surrounded by the consecrating water, suggests an island in the ocean.

#### IV, 9. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 61.

The hymn is rubricated at Kaus. 58, 8 in a practice calculated to bestow long life upon the young Aryan, after he has been invested with the holy cord (cf. Hir. Gr̥h. I, 11, 5), to wit: 'While reciting IV, 9, an amulet of salve is fastened (upon the youth).' See also Sântikalpa 17 and 19<sup>1</sup>; Ath. Paris. 4, 1. A persistent tradition has it that the mountain Trikakud ('Three-peaks'), in more modern times Trikûṭa or Trikota, between the Penjâb and the Himâlayas, is the source from which the salve is derived. See the Pet. Lex. under *âñgana*, *trikakud*, and *traikakuda*, and Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 29, 69. The *Anukramanî* describes the hymn as *traikakudâñganadaivatam*; it has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 507; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 35, 123 ff., and exhibits noteworthy points of contact with RV. X, 97.

<sup>1</sup> Erroneously quoted by Sâyana as *Nakshatrakalpa*.

**Stanza 1.**

b. The majority of Shankar Pandit's MSS. read *akshyam*; this he has taken into the text. Other MSS. read *ákshyam*. But there is also MS. authority for *áksham*, the reading of the vulgate, and *Sâyana*, who glosses it by *kakshuh*, 'eye.' But *áksham* does not mean 'eye,' and *akshyam* is otherwise unquotable. Nevertheless, we have translated *akshyam*, for the passage seems to be a tantalising reverberation of Sat. Br. III, 1, 3, 12. 'When Indra slew *Vṛitra*, he transformed that eye of his (*Vṛitra*'s) into the mount *Trikakud*. The reason, then, why (ointment) from mount *Trikakud* (is used) is that he thereby puts eye into eye.' This seems to show that the ointment was applied about the eye<sup>1</sup>, and apparently silences Professor Roth's objection, as reported by Grill, that this is too narrow a view of the usefulness of the ointment. Cf. also Maitr. S. III, 6, 3; Tait. S. VI, 1, 1, 5, which are equally pertinent.

**Stanza 3.**

c, d. The Paippalāda reads, *utā-mṛitatvasye-sisha utā-saḥ pitubhoganam*. Pāda e looks like an appendage; cf. XIX, 44, 2.

**Stanza 4.**

Cf. RV. X, 97, 12 = Vāg. S. XII, 86. The difficult word of the stanza is *madhyamasīr*, all the renderings of which, both native and western, are mere conjectures. *Sâyana*, here, either 'wind' (i. e. who dwells in the middle region), or, *arir mitram arer mitram iti nitisāstroktamandalamadyavartī rāgā*. The gloss at RV. is similar to the latter interpretation. Still more fanciful is *Mahīdhara* at Vāg. S.

**Stanza 5.**

Cf. II, 4, 2, and for the meaning of *vīshkandha*, see the note on II, 4, 1.

<sup>1</sup> *Sâyana* on st. 3, *anakti kakshushī anene-ti āṅganam*.

**Stanza 7.**

d. We have taken *pûrusha* in the sense which it frequently has in the Veda, namely, 'menial, servitor.' Cf. RV. X, 97, 4; AV. X. 1, 17; Sat. Br. VI, 3, 1, 22; and probably also RV. VI, 39, 5 (discussed erroneously by Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, I, 43). Ludwig, 'und dein leben, o mensch;' Grill, 'auch deinen lebensgeist, du mann!' *Sâyana* reads *pûrushas* with some MSS. (both *Samhitâ* and *Padapâtâ*), all of which, however, present the word as an enclitic without *udâtta*. With the nominative the sense is, 'may I as thy servitor (O salve) obtain horses, &c.'

**Stanza 8.**

For *balâsa*, see the discussion in the note on V, 22, 11. The poison of the serpent is considered as a disease; hence it is mentioned along with *takmân* and *balâsa*.

**Stanza 9.**

Cf. Tait. Âr. VI, 10, 2; Hir. Gr̥h. I, 11, 5.

## IV, 10. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 62.

The hymn is employed at Kaus. 58, 9 in connection with a practice for bestowing long life and prosperity upon the young Brahmanical disciple after the investiture: 'While reciting IV, 10 an amulet of pearl is fastened (upon the youth).' Cf. also *Sântikalpa* in the introduction to XIX, 34.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rig-veda*, III, 462; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 36, 124 ff. Cf. also Pischel in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.* XXXVI, 135 ff. The *Anukramanî*, *saṅkhamanîsûktam*.

**Stanza 1.**

In this and the subsequent stanzas the fanciful sources of the pearl, some of which become commonplace in the later literature, are paralleled with great fidelity in the imaginations of Arabic and classical writers; see Pischel, l. c. The glint on the surface of both pearl and shell

suggests gold ; and the changes are rung upon this comparison. See also Yāska's *Nighaṇṭu* I, 2, where *kṛisana* is put among the names for gold ; cf. especially st. 6.

#### Stanza 2.

a. *Sāyana*, *rokanānām rokamānānām bhāsvarānām nakshatrādīnām*. He has in mind, doubtless, the beautiful stanza RV. X, 68, 11, 'as a black steed with pearls, thus did the Fathers stud the sky with stars.'

#### Stanza 3.

b. For *sadānvāḥ*, see our note on II, 14, 1 d.

#### Stanza 5.

b. *Sāyana*, 'from the body of *Vṛitra*, or from the cloud.' The latter alternative hits the point. According to the familiar Hindu notion, the pearl is a drop of rain, and thus it here breaks through the cloud, like the sun, itself a small sun.

#### Stanza 6.

Pāda a accounts for the presence of the word *kṛisana* among the names for gold, Yāska's *Nigh.* I, 2. With Pāda c cf. RV. I, 35, 4. The extra fifth Pāda is formulaic, and betrays its character as an appendage by the change of person (*tārishat*) ; see the note on II, 4, 6.

#### Stanza 7.

e. The MSS. available for the vulgate read *kārsanas* ; so also the majority of Shankar Pandit's MSS. The emendation of the *Pet. Lex.* to *kārsanas* is now substantiated by *Sāyana* (*kārsanaḥ kṛisanasambandhī manih*), and a minority of Shankar Pandit's MSS.

### IV, 12. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 19.

The purport of this hymn is manifest both from its wording, and its function in the ritual. It is to cure external lesions, and fractures of bones. The *Kausika*

deals with it twice, 28, 5. 6, and 28, 14. The practice described in the former place is assigned by Kesava to the healing of broken bones, wounds, and flow of blood caused by weapons (asthibhaṅge rudhirapravāhe sastrābhighâtādaubhaishagyam). It consists in sprinkling the patient at dawn when the stars fade (with a decoction of the lākshâ-plant, Kesava adds), then giving him to drink a so-called *prishâtaka*<sup>1</sup>, a mixture of ghee and milk (so Dârila; cf. Kaus. 49, 15), and finally anointing him with it: 28, 5. *rohanî*-tyavanakshatre-vasiñkati. 6. *prishâtakam* pâyayaty abhy-anakti. At Kaus. 28, 14 the performance is very similar, lākshâlingābhir (sc. *rigbhir*) dugdhe phântân pâyayati, 'while reciting the stanzas characterised by the mention of the lākshâ-plant (according to the commentators, AV. V, 5 in addition to our hymn) he gives the patient to drink a decoction (of the plant) in milk.' Dârila distinctly describes this as a cure for wounds (arusho bhaishagyam), while with Kesava the scope of the charm is broader, namely, 'against wounds from knives, clubs, stones, burns, in fact all wounds of the body.'

The name lākshâ, under which the plant addressed in this hymn goes consistently in the ritual books, does not occur in our hymn, but instead arundhatî. In AV. V, 5, 7 the lākshâ is mentioned—apparently a ἀπ. λεγ. in the Mantras—and it there appears distinctly as an alternate designation of the creeper called arundhatî, or silâkî<sup>2</sup>, a parasitic plant which grows up on the stems of many trees (V, 5, 5), and which is otherwise described in the same hymn; cf. also Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 67. Since the plant is employed to cure wounds (arus), the student of the Atharvan need hardly be warned that there is a punning symbolic connection between the disease and the simple; cf. Dârila's

<sup>1</sup> For *prishâtaka*, see Gobh. *Grîh.* III, 8, 1 ff.; *Grîhyasamgraha* II, 59, and my note on the same, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* XXXV, p. 580.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly also *rôhanî*; see the note on stanza 1. Sâyana at VI, 59, 1 explains arundhatî as sahaddevî (cf. the text of VI, 59, 2).

statement, arusho bhaishagyam, at Kaus. 28, 14, and the doubtless conscious mention of arús and arundhatī in V, 5, 4. 5; cf. also VIII, 7, 6. The word is, however, likely to be a-rundhatī, a feminine present participle with a privative; so Sâyana at VI, 59, 2.

Adalbert Kuhn, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, XIII, 58 ff.; 151 ff., has compared the hymn with the Merseburg charm, and a considerable variety of related materials from German, Scandinavian, and English sources. And, having in view more particularly AV. V, 5, 8. 9, he believes that the creeper was used primarily to heal the fractured limbs of horses—a construction which seems to me too narrow. Any kind of genetic connection between the Hindu and the German charm is none too certain, since the situation may have suggested the same expressions independently. Yet as a strongly-marked line in the folk-psychological character of the peoples in question, the parallels are extremely valuable and instructive. The hymn has also been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 508, and Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 18 and 125 ff.; cf. also Hillebrandt, *Vedachrestomathie*, p. 48. The *Anukramanī* designates the hymn as vânaspatyam, 'devoted to Vanaspati,' its author being Rîbhû (cf. st. 7).

#### Stanza 1.

a, b. I take it that the three occurrences of the word rōhanî in the stanza are intended to convey the same word in at least a double meaning. The plant is a creeper growing upon trees, as is stated distinctly in AV. V, 5, 3, *vrikshâm-vriksham ā rohasi*, 'every tree thou doest ascend.' The poet is very likely to have in mind this meaning of the root ruh in addition to the more direct one, 'cause to grow,' at least in connection with the first occurrence of the word. It seems necessary to construe one of the two rōhanî in the first Pâda as a proper name; Ludwig in his translation goes farther than that, and seems to take one of them as vocative, 'Rohanî[, die wachsen macht.] bist du, o Rohanî, &c.' The passage with its three identical nominatives has a parallel in the traditional text of XIX, 35, 1,

*gaṅgidó*·si *gaṅgidó* *rákshítá*·si *gaṅgidáh* (so the MSS. ; the edition corrects to *áṅgirá* asi *gaṅgida*, &c.). The temptation in both cases is to change at least one of the nominatives to a vocative ; see the note on XIX, 35, 1. Grill translates the two *róhanî* in Páda a by two synonymic expressions, 'Verheilung wirkst du, ja du heilst.' This simply veils the difficulty. It may be worth noting that the MSS. of the Kausika in quoting the hymn at 28, 5 read unanimously *rohini* ; this is the reading of Sáyana, and of the Paippaláda for all three occurrences of the word, and it suggests 'red,' a quality which is borne out by certain epithets of the plant, *hiranyavarṇâ*, 'golden-coloured,' in V, 5, 6, 7 ; *sûryavarṇâ*, 'sun-coloured,' in V, 5, 6 ; *sushmâ*, 'fiery,' in V, 5, 7. The name of the plant, *lákshâ*, 'lac-dye'—cf. the Pet. Lex. s. v. 2—also suggests 'red,' and this may be a third thought which runs through the mind of the versifex while composing the stanza. I attach no text-critical significance to the metre of the stanza (*gâyatrî*), which differs from that of sts. 2-5 on the one hand, and 6 and 7 on the other ; cf. e.g. RV. VII, 103 ; AV. II, 4 ; VI, 111, &c.

### Stanza 2.

b. I have reluctantly refrained from emending *ásti* to *ásthi*<sup>1</sup>, 'bone.' The rather superfluous copula at the beginning of the Páda is suspicious, and the translation of *péshtram* by 'bone' is not at all certain. Both the related *pisitá* and *peś* mean 'flesh,' and that, not 'bone,' may be the meaning of *péshtram*. This fits here as well as at AV. VI, 37, 3, the only other place where the word occurs, and Hillebrandt in the vocabulary of his *Vedachrestomathie* states a similar view, 'losgeschlagenes stück fleisch, fleisch-fetzen,' although his derivation from the root *pish*, 'crush,' separates needlessly our word from *pisitá* and *peś*. With this change, Pádas a, b should be translated 'what bone and flesh in thy person has been injured and burst, (may Dhâtar,

<sup>1</sup> By way of illustrating the easy confusion of these two words we may mention that Sáyana at IV, 10, 7 a, reads *asti* for *ásthi*.



&c.).' Note, too, the parallelism which is thus established with Pâdas c, d in st. 3 (ásthi in both stanzas, and pështram = mâmsásya). Sâyana comments upon preshtam instead of pështram.

c, d. dhâtá in alliteration with dadhat.

### Stanza 3.

Almost every feature of the detailed account of the parts of the body, here and in the following two stanzas, may be paralleled from the Teutonic charms, e.g. Kuhn, l. c., p. 51 :

'ben zi bena	bluot zi bluoda
lid zi geliden	sose gelimida sin.'

The Norwegian charm mentioned on the same page recites marrow, bones, and flesh :

'marv i marv, been i been, kjöd i kjöd.'

A charm from the Orkneys recites (l. c., p. 54) :

'Sinew to sinew, joint to joint,  
Blood to blood, and bone to bone,  
Attend thou in God's name !'

a. As the Pâda stands it is hypercatalectic. The Paippalâda omits te, which may have crept in from Pâda c. But even this leaves a bad final cadence : perhaps bhavatu is to be read dissyllabically (bhotu, in the manner of the Prâkrit hodu). For the metrical equivalence of ava and o, see the author's article, 'On certain irregular Vedic Subjunctives,' Amer. Journ. Phil. V, 25 ff. (p. 10 ff. of the reprint). Sâyana reads sam for sám in each of the four Pâdas.

### Stanza 6.

The metre is very irregular ; the Anukramanî describes the stanza as tripadâ yavamadhyâ bhuriggâyatrî, not a bad characterisation, as the middle Pâda is larger than the other two. By reading sottishtā we obtain a good octosyllabic Pâda a; b is a trishubh, and c is a catalectic anushubh (read ūrdhuáḥ). Hillebrandt and Grill assume that this and the following stanza are later accretions, and both metre and sense seem to bear them out. But these matters are so

very subjective! Ludwig does not construe Pāda b as a comparison, but translates 'gutes rad, gute felge, gute nabe hat der wagen.' Evidently, he also has in mind an exoteric origin of the stanza.

#### Stanza 7.

Cf. RV. VI, 54, 7. The stanza consists of two eleven-syllable and two octosyllabic Pādas. The first Pāda may be righted by reading patituā, or possibly yādi vā kartām, &c. (cf. yādi vā in Pāda b). The Anukramanī baldly counts thirty-six syllables as they stand, without resolution, and designates the stanza as *br̥iḥatī*.

o, d. The subject of *sām* dadhat seems to me (as to Grill) to be Dhâtar, the fashioner in st. 2; *r̥ibhū* belongs to the comparison, as in X, 1, 8. The *R̥ibhus* are known to have constructed the chariot of the Asvins, but they are not counted among the divine physicians (Rudra, the Asvins, the waters, and Sarasvatī). Kuhn and Ludwig make *r̥ibhū* the subject of *sām* dadhat, but the former regards it as an epithet of Dhâtar.

#### IV, 16. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 88.

Professor von Roth, who first treated this hymn in his well-known essay, entitled 'Abhandlung über den Atharvaveda' (Tübingen, 1856), remarks on p. 30: 'There is no other hymn in the entire Vedic literature which presents divine omniscience in terms so emphatic, and yet this beautiful fabric has been degraded to serve as an introduction to an imprecation. One may surmise, however, in this case as well as in the case of many other parts of this Veda, that fragments of older hymns have been utilised to deck out charms for sorcery.'

We may remark, however, that the stanzas of this hymn do not occur in any other connection, and there is no tangible evidence that they were constructed for any other purpose than that before us. Certainly the Atharvavedins had nothing better in view, and accordingly the hymn is rubricated in the sixth book of the Kausika which is

devoted to sorcery (*âbhikârika*). At Kaus. 48, 7 the conjuring enemy, as he comes on, is met by the recital of this hymn; at 127, 3 the third stanza, in praise of Varuna, figures in an expiatory rite when the constellation, 'the seven Rishis' (the dipper), is ominously obscured by some nebulous mass, or comet (*yatra dhûmaketuḥ saptarshin upadhûpayati*). The *Anukramanî* describes the hymn as *satyânritânvikshanasûktam*, 'a hymn which searches out truth and untruth.'

There are many translations of the piece: Roth, l.c., pp. 29 ff.; Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch. VII, 607; Max Müller, Chips from a German Workshop, I, 40 ff.; Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, V, 63 ff. (cf. also II, 451); Metrical Translations, p. 163; Kaegi, Der Rig-veda<sup>2</sup>, p. 89 ff. (p. 65 ff. of Arrowsmith's translation); Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 388; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 32, 126 ff.; cf. also Hillebrandt's Vedachrestomathie, p. 38 ff.; Bergaigne et Henry, Manuel Védique, p. 146 ff.

#### Stanza 1.

Cf. Psalms xxxiii. 13; cxiii. 5; cxxxviii. 6; cxxxix. 2; Jer. xxiii. 23, and see for scriptural parallels to the next stanzas the notes to Kaegi's translation. *Sâyana* refers *eshâm* to the enemies; most translators, to the human race in general. We supply *devânâm* from *devâḥ* in Pâda d. Some MSS. of the *Padapâṭha* read *tâyât* and *kârat*; the latter is adopted by *Sâyana*, *karanasîlam ka nasvaram ka vastu manyate*.

#### Stanza 2.

a. *Sâyana* explains *vâñkati* by *kauṭilyena pratârayati*, 'leads astray by means of guile.' Cf. the formula, *namo vañkate, parivañkate, stâyûnâm pataye namaḥ*, Mait. S. II, 9, 3; Tait. S. IV, 5, 3, 1; Vâg. S. XVI, 21, addressed as part of the *satarudriya*-litany to god Rudra in his capacity of master-thief (*Mahîdhara* also, *vañkati pratârayati*). The *Paippalâda* reads, *yas tishṭhati manasâ yas ka vañkati*, supporting in a measure *Sâyana's* and *Mahîdhara's* glosses.

b. The *Padapâṭha* reads *ni-lāyan*, a participle, not a

gerund; pratāṅkam is left as an accusative dependent upon *kar*, a verb of motion. The meaning 'hiding-place' for pratāṅka suits its only other occurrence, AV. V, 13, 8: 'the poison of all (serpents) who have run into their hiding-place is 'without force.' Cf. also pratākvān, Maitr. S. I, 2, 12; Tait. S. I, 3, 3, 1; Vāg. S. V, 32, and Pet. Lex. (epithet of a pit). Sāyana reads nilāyam, and glosses pratāṅkam with prakarshena *krikkhragīvanam* prāpya. The Paippalāda has pralāyam, absolute, in the place of pratāṅkam.

### Stanza 3.

c, d. The last two Pādas foreshadow Varuṇa's later function as Neptune (*apām patiḥ*); cf. RV. II, 38, 8; AV. III, 3, 4; Maitr. S. II, 6, 8; Tait. S. I, 8, 12, 1; V, 6, 1, 1; Vāg. S. X, 7, and Weber, *Rāgasūya*, p. 44, note 1. The two oceans are the heavenly and earthly oceans; cf. RV. X, 136, 5; AV. XI, 2, 25; 5, 6.

### Stanza 4.

Varuṇa's spies are the stars, 'the eyes of night' (RV. X, 127, 1), 'the beholders of men,' AV. XIX, 47, 3 ff. Cf. our Contributions, Third Series, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XV, p. 170.

### Stanza 5.

b, c. Sāyana reads purastāt for parastāt, and construes *sāmkhyâtā* as the nom. of the stem *sāmkhyâtar* (*pramāna-yitā*).

d. The Pāda is exceedingly difficult. *nī minoti* has the sanction of all MSS., and is apparently the reading of the Paippalāda also. The gamester throws down (*nī vapati*, Kaus. 41, 13) his dice, and it is implied here, of course, that it is done successfully, that the player obtains the stakes (*kṛitam*, see Pet. Lex., s. v. *kṛitā* 3 c), because Varuṇa cannot be otherwise than successful. As the player plants down these (successful dice) thus does Varuṇa establish these laws (*tāni*, sc. *vratāni*?). Sāyana, who did not primarily influence our conclusion, in part approaches the same interpretation, *tāni pāpinām śikhākarmāni tattatpā-*

pānusāreṇa ni minoti ni kshipati . . . yathā kitavaḥ akshān ātmano gayārtham nikshipati. The Pet. Lex. (V, 764 ; VII, 409) emends to ní kinoti and ví kinoti without real gain, tempting as the emendation is in the light of RV. X, 42, 9 = AV. VII, 50, 6, and AV. IV, 38, 2. Grill suggests ní minoti (or mināti) in the sense of 'reducing, causing to vanish the strength of men' (cf. Sāyana), but neither expression will bear such an interpretation (ní mināti does not occur). The translators offer the greatest variety of versions, without, as a rule, adhering closely to the text.

#### Stanza 6.

Sāyana reads visitāḥ and rushantāḥ (so also the Paippalāda). For sinantu of the vulgate the MSS. have kḥinantu, kḥinattu, and sinantu (Sāyana, kḥinattu kḥindantu).

#### Stanza 7.

- a. varuṇa is metrically superfluous, an obvious gloss.
- c. The MSS. read sramsayitvā and sramsayitvā. Sāyana, correctly, sramsayitvā (galodararogena srastam kritvā).
- d. Sāyana, followed by Shankar Pandit, reads abandhāḥ for abandhrāḥ. The Pet. Lex. s. v. 2 kart, 'like a leaking tub wound about with rags' (to stop the leakage). Sāyana, aseḥ kosa iva parikṛīyamānaḥ (krīti kḥedane), 'like the broken sheath of a sword.'

#### Stanza 8.

Literally, 'with Varuṇa who is fastened lengthwise, &c.' The word vāruṇaḥ could be well spared from all three Pādas, if it were not for the metrical symmetry with the next stanza. Or it might be changed to the vocative varuṇa. For samāmyò and vyāmyò, cf. AV. XVIII, 4, 70: the words are clear. Ludwig and Sāyana erroneously connect them with āmaya, 'disease.' videsyà is naturally derived from videsa, 'foreign country;' in that case sam-desyà is an artificially formed opposite 'native, indigenous.' So Sāyana. Both words are ἀπ. λεγ. An alternate possibility

is to render *saṁdesyà*, 'subject to command ;' then *videsyà* is 'exempt from command.' Or, again, each may be translated independently: *saṁdesyà*, 'subject to command ;' *videsyà*, 'foreign :' their juxtaposition in a magic formula may be of the punning order. For *saṁdesyà*, cf. our note on II, 8, 5 b. The divine and the human (noose of) Varuna refers either to divine and human disease (so, apparently, *Sâyana*), or to diseases instigated by gods and men. The formula grovels in the lowest bathos of hocus-pocus.

#### IV, 17. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 69.

This and the two following hymns are addressed to the *apâmârga*-plant (*achyranthes aspera*)<sup>1</sup>. It is employed to ward off all kinds of evil and witchcraft, and its qualifications in that direction are guaranteed to the Atharvanic Hindu by its real or supposed etymology. The name is hardly ever mentioned without bringing in its trail the verb *apa marg*, 'to wipe out.' The pun assumes the most lively reality: diseases, enemies, demons, and sins are wiped out by its influence. See Zimmer, p. 66 ff. ; our Contributions, Third Series, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XV, 161 ; Weber, *Râgasûya*, p. 18. Cf. also Sat. Br. XIII, 8, 4, 4.

The three hymns figure at Kaus. 39, 7 in a list which is almost identical with the *krîtyâpratiharâṇî* (sc. *sûktâni*), or the *krîtyâgana*, a series of hymns designed to counteract sorcery, in the *Ganamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 2.

The Kausika, 39, 7-12, prescribes in connection with these hymns a lengthy procedure, which begins with 'the pouring of the great consecration' (*mahâsântim âvapate*). Cf. Kaus. 39, 27 ; 43, 5 ; 44, 6 ; 46, 7 ; *Sâṅkh. Gṛih.* V, 11, 2. The *mahâsânti* consists in pouring together 'holy water' (*sântyudakam*) during the recitation of the four *ganâs* of hymns, described in Kaus. 8, 23-9, 6. The 'holy water' itself is prepared at Kaus. 9, 8 ff. with elaborate ceremonies, the chief of which is the placing of 'holy plants'

<sup>1</sup> *Sâyana* regularly glosses the word by *sahadevi*.

(Kaus. 8, 16) into the water. Obviously the meaning of all these performances is purification, and the warding off of impure influences. Then follow in Sûtras 39, 8-12 a variety of rather complicated practices, too lengthy and obscure for exposition in this connection. They concern more narrowly some such hymn, belonging to the *krityâpratiharañâni*, as X, 1; see the introduction to that hymn. The fifth stanza of IV, 17 naturally figures in the *duḥsvapnânâsanagana*, 'series of hymns calculated to drive away evil dreams,' of the *Gaṇamâlâ*; see Kaus. 46, 9, note.

The hymn has been translated by Zimmer, p. 66; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 37, 130 ff. The *Anukramanî*, *apâmârgavanaspatidevaytam*. Cf. also Ath. Paris. 18<sup>2</sup>, 4.

### Stanza 2.

a. Sâyana with one MS. reads for *sapathayâvanim* the synonymous *sapathayópanim*; cf. II, 7, 1.

b. The epithet *punaḥsarâ* does not somehow seem to me to be so clear as to the editors of the Pet. Lexs., Zimmer, and Grill. They render it by 'zurückgeschlagene blüthen habend.' This is based upon the statement at IV, 19, 7, 'thou didst grow backward, thou hast fruit which is turned backward' (cf. VII, 65, 1; Sat. Br. V, 2, 4, 20), and the epithets *parâkpushpî*, *pratyakpushpî*, and *pratyakpamî* in native lexical works. In RV. VII, 55, 3 *punaḥsarâ* is an epithet of the barking dog, 'running back and returning again (to the attack).' The two other occurrences of the word, AV. VI, 129, 3; X, 1, 9, are not disposed of satisfactorily by the renderings of the Pet. Lexs. It seems to me that 'attacking' or 'defending' is better, and that the word *pratisarâ*, 'defensive amulet<sup>1</sup>', is closely related to it. Cf. Sat. Br. V, 2, 4, 20, and Seven Hymns, Amer. Journ. Phil. VII, 478 ff. Sâyana, similarly, *punaḥpunaḥ âbhikshnyena bahutaravyâdhinivṛttaye sarati*.

<sup>1</sup> The *pratisara* turns the spell as a boomerang upon him who performs it. See AV. VIII, 5, 5, *pratikṣiḥ krityâḥ pratisarâḥ agantu*, and cf. the note on VIII, 5, 1.

**Stanza 3.**

Identical with I, 28, 3. The Pet. Lexs., Zimmer, and Grill regard *mūram* = *mūlam*, 'root (of an injurious plant).' *Sāyana*, *mūrkhāpradam*. *Pādas* c, d perhaps rather, 'she who has taken in hand the (magic substances) created to rob strength . . .'

**Stanza 4.**

Cf. V, 31, 1, and the note on Kaus. 39, 31. The unburned vessel seems to symbolise the fragility, destructibility (Sat. Br. XII, 1, 3, 23) of the person upon whom enchantments are practised. At Sat. Br. XIV, 9, 4, 11 = *Br̥h. Âr. VI*, 4, 12 it figures in a sorcery practice against a wife's paramour. The compound *nilalohitā* is also connected with sorcery from the first. It occurs in RV. X, 85, 28 = AV. XIV, 1, 26 = *Âpast. Mantrabr. I*, 6, 8 (*Âpast. Gr̥h. II*, 5, 23) = Baudh. *Gr̥h. I*, 8; AV. VIII, 8, 24. The Atharvan ritual, Kaus. 16, 20 (rubricating AV. VIII, 8, 24 d); 32, 17; 40, 4; 48, 40; 83, 4, leaves little room for doubt that in its view a dark blue and a red thread are here intended. This is also the tradition of *Âpast. Gr̥h. II*, 5, 23, and similarly *Sāṅkh. Gr̥h. I*, 12, 8 prescribes, in connection with RV. X, 85, 28, a red and black cord upon which amulets are fastened. Only Baudh. I, 8 treats the compound as a symbolic representation of night and day; see Winternitz, *Das Altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, pp. 6, 12, 67. It is, of course, possible to conclude that this is the true source of the symbolism: day and night rendered concrete by these two colours. *Sāyana* seems to have lost his grip upon Atharvan tradition when he says to our passage, 'the fire which is black from the rise of smoke and red from its flame.' Zimmer and Grill both co-ordinate *nilalohitā* with *âmé pātre*, 'an das ungebrannte' and 'am rotgebrannten,' obviously against the spirit of the Atharvan tradition. Cf. also the introduction to VII, 116, and Tait. S. IV, 5, 10, 1.

c. Raw meat is eaten by demons, and therefore realises symbolically their presence; see V, 29, 6; VIII, 6, 23.



**Stanza 5.**

Identical with VII, 23. I have translated *abhvām* by 'gruesomeness,' because it has occurred to me at various times that it, as well as *ābhū* (cf. RV. X, 129, 3), is related to *nābhas*, 'fog, cloud,' being in the current terms of comparative grammar = *ṇbhū-*, and *ābhū* from root *nebh*. For this and the following two stanzas, cf. RV. V, 36, 3; VII, 1, 19 ff.

**Stanza 6.**

b. The clever emendation of the Pet. Lex. *anapatyātām*, for *anapadyātām*, as is the reading of the MSS. of the vulgate, is now authenticated by quite a number of Shankar Pandit's MSS., and *Sāyana* (*apatyarāhityam*); cf. the words *apragāstā* and *apragāstvá*.

**IV, 18. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 70.**

For the treatment of this hymn in the ritualistic texts, see the introduction to IV, 17. The hymn has been translated by Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 25, 131 ff.

**Stanza 1.**

The Atharvanist loves to point to cosmic correspondences and harmonies as the foundation of his own righteous undertakings. This harmony furnishes the *satyam*, the unfailing basis (cf. *ṛitam*) for his own operations against the powers of evil. Professor Roth, as quoted by Grill, refers *gyótiḥ* to the light<sup>1</sup> of the moon (cf. *gyotsnā*), thus establishing a closer parallelism between *Pādas* a and b. I doubt whether the text will bear this strain. *Sāyana* literally, 'the light of thee (the *apāmarga*-plant);' cf. IV, 19, 3. The night is frequently viewed as illumined, starry (RV. X, 127; AV. XIX, 47, 1; 49, 6. 8).

b. *kr̥tvarīḥ* either 'enchantments' or 'witches.'

**Stanza 3.**

In our view the solution of the difficulty here lies in the assumption of a change of gender from *yás* in *Pāda* b (the

<sup>1</sup> Correct 'Night' at the beginning of the stanza to 'Light.'

male sorcerer) to *tásyâm* (the witch) in Pâda c. The entire second hemistich describes the punishment of sorcerers, for which cf. V, 23, 13. If we were to change *tásyâm* *dagdhâyâm* to *tásmin* *dagdhé* the sense would be obvious. Cf. V, 14, 6, *yádi strī yádi vâ púmân krityâm kakāra pāp-māne*. Grill emends *amā* to *āmâyâm* (sc. *sthālyâm*) with a result somewhat as follows: 'He who practises sorcery in an unburned vessel and then puts it upon the fire to bake, his magic vessel cracks as though hit by great stones.' Sāyana deprives himself of possible helpfulness by reading *dugdhâyâm* for *dagdhâyâm* (*pratīkārena rīktīkrītâyām . . . krītâyām*, 'upon his sorcery rendered impotent by the counter-charm').

#### Stanza 4.

b. The vulgate's *vīgrīvām kḥāpayā* (*Padapāṭha*, *vīgrīvān śāpaya*) is at the base of our rendering. Shankar Pandit's MSS. seem to read unanimously *kḥāyayā* (*śāyaya*), 'lay.' Sāyana, *kshāyaya* (*kshayam prāpaya*). Cf. RV. VII, 104, 24.

#### Stanza 6.

The first three Pādas are identical with the first three of V, 31, 11.

### IV, 19. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 71.

For the employment of this hymn in the ritualistic texts, see the introduction to IV, 17. It has been translated by Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 34, 132 ff. Cf. Zimmer, pp. 66-67.

#### Stanza 1.

The sense of the first hemistich seems to be that the plant in its dual rôle of destroyer of enemies and protector of friends depletes and increases families or clans. Sāyana erroneously derives *-krīt* from root *kart*, 'cut,' to wit, *satrū-nām kartakah . . . gāmayah sahagāh satravah teshām api kartayitā asi*. For Pâda d, cf. VI, 14, 3 c.

#### Stanza 2.

The words *kāṁvena nārshadéna* (RV. X, 31, 11) seem to be a gloss upon *brāhmaṇéna*; cf. IV, 37, 1; VI, 52, 3, &c.

Sâyana regards the  $\delta\pi. \lambda\epsilon\gamma.$  páryuktâ as = páriyuktâ (viniyuktâ-si); cf. our remarks on haplology, Proc. Amer. Or. Soc., April, 1893 (Journ., vol. xvi, p. xxxiv ff.). But pari yug is not quotable elsewhere. The stanza figures in one of the abhayagana of the Gaṇamâlâ; see Kaus. 16, 8, note.

#### Stanza 4.

The order of the statement here is really to be reversed: when thou, O plant, wast begotten as apâmârga ('wiping out'), then the gods drove out the Asuras with thee.

#### Stanza 5.

For 'thy father's name,' cf. the note on V, 5, 1. For pratyák, see pratyán and pratikñaphalas in st. 7, and the note on IV, 17, 2.

#### Stanza 6.

A cosmogonic brahmodya, pressed into the service of incantation! Cf. Contributions, Third Series, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XV, 172 ff. We have presented a purely philological translation of the stanza without attempting to bend it to the situation any further than is warranted by the wording. Grill takes ásat in the sense of 'wrong,' and similarly Sâyana, asatkāpam krītyârūpam. But a glance at the word in Jacob's Concordance to the principal Upanishads reveals the subjective character of the proceeding. The ásat is simply 'chaos,' manipulated as one of the primary cosmic forces: the sat, tad, satyam, or rītam would apparently have done just as well. For kartāram in the sense of 'evil-doer,' cf. V, 14, 11.

#### IV, 20. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 68.

The hymn is addressed to a magic plant which is supposed to impart the power to expose hidden demons, wizards, and their hostile practices. The attributes of the plant are not stated in the hymn with sufficient clearness to enable us to point out its place in the redundant Indian

flora. The Kausika, 28, 7, mentions the name of the plant as *sadampushpā*; this is glossed by Dārila with *trisamdhyā* and by Kesava with *samdhyā* (probably a corruption of *trisamdhyā*). The Sūtra reads: *ā pasyatī-ti sadampushpāmanim badhnāti*, 'with AV. IV, 20 he ties on as an amulet the plant *sadampushpā*.' The plant is mentioned again along with others in a charm directed against witchcraft in 39, 6, and Sāyana defines it in agreement with Kausika, he *devi sadampushpākhye oshadhe*; cf. also *sadāpushpī* in the lexicons. The plant seems to be the *calotropis gigantea*; cf. *Karaka-samhitā* I, 4, 3. For amulets derived from the vegetable kingdom see Seven Hymns of the Atharva-veda, Amer. Journ. Phil. VII, 478, and for amulets in general Kaus. 7, 19. The hymn is rubricated further in the list of stanzas designated as *kātānāni* (sc. *sūktāni*), 'hymns to chase away with,' in Kaus. 8, 25, and the *Gaṇamālā*, Ath. Paris. 32, 4, adds it also to the three hymns which Kaus. 8, 24 describes as the *mātrīnāmāni* (sc. *sūktāni*). The reason for this classification is the expression *devy* (*oshadhe*) in stanzas 1 and 2. See the note at Kaus. 8, 24, and cf. for the *mātrīgana* our remarks in the introduction to VI, 111. The *Anukramanī* follows these secondary considerations, designating the hymn as *mātrīnāmadaivatam*, its author being *Mātrīnāmarshi*.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 525, and Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 2, 133; cf. also Hillebrandt's *Vedachrestomathie*, p. 48.

### Stanza 1.

For the description of the plant in this stanza, cf. *māmpasyā* in VII, 38, 1, and see the introduction to VI, 139. I have upheld in my translation the text of the edition, guaranteed as it is by the unanimous tradition of the MSS. of the *Saunakiya-sākhā*. All corrections, including the important variant *pasyasi* for *pasyati* throughout the stanza in the *Paippalāda*, seem to me in this instance to amount to the substitution of a better literary performance for a poorer one; they do not bring with them the proof that

the priests of our school ever had any other text, or, what is more to the point, that the original versifex had composed differently. The merit of the Paippalâda's pasyasi is so obvious that it may be due to a conscious improvement on the part of its author. The metre of the stanza is irregular (*Anukramanî*, *svarâg*); the first Pâda is hypercatalectic, the third Pâda may be sustained by reading, with elision and crasis, *dīvântâriksham* for *dīvam antâriksham*. Hillebrandt's suggestion, accepted by Grill, that *ād* be thrown out seems to me unnecessarily violent.

a. Hillebrandt would restore the Pâda: *pâsyati prâti pasyati*; Grill (with the help of the Paippalâda), *ā pasyasi prâ pasyasi*, continuing with *pasyasi* throughout. *Sâyana* retains the third person, referring the stanza to the person who wears the amulet: *he devi sadampushpâkhye oshadhe tvadvikâramanidhârako-yam ganas tvatprasâdād âpasyati âgāmibhayakâranam pratihartum gâñati*, 'O goddess plant, sadampushpâ by name, this person here, who wears an amulet fabricated out of thee, by thy favour perceives the cause of approaching danger, and knows how to repel it.' The emendation of *prâti* to *prâ* (Grill) is especially undesirable, as the same expression occurs in a closely parallel situation, AV. VII, 13, 2.

b. Grill suspects the second *pasyati*, and imagines *oshadhe* in its place.

d. The temptation to emend the vocative *devi* to the nominative *devî* is great. The sense then would be that the amulet itself sees all dangers. Grill, as we have seen above, adopts the Paippalâda reading *pasyasi*, is thus enabled to retain *devi*, and also obtains essentially the same sense.

#### Stanza 2.

a. Read *prîthvîh*. The three heavens are well known; see, e.g. AV. V, 4, 3; VI, 95, 1; XVIII, 2, 48; XIX, 39, 6 (cf. the note on V, 4, 3). For the three earths see RV. I, 108, 9; II, 27, 8; III, 56, 2; AV. VI, 21, 1, and Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V, p. 305, note; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 357; Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*, I,

239. Cf. also Yasna XI, 7: madhemê thrishvê ainhão zemô, 'in the middle third of this earth.'

### Stanza 3.

a, b. divyásya suparnásya . . . kanñnikâ is rendered by Ludwig, 'dies himlischen adlers kleine tochter;' by Grill, 'der Augenstern des Adlers, der am Himmel ist.' Sâyana glosses suparnâ by garutmant, which suggests RV. I, 164, 46. Grill follows the Pet. Lex. [s.v. 2 a. a)] in regarding the divine eagle as the sun. But perhaps the lightning-fire is in the mind of the poet. At Vâg. S. XVII, 72; XVIII, 51; Sat. Br. IX, 2, 3, 34; 4, 4, 3, the divinity addressed, suparno-si garutmân, is treated distinctly as Agni, and Mahîdhara states this plainly. In Maitr. S. I, 2, 5; Vâg. S. IV, 32; Tait. S. VI, 1, 7, 3, 'the eye-ball (kanñnikâ, kanñnaka) of Agni's eye' is spoken of. The expression divyâ suparnâ may be the exact equivalent of diváh syéna, and that, I believe I have proved, is Agni, the lightning, personified as a divine eagle; see Contributions, Fifth Series, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XVI, 1 ff. The descent of this eagle, or the Gâyatrî, as the Brâhmanas have it, is frequently disturbed by a heavenly archer Kṛiśānu who wounds the eagle, so that he loses a feather which falls to the earth, and grows up as a plant or tree. See Adalbert Kuhn, Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks, p. 148 (first edition). The use of the word suparnâ in our edition is, in my opinion, intended to convey a double entente, 'bird' and 'having beautiful leaves.' Cf. Tait. S. VI, 1, 1, 5, where Vṛitra's eye-ball (kanñnikâ) flies away after he had been slain by Indra, and turns into salve (âñganam). Ludwig does not comment upon his translation of kanñnikâ by 'kleine tochter,' rather than 'eye-ball;' it may possibly turn out correct when RV. X, 40, 9 yields up its meaning. We have there as follows: gánishā yóshâ patáyat kanñnakó ví kṣá-ruhan vírúdhah, a passage which suggests the situation in our stanza completely and yet vaguely. But it is interpreting obscurum per obscurius

to bring the RV. stanza into play. Cf. also our note at V, 5, 8.

c. *Sâyana*, *gagadrakshârtham oshadhirûpena bhûmâv avatîrnâ=si*.

#### Stanza 4.

a. 'The thousand-eyed god.' In X, 3, 3 an amulet derived from the *varana*-tree is designated as *sahasrâkshâ* ; in XI, 2, 3. 7. 17 ; Sat. Br. IX, 1, 1, 6 Rudra is so called ; in IV, 28, 3 Bhava-Sarva ; in IV, 16, 4 Varuna's spies ; in RV. I, 23, 3 Indra and Vâyû ; in Tait. S. II, 3, 14, 4 Indra. Further, we have the 'thousand-eyed *pâpman*, evil,' in AV. VI, 26, 3 ; *sapatha*, 'curse,' in VI, 37, 1. Grill fancies that the god of the plant here in question is meant, but this seems faint after the plant herself has been personified as a goddess, *devy oshadhe*, in st. 2. Perhaps rather Agni, said to be 'thousand-eyed' with especial frequency, is meant ; see RV. I, 79, 12 ; Vâg. S. XVII, 71 (XIII, 47) ; Sat. Br. VII, 5, 2, 32 ; IX, 2, 3, 32 ; Âpast. Sr. VI, 25, 10. Agni particularly chases away evil spirits, *agnî rākshāmsi sedhati*, RV. VII, 15, 10 ; AV. VIII, 3, 26 ; Tait. Br. II, 4, 1, 6 ; *agnir hi rakshasām apahantâ*, Sat. Br. XIV, 3, 1, 11.

b. *ā dadhat*. Zimmer, l.c., 204, construes this as an augmentless imperfect. In the *Samhitâ* the augmented form would not differ, *ādadhat*. The sense is satisfactory either way.

c. *Sâyana* comments upon *tvâyâ* instead of *tâyâ*, as in st. 2.

d. 'The *Sûdra* and the *Ārya*,' i. e. every kind of person, as we should say in America 'black and white.' The phrase is formulaic, as may be seen from the compound *sûdrâryâu* (*Mahidhara*, *sûdravaisyau*), Vâg. S. XIV, 30 ; Sat. Br. VIII, 4, 3, 12. See in general Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, II, 368 ; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 212 ; Zimmer, l.c., 117 ff., 204, 216, 435.

#### Stanza 5.

a, b. *rûpāni* and *ātmānam* are antithetical : *rûpāni*, 'the outer forms of things ;' *ātmānam*, 'thy own nature.' It is

a controlling characteristic of Vedic conceptions that the inner, true nature of any divinity, or instrument of power, must be understood in order to control its influence or power: *ya evam veda*, and *ya evam vidvân* in the *Brāhmaṇas* are crystallisations of this idea; cf. AV. I, 13, 3; VI, 46, 2; VII, 12, 2, &c.

c. *sahasraśaksho*, here, and XIX, 35, 3, as epithet of the plant *gaṅgiḍa*, is a vocative from a stem *sahasra-śakshu*. The beginnings of a stem *śakshu*, a pendant of *śakshus* in the ablative *śakshos*, RV. X, 90, 13. Transition forms between the *us-* and *u-*declensions (as also between the *is-* and *i-*declensions) are not uncommon in the Veda; see Lanman, in the Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. X, 568 ff.

d. For the class of demons called *kimīdīn*, see AV. I, 7; I, 28; II, 24; VIII, 3, 25; 4, 2; 6, 21; XII, 1, 50.

#### Stanza 6.

For *yātudhāna*, -nī, and *piśākā*, see the hymns I, 7 and 8.

#### Stanza 7.

a. *Kasyapa* is a name to conjure with in the Atharvan writings; amulets and charms handled by him are peculiarly powerful (e.g. I, 14, 4; IV, 37, 1; VIII, 5, 14). He rises to the dignity of the supreme self-existing (*svayam-bhū*) being in AV. XIX, 53, 10; cf. also Tait. S. V, 6, 1, 1, and see the Pet. Lex. s.v. 2 b. He is also intimately related with forms of the sun, *Sūrya* and *Savitar*, as is stated expressly in Tait. Ār. I, 7, 1; see also Tait. Ār. I, 8, 6, and compare Tait. S. V, 6, 1, 1 with AV. I, 33, 1 b. This fact may by itself account for the expression *kasyāpasya śakshur asi*. In fact *kasyāpa* is the sun as a tortoise, that creeps its slow course across the sky; cf. the conceptions of the sun as a hermit, and a Brahman disciple, XI, 5, introduction. Only we must not forget that these writings neglect no opportunity of being guided in their constructions by puns, even of the most atrocious sort, and *kasyāpa* surely suggests *pasyaka*, 'seer,' to the Atharvan mind, as is written distinctly in Tait. Ār. I, 8, 8, *kasyapaś pasyako*



bhavati yat sarva<sup>m</sup> paripasyati. The name kasyápa is in some special relation to the Atharvan writings, not as yet fully cleared up; cf. the author in the Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XI, p. 377.

b. The MSS. read *katuraksháḥ*, but Sâyana fitly comments upon *katurakshyáḥ*, the form as emended in Roth and Whitney's edition; cf. akshós for akshyós in AV. V, 4, 10 (see the note). The 'four-eyed bitch' is Saramâ the mother of the two four-eyed dogs of Yama<sup>1</sup>, Syâma and Sabala, which I have explained as the sun and the moon; see Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XV, 163 ff. The epithet 'four-eyed' seems possibly to be derived from the same view, namely the capacity of the two dogs to see both by day (the sun), and by night (the moon). The Paippalâda as quoted by Grill<sup>2</sup>, p. 135, makes the notable statement that 'the four-eyed dog (obviously the moon) overlooks by night the sphere of the night,' yathâ svâ *katuraksho râtrim naktâ* tipasyati. In practice the fiction of a four-eyed dog is materialised both by the Hindus and Iranians in the form of a dog with marks over the eyes; see my article, l.c., p. 165, note 1, and Kaegi in the Philologische Abhandlungen für Heinrich Schweizer-Sidler, p. 64, note 57.

c. vidhré, lit. 'in the clear sky;' Ludwig, 'im hellen;' Grill, 'heiteren tags.' sūryam iva is to be read as three syllables, as frequently elsewhere, either sūryeva or sūryam va.

#### Stanza 8.

c. téna may be either masculine, referring to the divinity in st. 4, or neuter, agreeing with bráhma, 'charm.'

#### IV, 22. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 115.

The hymn is employed twice in the so-called *rāgakarmâni*, 'the royal practices,' Kaus. 14-17. The first is characterised by the scholiasts, Kesava and Sâyana, as a battle-charm

<sup>1</sup> In RV. I, 29, 3 the two messengers (dogs) of Yama are personified as females.

(*gayakarma*, *saṃgrāmagayārtham*), and its rather colourless proceedings are as follows: 14, 24. 'While reciting IV, 22 and 23 he performs the ceremonies which culminate in the presentation (of the bow to the king).' These are described in Sûtras 8-11 of the same chapter, to wit: 8. 'An oblation of ghee and grits is poured out. 9. Upon a fire made of bows a bow is laid on as a fagot. 10. Likewise an arrow (is laid on) upon a fire made of arrows. 11. The bow (of the king), smeared with the dregs of the ghee, is presented to him.'

The other performance, Kaus. 17, 28-9, is part of the consecration of a chief ruler (*ekarāga*, Kaus. 14, 11; cf. *ekavṛishá* in our hymn, sts. 1, 5, 6, 7). The special solemnities of the consecration have been absolved, but every morning the royalty of the king has to be renewed, to wit: 28. 'Every morning the hymn IV, 22 (or its first stanza?) is recited to the king (by the *purohita*, the house-priest). 29. They (the king and the *purohita*) then perform the above-mentioned pouring of water (each into a vessel), and the exchange (of the vessels).' This refers to Sûtras 4 and 5 of the same chapter; cf. the introduction to IV, 8, and Professor Weber's discussion of the passage in his treatise, *Über die Königsweihe*, p. 140 (Transactions of the Royal Prussian Academy, 1893). The hymn, further, is one of a cycle (*gana*) devoted to the gain of royal power (*rāshṭra-samvarga*), grouped together in the *indramahotsava*, Ath. Paris. 19, 1 (cf. Kaus. 140, 6, note). See also Ath. Paris. 4, 1 and 16. The fanciful analysis of the hymn by the *Anukramanī* may be seen in Grill's introduction.

The hymn appears again in Tait. Br. II, 4, 7, 7 ff.; it has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 457; Zimmer, 165; Grill<sup>2</sup>, 67, 135 ff.; cf. Hillebrandt's *Veda-chrestomathie*, p. 43.

#### Stanza 1.

The speaker is the *purohita*, the house-priest, or chaplain of the king; he figures prominently in all the *rāgakarmāṇi*, Kaus. 14-17.

b. *Sāyana* with one of Shankar Pandit's MSS. reads

*vrishâm ekavṛisham*, and glosses, *sekanasamarthânâm virya-vatâm purushânâm madhye imam rāgānam . . . mukhya-sektāram asahāyasūram . . . kuru*; cf. our note on III, 5, 7.

c. *nīr akshnuhi*, lit. 'castrate,' continuing the picture of the preceding Pāda : the king is to be a bull, his enemies castrated. Cf. RV. I, 33, 6 ; Sat. Br. IV, 4, 2, 13 ; XIII, 4, 2, 5, and the word *mahānirashṭa*. Ludwig, 'drive out ;' Zimmer, 'zerstreue ;' Sāyana, *saṃkuṭitaprabhāvān kuru*.

d. Sāyana divides *aham uttareshu*, with the result, 'I (the purohita) put him among the highest rulers.' Cf. XII, 4, 50.

### Stanza 2.

c. The Tait. Br. II, 4, 7, 7, the Paippalāda, and Sāyana read *vārshman*, loc. sing. I see no cogent reason for giving up (with Zimmer, Hillebrandt, and Grill) the reading of our MSS., *vārshma*.

### IV, 28. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 158.

Bhava and Sarva, two of the well-known forms (*mūrti*) of Rudra (cf. especially their epithet *ugrá* in sts. 3, 6, 7)<sup>1</sup>, are implored by virtue of their cosmogonic powers to afford protection against calamity, and, with the familiar Atharvanic specialisation, to destroy sorceries and demons. The ritual, Kaus. 28, 8, regard the hymn as medicinal (*sarva-vyādhibhaishagya*, 'a remedy for all diseases'). Seven cornucopias are made from (leaves of) the *kampila* (*crinum amaryllaceae*), filled with water, and anointed with the dregs of ghee. With the right hand the water is poured upon the patient, and the cornucopias are thrown behind the patient. The connection between the prayer and the practice is not manifest. The hymn is rubricated also in *takmanāsanagana* of the *Gaṇamālā*, Ath. Paris. 32, 7 ; see Kaus. 26, 1, note. It has been translated by Muir, l.c., p. 332.

<sup>1</sup> See the introduction to XI, 2 for the Vedic texts, and the Western literature, dealing with this subject.

**Stanza 3.**

b. The periphrastic expression *stuvánn emi* is so strange to the *padakāra* as to induce him to divide it into *stuván nemi*. *Sāyana* blunders still further, reading *stuvan nemī* (*stuvan prasamsan . . . nemaḥ ardham balam asyā-sti-ti nemī*).

**Stanza 6.**

a. *mūlakṛt*, 'manipulator of roots,' is so characteristic a feature in sorcery-practice, as to give rise to specific prohibition of the act; see *Vishnu-smṛiti* XXV, 7; *Manu* IX, 290, and cf. *Nārāyaṇa* on the latter passage in Bühler's translation of *Manu*, *Sacred Books of the East*, XXV, 394.

## IV, 36. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 35.

The hymn is one of the *kātanāni* (sc. *sūktāni*), 'hymns which drive away demons and diseases,' *Kaus.* 8, 25. The entire list (*gana*) is employed at *Kaus.* 25, 22, among the *bhaishagyāni*, 'remedial charms,' against *bhūta* and *piśāka*; the performance connected with the recital of the *gana* is identical with the so-called *apanodanāni*, 'practices to drive away,' described at *Kaus.* 14, 14 ff. They consist chiefly in burning chaff, spelt, offal of grain, and wood shavings, symbolizing, doubtless, rapid consumption or destruction.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 526; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 3, 136 ff. The *Anukramanī*, *satyau-gasam āgneyam* (cf. st. 1).

**Stanza 3.**

The first hemistich is not at all clear, *āgaré* being ἀπ. λεγ. and uncertain. We have taken it with the *Pet. Lexs.* and Ludwig as = *āgāra*, and it is to be noted that two MSS. of *Sāyana*'s commentary (*Ś Kd*) read *āgāro* for *āgaro*. Cf. also *agāra* at *Āsv. Gr̥h.* I, 7, 21. *Sāyana* etymologises, *āgīryate samantād bhagyate māmsasomītādikam atre-ti āgaro yuddharaṅgaḥ*. Grill, supported by a more recent utterance of Roth, renders 'unter rufen.' In that case *āgarā* would be 'shouting to' (cf. *ākrosa*, *Kesava*, p. 327, and

often elsewhere), *pratikrosa*, 'shouting back,' i.e. 'under shouting and counter-shouting.' We have taken *amâvâsya* as an adjective = *âmâvâsya*, 'in the night of the new moon' (*Pânini* IV, 3, 30. 31). Cf. our note on I, 16, 1. *Sâyana* aptly quotes from the *Âpast. Sr.* the following passage: 'In the night of the new moon one shall offer to Agni, the slayer of Rakshas, a rice-cake in twelve cups.' Note the concatenation between this and the following stanza.

#### Stanza 5.

The sense is that the superior gods who vie with the sun (RV. I, 98, 1; 123, 12; V, 4, 4; IX, 27, 5) shall afford protection against the *Pisâkas* to man and beast.

#### Stanza 7.

Note the pun between *pisâkalâ* and *saknomi*, and the concatenation with the following stanza. For *grâma*, see the note on VIII, 7, 11.

#### Stanza 9.

a. *Sâyana* with some MSS. reads *lipitâh* (*upadigdhâ/samkrântâh*), and Whitney in the Index, guided perhaps by the pada-MSS., which read *lapitâ* without visarga, suggests *lapitvâ*. But the text seems well enough as it stands.

d. *âlpasayûn* is uncertain: *Sâyana*, *alpakâyâh* . . . *kîrâh*, and we accordingly. Ludwig (c, d), 'mein ich, sind sie unglücklich, nur kurze zeit mer im volke verweilend' (cf. RV. I, 31, 2; III, 55, 6; IV, 18, 12).

#### IV, 37. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 33.

The plant *agasrîngî*<sup>1</sup>, or, as it is called synonymously by *Dârila*, *meshasrîngî*, 'goat's horn' (*Sâyana*, again synonymously, *vishâni*), is the *odina pinnata*; see Zimmer, p. 68. The hymn is directed against *Pisâkas*, *Apsaras*, and *Gan-*

<sup>1</sup> In stanza 6 it has the additional obscure epithet *arâtakî*. *Sâyana*, *arâ* . . . *âtayati ukâtayati*.

dharvas, and, according to Dârila at Kaus. 28, 9-11, it is employed in a remedial charm against one possessed by *Pisâkas* (*pisâkagrîhîta*). *Kesava* and *Sâyana*, more broadly and correctly, *sarvabhûtagrahabhaishagyam*. The practices are stated as follows: 9. 'While pronouncing IV, 37 the practitioner takes pulverised *samî* (i.e. the pulverised leaves, or fruit, of the *prosopis spicigera*) from a basket (and puts it) into the food (of the patient)<sup>1</sup>. 10. (He puts it also) into the cosmetics (of the patient). 11. He scatters (the pulverised *samî*) around the house (of the patient)<sup>2</sup>.' The hymn is also rubricated among the *kâtanâni* (sc. *sûktâni*) 'hymns to drive away with,' Kaus. 8, 25. Cf. *Sântikalpa* 17 and 21<sup>3</sup>.

Adalbert Kuhn, in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.* XIII, 118 ff., has translated this hymn and compared it with parallel conceptions in the Teutonic folk-lore. Especially good are the parallels drawn between the *Apsaras*, who, from the time of RV. X, 95 onwards, are engaged in enticing heroes and divine seers<sup>4</sup>, with the Germanic elves who fascinate the wanderer at night with their dance. The hymn has also been rendered by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 352.

### Stanza 3.

The description of the natural abode of the *Apsaras* in this and the following stanzas is in accord with the Brahmanical view from earliest times. Cf. the *âpyâ yôshâ*, 'water-woman,' RV. X, 10, 4; Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*, II, 35, 40, 96; III, 65 ff.; A. Holtzmann, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.* XXXIII, 631 ff. The fanciful list of names embodies largely a superficial personification of fragrant cosmetics and ointments: *bdellium*, *spikenard*, *fragrant salve*, &c.

<sup>1</sup> According to *Kesava* and *Sâyana* he puts pulverised leaves of *samî* into a *samî*-fruit, and feeds the patient upon that. Cf. Kaus. 47, 23.

<sup>2</sup> As there is no mention of the *samî* in the hymn, one is almost tempted to identify the *agarîṅgî* with it.

<sup>3</sup> Shankar Pandit, erroneously, *Nakshatrakalpa* 17 and 21.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. our note on VI, 111, 4.

For aukshágandhi, cf. aukshám in our note on II, 36, 7, and in the introduction to I, 34; pramandan<sup>r</sup> reminds us of pramanda, Kausika, Introduction, p. lii. See also Kuhn, l. c., 127.

b. Böhtlingk, in his lexicon, proposes ávasvase, dative infinitive, 'to blow away.' Sâyana and the Paippalâda read iva svasam for avasvasam. The former glosses, sush<sup>r</sup>/hu naupreran<sup>r</sup>akusalam yathâ titirshavo ganâ upaga<sup>r</sup>kanti.

f. Sâyana reads pratibaddhâ<sup>r</sup> for prátibuddhâ<sup>r</sup> (nirud<sup>r</sup>dhagataya<sup>r</sup>) in this and the subsequent stanzas.

#### Stanza 4.

We have adopted Shankar Pandit's arrangement of sts. 4-6, to wit: his st. 4 is made up of vulgata 4 a, b + 3 e, f, which is repeated by all his MSS.; his st. 5 is the rest of vulg. 4; and his st. 6 is vulg. 5 + 6. Sâyana does not insert the additional hemistich, but he also differs from the vulgate in his arrangement.

b. The Pet. Lex. suggests sikhand<sup>r</sup>inî<sup>r</sup>, vocative, 'crested,' as an epithet of the Apsaras; cf. the same epithet of the Gandharva in st. 7. Sâyana simply 'peacocks.' We prefer the poetic figure: the crowns of the great trees are likened unto crests.

#### Stanza 7.

a. For the epithet ân<sup>r</sup>tyata<sup>r</sup>, cf. the parin<sup>r</sup>tyati apsará in IV, 38, 3.

#### Stanza 8.

c, d. The epithet avakâdá, 'devouring ávakâ-reeds' (blyxa octandra), is clear. The Gandharvas live on the shores of waters, and the ávakâ is the typical water-plant. See our Contributions, Second Series, Amer. Journ. Phil. XI, 342 ff. (especially 349 ff.); Roth, in Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk, p. 97 ff. Less certain is haviradá, 'devouring oblations.' The sense of the hemistich might be taken pregnantly: The Gandharvas who devour our oblation, though their natural food is the ávakâ-reed, &c. But

I have in mind RV. X, 95, 16, where the Apsaras Urvasī exclaims that upon eating a drop of ghee her appetite was cloyed for ever (cf. *Harivamśa* 1377; *Vishṇu-purāṇa* IV, 6, 28, and Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, I, pp. 263, 282). The Atharvan is reminiscent, and fond of generalising salient features of legends. It seems possible that the Gandharvas are substituted for the Apsaras who represent the Apsaras par excellence, Urvasī. Sāyana on the AV. evinces his customary and astonishing talent of dodging difficulties by means of bad variant readings, to wit: *abhihradān abhigatāhlādān prāptagalāśayān vā*.

#### Stanza 10.

Professor von Roth in *Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk*, pp. 97 ff., proposes to read *gyotayamāmakān* (*Pada-pāṭha*, *gyotaya māmakān*) as one word, and interprets the word in his inimitably ingenious manner as = *pisākadīpikā*, 'will o' the wisp, Jack o' lanthorn.' Yet we have adopted the simpler solution of the difficulty, proposed by Whitney in *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth*, p. 91. He proposes *gyotayamānakān*, comparing *pravartamānakā*, RV. I, 191, 16. In both cases the suffix *kā* is truly diminutive, indicating that the action of the verb is undertaken by a diminutive agent; cf. also *avakarantikā*, AV. V, 13, 19 (see the note there), and the *Mantrabrāhmaṇa* of the *Sāma-veda* II, 7, 3, *athaiśhām* (sc. *krimīṇām*) *bhinnakāḥ kumbhāḥ*. 'Little shiner' would be the literal translation of *gyotayamānakān*, and Roth's comparison with the will o' the wisp may yet hold good.

#### Stanza 11.

b. The epithet *sarvakesakā* reminds one of hairiness as a sign of sexual power, RV. I, 126, 7; X, 86, 16, a very suitable attribute of the Gandharva; cf. also *kapi* in *vriśhākapi* in X, 86. But the word for 'hair' in both these passages is *rōma*, while *sarvakesakā* naturally refers to the hair of the head; RV. X, 136, 6. Yet the two conceptions may be connected.



## IV, 38. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 149.

Both the internal evidence of the stanzas themselves (including the metre), and their employment in the ritual prove the composite character of this hymn. The *Anukramanî*, too, significantly describes the hymn as *dvidevatiyam*. A gambling song of four stanzas is combined with cattle-charm of three stanzas, apparently for the purely formal reason that every hymn of the fourth book must consist of at least seven stanzas; cf. AV. XIX, 23, 4; Gop. Br. I, 1, 8; Ath. Paris. 46, 9. 10; Ind. Stud. IV, 433; XVII, 178; Kausika, Introduction, p. xli. *Sâyana* is the only authority that makes a blend of the two parts. He comments upon *yāsâm rishabhó*, &c., in st. 5, as follows: *yāsâm apsarasâm . . . sekanasamarthaḥ patiḥ*.

## A.

The practices connected with the gambling-song are reported at Kaus. 41, 10-13, as follows: 10. 'Under the constellation *pūrvā ashādhâḥ*<sup>1</sup> the gambler digs a pit (in the gambling-house). 11. Under the constellation *uttarā ashādhâḥ* he (again) fills up the pit. 12. He smoothes the place where the play takes place. 13. While reciting IV, 38, 1-4; VII, 50; and VII, 109 he throws dice which have been steeped (in curds and honey during the three nights [and days] beginning with the thirteenth day of the month; see Kaus. 7, 19).'

This part of the hymn has been rendered by Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, V, 430; Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 454; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 71, 140 ff.; cf. also A. Holtzmann, Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch. XXXIII, 631 ff.

<sup>1</sup> The name *ashādhâḥ* means 'invincible.' Here, as frequently elsewhere, its symbolic suggestiveness is utilised to secure success or victory for the person who performs under the two constellations of that name; cf. Weber, Nakshatra, II, 374, 389.

## Stanza 1.

Cf. Zimmer, pp. 283-5. The *kṛitām*, or the *kṛitāni* in Pāda c (cf. sts. 2 c and 3 b), are either the winnings, or the winning numbers, or combinations, of the dice. Cf. Āpast. Sr. V, 1, 20.

## Stanza 2.

a. *Sāyana*, *vikinvatīm* *ekatra* *nirbādhe* *koshthe* *trikaturān* *akshān* *viseshena* *samukkinvatīm* *samghikurvātīm*. Muir, 'who collects and scatters;' Ludwig, 'die aufhäufende, zuschüttende.' These technical terms are very obscure: the scholiasts are untrustworthy because they have in mind different games and different times.

## Stanza 3.

*Sāyana* combines Pādas e and f with 4 a, b, making his fourth stanza, and then continues as follows: 4 c, d + 5 a, b = 5; 5 c-f = 6; 6 = 7; 7 = 8. His comment on this stanza is rendered very problematic through bad readings: *āda-dhānas* for *ādadānā*; *śeshantī* (*avaseshayanti*) for *śishatī*; *prahān* for *prahām*. For *parinrītyatī*, cf. *ānrītyatah* . . . *gandharvāsya*, IV, 37, 7. We have assumed with great reluctance that *śishatī* is a desiderative participle from *sā*=*san*, 'gain.'

## Stanza 4.

We read *pramodate* for *pramódante* with *Sāyana* and two of Shankar Pandit's MSS., and *bībhratī* for *bībhrati*. The anacoluthon in the second hemistich is thus easily removed.

## B.

The three stanzas are designated at Kaus. 21, 11 as *karkīpravādāḥ* (sc. *rikāḥ*), 'the stanzas that mention the word *karkī* (cf. sts. 6, 7).' They are employed in a rite, designed, according to the scholiasts, to secure the prosperity of cattle (*Sāyana*, *gopushāikarma*; Kesava, *gosānti*), as follows: 'The *karkīpravāda* stanzas are recited over a young cow, upon which are placed twelve halters, and which is anointed with the dregs of ghee. Then, while

pronouncing Pādas 7c and 7d, the things indicated in (these) mantras are done (i. e. fodder is given to the young cow, and she is fastened with the halters).' In consideration of these practices, and the statements of the stanzas themselves, we have thought that the purport of the hymn is a more special one, to wit, to secure the return of the young cows from pasture, and have formulated the caption accordingly. The stanzas are also employed at Kaus. 66, 13 at a so-called sava, or formal bestowal of the dakṣiṇā : a karkī (young white cow), together with an anūbandhyā, a cow designed for the cattle-sacrifice, are given to the priests as a particular kind of reward.

This part of the hymn has been rendered by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 455.

#### Stanza 5.

Because the Tait. S. III, 4, 7, 1 mentions an Apsaras by the name of mariṣī, Sāyana connects this stanza with the preceding gambling charm. The true sense seems to be that the cows which wander 'in den tag hinein' are in charge of the daily sun ; as he comes daily without fail, so do the young cows return. But the text is vague and fanciful, marred moreover by an anacoluthon.

#### Stanza 6.

Sāyana explains karkī by karkavarṇā subhrā iyaṃ gauḥ. Accordingly we, 'white calf.'

#### V, 4. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 4.

Next to the soma-plant the kuṣṭha is one of the most valued members of the Vedic flora. According to the medical books it is *costus speciosus*, or *arabicus*. The word is not mentioned in the Rig-veda, but is common in the Atharvan where three hymns, V, 4 ; VI, 95 ; XIX, 39, are devoted to accounts of its origin and its healing properties. It is the prince of remedies, like unto the steer among domestic animals, and the tiger among the beasts of prey. Like the soma, his good friend and companion,

he grows upon the mountains, especially upon the high peaks of the Himálaya. In fact both soma and kushtha came from the third heaven; the kushtha grew originally under that wonderful arvattha-tree (*ficus religiosa*), under whose shelter the gods themselves are accustomed to assemble. A pretty myth tells how a golden ship (soma, the moon?), with golden tackle and oars, descends from heaven, and alights upon the Himavant mountains, bringing kushtha, the visible embodiment of the heavenly ambrosia. The use of the plant is varied, its effect most reliable. Hence it is designated as *visvábheshaga*, 'all-cure,' and *visvadhá-vîrya*, 'potent at all times.' Headache, consumption, and afflictions of the eye are cured by it. But especially it seems to have been regarded as the specific against fever (*takmán*) in all its forms. It seems to have been a fragrant plant since in AV. VI, 102, 3 it is employed in a love-charm in connection with salve, licorice, and spikenard. The kushtha itself must have been prepared as a salve, since in Kaus. 28, 13 the patient is anointed with a mixture of ground kushtha with butter; cf. especially Kesava's gloss to the passage. Curiously enough in the later literature kushtha is the ordinary designation of leprosy, doubtless a species of euphemism; cf. Wise, *Hindu System of Medicine*, p. 258 ff. Excellent accounts of the kushtha-plant are given by Grohmann, *Indische Studien*, IX, p. 419 ff., and Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 63 ff.

The employment of this hymn in the Kausika-sûtra is of a general character: all the stanzas of the Atharvan which contain the word kushtha are classed together at 28, 13 as *kushthalîngâh* (sc. *rikah*); while they are being recited the patient is anointed with kushtha, ground up with butter, which is rubbed in without pressure (*apratihâram*: see Pet. Lex. s.v. *har* with *prati*, and Böhtlingk's *Lexicon*, vol. ii. p. 290 c). Dârila describes this, quite precisely, as a cure for fever, while Kesava sets it up for a variety of diseases, *râgayakshma* (a kind of consumption; see Zimmer, l. c., p. 375), headache, leprosy (*kushtha*), and pain in all limbs. The *Garamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 7, counts the hymn as

takmanâsana, 'destructive of takman' (see Kaus. 26, 1, note), but the Anukramanî describes it as yakshmanâsanakush/*kadaivatyam*, the author being Bhrîgu-Ângiras. The hymn has been translated by Grohmann, l. c., 419 ff.; Zimmer, l. c., 63 ff., and Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 9, 141.

#### Stanza 2.

b. Himavant is identical with Himâlaya.

c. Professor Roth, cited by Grill in his note, suspects *srutvâ* and suggests *srutvâ*. The latter seems more difficult, and I am at a loss to appreciate why the reputation of the *kush/ha* among men might not be so stated.

#### Stanza 3.

The entire verse is repeated in AV. VI, 95, 1; and with a single variant in XIX, 39, 6.

a. A tree as the seat of the gods occurs in RV. X, 135, 1, *yâsmin vrikshé supalâsé deva/*h* sampîbate yamâ/*h**, 'the tree of beautiful foliage within which Yama drinks with the gods;' cf. also RV. I, 164, 20. 22, and Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertrankes*<sup>1</sup>, pp. 126 ff.

b. *tritîyasyâm itô divî* indicates the parallelism which this myth establishes between the *kush/ha* and the soma. The *asvattha*-tree is elsewhere said to drip with soma (Kuhn, l. c., 128). The same expression is employed for soma at Tait. S. VI, 1, 6, 1; Tait. Br. I, 1, 3, 10; III, 2, 1, 1; cf. our Contributions, Fifth Series, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XVI, 11; also the Pet. Lex. s.v. *div*, 1, c, and *tridivâ*.

c, d. For *amrîtasya kâkshanam*, cf. RV. I, 13, 5. The Pâda is replaced in AV. XIX, 39, 6. 7 by *tâta/*h* kûsh/*h*o agâyata*; the word *avanvata* is rendered variously: Roth, in Grill's note, '(dorthin) wollten haben;' Grohmann, p. 421, 'spendeten;' Zimmer, p. 64, 'dort besassen;' Grill, 'dort ward den Göttern zu teil.'

#### Stanza 4.

c. The vulgata here and at VI, 95, 2, which is a repetition of this stanza, reads *pûshyam*. We have rendered

púshpam, with some of the MSS., and Whitney, Index Verborum, s.v. If we retain púshyam the sense would not be changed materially; the two words are hopelessly blended, since the writing of Devanâgarî MSS. in such a case is totally unreliable.

#### Stanza 5.

a. The Anukramanî designates the stanza as bhurig, on account of the apparently hypermetrical first Pâda. This may be corrected so as to yield an anushûbh, either by crasis of pánthâna âsan, or by substituting the older form pánthâ(s). The former is the more conservative alternative, since the nominative plural pánthâs does not occur in the Atharvan.

d. nirāvahan with its two prepositions indicates vividly the two chief features of the myth: nir, 'forth (from heaven);' â, 'to (the mountain upon which it grows).'

#### Stanza 6.

The stanza, both by its metre (gâyatrî), and subject matter, betrays its character as an interruption of the mythological history of the kúsh/â. It seems, too, in a measure, modelled after VI, 95, 3, with which it shares its last Pâda. Nevertheless I would not go as far as Grill does, and print the stanza at the end of the hymn, because it may have been composed as a liturgical interruption of the mythological account. To say that it was inserted because of the assonance of á vaha in Pâda b with nirāvahan in 5 d is begging the question, since this assonance may be part of the original endeavour. To be sure, the redactors of the Atharvan are quite capable of such bêtises, but they should not be charged with them except for good cause!

b. á vaha, 'restore,' literally, 'bring hither.' The word is not otherwise quotable in this sense. Similar expressions, however, are employed to indicate the restoration of a disturbed mind; here, perhaps, with reference to the delirious ravings of the fever-patient; cf. púnar dâ, AV. VI, 111, 4, and perhaps á gâ and úd gâ, II, 9, 2. The sense

is fairly secure owing to its juxtaposition with *nīśh kar* (cf. st. 10, and II, 9, 5, &c.).

#### Stanza 7.

b. Cf. AV. XIX, 39, 5. 8 for *sómasya sákhâ*.

d. *kákshushe*, 'to my eye,' not in the sense of the oculist, there being no implication of disease of the eye, as is the case in the expression *upahatyám akshós* in st. 10. The poet has in mind that eye with which 'to see the sun' (*sūryam drisé*, *drisáye sūryâya*, or *svâr drisé*) is the poetic prayer for life. This is quite clear. The eye here is that which finally does go to the sun, *sūryam kákshur gakkhatu*, RV. X, 16, 3; cf. with this and the preceding Pâda the formula at the animal sacrifice, e.g. Ait. Br. II, 6, 13, 'may thy eye go to the sun; may thy breath unite with the wind.'

#### Stanza 8.

c, d. *nāmâny uttamâni*: literally, 'highest names;' cf. AV. XIX, 39, 2, where the names are stated with much fancy.

#### Stanza 9.

For the diction of this stanza, cf. AV. VI, 95, 3; XIX, 39, 3. 4; and V, 22, 2; XIX, 34, 10.

#### Stanza 10.

The stanza is rubricated separately as a member of the *takmanâsanagana* in the *Gaṇamâlâ*; see Kaus. 26, 1, note. The *Anukramanî* designates it as *ushniggarbhâ nīkrîṭ* (*nivṛit*), because Pâda b seems defective. By reading *akshiós tanúvo* the defect is remedied: *akshós* here, as well as in part of the MSS. at XIX, 60, 1, stands for *akshyós* with defective presentation of the sound-group *kshy* as *ksh*. See also IV, 20, 7, where all MSS. read *ṭaturakshás* for *ṭaturakshyás*. The case is the same as appears in *mekshámi* for *mekshyámi*, AV. VII, 102, 1; *sákshe* for *sákshye*, II, 27, 5; *vibhuṅkshamâna-* for *-kshyamâna-*, Kaus. 23, 9; 38, 26, and more remotely like *sâmá* for *syâmâ*, AV. I, 24, 4, and *sâmâka* for *syâmâka*, Kaus.

74, 16. Morphological deductions, such as Professor Hopkins, Amer. Journ. Phil. XIII, 21 ff., bases upon these defective writings, are therefore subject to the gravest suspicion. In general, Devanâgarî MSS. must be watched very closely for the loss of y, especially if preceded by two consonants; cf. especially the hopeless confusion between the words arghya and argha.

#### V, 5. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 20.

The only mention of this hymn in the practices of the Kausika is the one implied in 28, 14, lākshālingābhir (sc. *rigbhir*) dugdhe phān<sup>ra</sup>nā pāyayati, where the commentators agree in presenting our hymn along with AV. IV, 12, as 'the stanzas characterised by the mention of the lākshā-plant.' For the practices connected with the plant that goes by the names Arundhatî, Silākî, Lākshâ (possibly also Roha<sup>ra</sup>î), see the introduction to IV, 12, and the note on its first stanza.

The hymn has been translated by Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 67; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 10, 143; the last two stanzas by Kuhn, Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, XIII, p. 61. The Anukramanî designates it as lākshikam, 'pertaining to the lākshâ-plant.'

#### Stanza 1.

a. The Atharvan poets signalise with great predilection their knowledge of the power of any substance which they employ by stating that this knowledge extends to the father, mother, and other relatives of the substance. Or, again, they indicate their control over any disease, or hostile force, by assuming the same knowledge of their kindred. Of the latter class are the boasts made in V, 13, 7; VI, 61, 1, and VII, 74, 1. The former class concerns plants exclusively. Dyaus, the heaven, and Prithivî, the earth, are father and mother of plants, III, 23, 6; VIII, 7, 2, and perhaps also III, 9, 1. Fanciful names are given to the parents of plants: I, 24, 3, sârûpâ nâma te mâtâ sârûpo nâma te pitâ (cf. Kaus. 26, 22, note); VI, 16, 1, vihâlho nâma



te pitā madāvati nāma te mātā (of the plant ābayu, mustard); XIX, 39, 2, *gīvalā* nāma te mātā *gīvantó* nāma te pitā (of the plant *kúshtha*); V, 4, 9, *uttamó* nāma te pitā (of the same plant). The names of the ancestors in our stanza are peculiarly fanciful and heterogeneous.

c. *silākī*, only in this hymn; cf. *silāñgālā* (*silāñga* + *āla*), VI, 16, 4; Kaus. 51, 16<sup>1</sup>, 'a creeper or weed growing in grain-fields.' See Kausika, Introduction, p. xlv, and cf. also our note on st. 9 c.

#### Stanza 2.

d. For *nyāñkanī*, cf. *nyāñkanam*, AV. IV, 36, 6, and RV. VIII, 27, 18, where Sāyana explains the word by *nitarām gamanam*.

#### Stanza 3.

a. Cf. with this the designation of the plant in IV, 12, 1, *rōhanī* (*rōhinī*), and the note there.

b. *kanyālā* here and XIV, 2, 52; the suffix *-lā* with disparaging function as in *vṛishalā*.

c. *gāyanti* occurs also as the proper designation of a plant, equal to the common *gīvanti*: see the lexicons.

d. *spāravi* calls to mind Lat. *pro-sper* and *spēs*, but *sphīrā* and the root *sphai* (I. E. *sphêi*) have a better claim upon these words.

#### Stanza 4.

b. *hārasā* is translated by Zimmer, 'durch einen schlag (griff);' by Grill, 'mit gewalt.' This is a possible alternative. There are two *hāras* in the Veda, one from the root *har*, 'take,' and the other from *ghar*. The latter is *thēpos*; cf. Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, XXV, 80, 133 note, 168. Examples of the latter are AV. VIII, 3, 4 ff.; XVIII, 2, 36. 58; 3, 71; XIX, 65 and 66; and especially II, 19, 2; 20, 2; 21, 2; 22, 2; 23, 2, where the word occurs in the series *tāpas*, *hāras*, *arkīś*, *sokīś*, and *tégas*.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. of the Kausika read *silāñgālā* with palatal *s*. By changing *silākī* to *silāñī* we obtain the possible etymology 'she that creeps upon stones.'

## Stanza 7.

For the epithets of the plant in this and the preceding stanza, see the note on IV, 12, 1.

b. For sushme, see Contributions, Sixth Series, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, XLVIII, 565 ff.; for lomasavakshane, Pischel, Vedische Studien, I, 178.

d. Cf. V, 9, 7; RV. X, 16, 3; Ait. Br. II, 6, 13; Sat. Br. XIV, 6, 2, 13, &c.

## Stanza 8.

a, b. I have translated the passage with strict adherence to the text which is certainly not above suspicion. The Paippalāda offers no help. Inasmuch as the father is mentioned, it seems likely that both parents are somehow contained in the passage, and the change from kâninó to kâníná has suggested itself to all translators (Pet. Lex., Zimmer, Grill). The first Pāda would then be, 'Silāñi by name art thou, daughter of a maiden.' I would draw attention here, as at IV, 20, 3, to RV. X, 40, 9, gánishṭa yóshā patáyat kanínakó ví ká-ruhan vírúdhā (cf. also RV. X, 3, 2 and AV. XII, 3, 47?), where the origin of plants occurs somehow in connection with a woman and a kani-naká. But the passage is buried in obscurity for the present. If the emended kâníná is taken to refer to the mother of the plant, it would certainly seem natural to see in ágababhru the father. The word as it stands can be nothing but a vocative from a formally and lexically unquotable feminine agábabhrú; Grill suggests the change to the nominative masculine agábabhrus, an emendation which Zimmer's translation also implies. Grill, too, thinks that the mother and father thus reconstructed for these passages must be identical with those in st. 1, namely, night and cloud—a conclusion which, in our opinion, is not at all coercive. He points out that night is designated in XIX, 48, 2 as 'mother,' and in XIX, 49, 1 as a blooming young woman (ishirá yóshā yuvatī); as regards ágababhru he has in mind the goat of Pūshan in his relation to sunset and

dawn (cf. RV. VI, 55, 1, and Ludwig's note, vol. iv, 147). All this is possible, but excessively problematic.

c, d. The cloudy allusions of the preceding Pâdas are obfuscated further by the statement here that the plant has been sprinkled with the blood of the brown horse of Yama, an expression which may also harbour an allusion to night (cf. *syâvî*, RV. I, 71, 1; III, 55, 11; *Naighantuka* I, 7). Elsewhere the horses of Savitar (RV. I, 35, 5), Agni (RV. II, 10, 2), Rudra (AV. XI, 2, 18) are designated as *syâvâ*. The *Padapâtâ* reads *âsnâ*, 'by the mouth,' and Zimmer adopts this reading, against the *Pet. Lex.*, Kuhn (p. 61), Whitney in the *Index Verborum*, and Grill. The *Padapâtâ* itself has *asnâh* in the next stanza—an obvious inconsistency. I cannot rid myself of the impression that there is some connection between this and a statement in the *Maitr. S.* IV, 9, 19; *Tait. Âr.* IV, 29, *asrînmukho rudhirenâ-bhyakto yamasya dûta*, 'the messenger of Yama bloody-mouthed, bedaubed with blood;' if so the brown horse of Yama may be a variant of the two dogs of Yama called *syâma* and *sabala*, 'sun and moon,' or 'day and night' (cf. *Contributions*, Third Series, *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* XV, 163 ff.), and this would again lead back to the word *râtri* in st. 1. *Non liquet.* Grill: 'It is conceived that the plant has absorbed the blood of a divine animal with which it has been sprinkled, and has acquired thereby corresponding strength and virtue.'

#### Stanza 9.

a, b. Zimmer: 'aus des rosses maul (cf. the preceding note) herausgefallen lief sie an die bäume;' Kuhn: 'vom blut des rosses hergeeilt, glitt sie sogleich den bäumen zu;' Grill: 'entsprungen aus des pferdes blut lief diese zu den bäumen hin.' *sâmpatitâ* is not altogether satisfactory; the *Pet. Lex.* translates it 'zusammengeflossen, zusammenge-ronnen.' The entire picture is vague, and is not rendered less so by the next Pâda.

c. The meaning of this Pâda is by no means established. It is formulary in character and always employed in connection with plants. In the *oshadhîstuti*, RV. X, 97, 9;

Vâg. S. XII, 83 the version is *sirâh patatrîni* sthana ; Tait. S. IV, 2, 6, 2 ; Maitr. S. II, 7, 13, *sarâh patatrîni* sthana ; Kâth. S. XVI, 13, *sarâh patatrîni* stha ; Kap. S. XXV, 4, *surâh patatrîni* sthana (so also a variant of Maitr. S.). Sâyana at RV. explains the word by *saranasilâh*, while Mahîdhara at Vâg. S. suggests no less than three other interpretations in addition to that of Sâyana, none of them usable. Note also *sirâ* (*pattrasirâ*), RV. I, 121, 11, which may fairly claim relationship with this group ; cf. also the expression *apâm asi svâsâ* in st. 7. Kuhn, l. c., p. 61, had in mind *sara* in his translation 'beflügelt wurde sie ein pfeil.' Certainly a 'winged brook' strains the limits of common sense. But I have no better suggestion to make. The word *sarâ* seems to contain a punning allusion to the name of the plant *silâkî*.

#### V, 7. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 172.

The Veda, especially the Atharvan, is much given to personify evil qualities as female divinities, e.g. *nîrîti*, *âraddhi*, *ârîti*, *arâyî*, and particularly *ârâti*. The present hymn aims to appease the powers of avarice and grudge personified as *Arâti*; more particularly the poet has in mind the *dakshinâ* of the priest; that shall not be withheld, but shall accrue abundantly. Cf. st. 1 ; Kâth. Up. I, 1. The Sâstras expressly forbid the withholding of the *dakshinâ*, e.g. *Vishnu-smṛiti* LIV, 15. See also in general RV. X, 107; AV. V, 18; 19; XII, 5; Gop. Br. I, 5, 25. In the Atharvan rites our hymn figures in a variety of connections. At Kaus. 18, 14, in the course of the so-called *nîrîtikarmâni* (18, 1-18), grain is offered to the goddess of misfortune while the hymn is being recited. At Kaus. 41, 8 a person about to engage in a business venture makes an offering (*upadadhîta*<sup>1</sup>) while pronouncing our hymn, as well as III, 20 and VII, 1. The intention is to remove obstacles.

<sup>1</sup> For the meaning of this technical term, see Kerava to Kaus. 6 (p. 309 of the edition). The *upadhâna* according to this consists in offering one of thirteen different kinds of *havis*.

Once more in Kaus. 46, 6 he who has a request to make, recites sts. 5-10 along with VII, 57, in order that his request shall not be refused. The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 305; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 39, 145 ff.

#### Stanza 2.

a, b. purodhatsé, lit. 'dost make thy agent or purohita; 'púrusha, 'servant, minister; 'parirâpín, 'suggesting, prompting, advising; ' cf. XII, 4, 51.

#### Stanza 5.

The sraddhâ is 'faith, religious zeal,' that makes the sacrificer liberal to the priests. Cf. Dârila to Kaus. 46, 6. It is the same sraddhâ which entered Naîketas, Kâñ. Up. I, 2 ff., to such an extent that he desired to be given himself as sacrificial reward to his priests. This zeal is naturally bestowed by the brown soma, i.e. in the course of solemn sacrifice, and through the inspiration that comes from the hymns (Vâk Sarasvati), sung while drinking the soma. The previous translations seem to me to miss the point wholly: Ludwig, 'den (anteil, den) ich verlange . . . den soll heute Sraddhâ finden.' But yâm refers to the person supplicated, not to favours asked. Grill, 'wen ich angehe mit dem spruch . . . der werd heut inne mein vertraun, und nehm den braunen soma hin.' Cf. also Zimmer, p. 272.

#### Stanza 6.

d. The Pet. Lex. suggests for this single occurrence of práti hary the meaning 'verschmähen, zurückweisen,' though the word ordinarily means 'delight in, long for.' The passage seems to contain the euphemistic insinuation that Arâti when sufficiently cajoled is favourable to generosity. Or, those who desire to be generous must curry favour with Arâti; otherwise she frustrates their intentions. Cf. I, 8, 2.

#### Stanza 8.

Arâti is here connected with nightmare. Her appearance as a naked woman recalls the German 'alp,' or 'mahre'

which also manifests itself as a woman; see A. Kuhn, *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.* XIII, 125 ff. For the spirit of this and the subsequent stanzas, cf. the description of the Apsaras, IV, 37.

### V, 13. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 27.

This charm against snake poison claims interest chiefly from its designations of serpents, mostly of obscure meaning, and reaching down to the bed-rock of folk-lore. Kauśika's performances 29, 1-14 are very explicit: they follow the hymn stanza by stanza. But they are not as instructive as they might be owing to their symbolism, and their own obscurity. They begin with the performances in honour of Takshaka, described at 28, 1-4 in connection with IV, 6 and 7 (see the introduction to IV, 6), and continue with additional doings, based upon each stanza of our hymn. These will be referred to most profitably under the head of each separately. The hymn exhibits noteworthy points of contact with RV. I, 191.

#### Stanza 1.

Cf. RV. I, 191, 7. 11. We have translated *saktám* by 'what has been fastened;' cf. RV. I, 191, 10. The *Pet. Lex. s. v. sañg* 4), 'inherent.'

#### Stanza 2.

Kaus. 29, 2-4: 'With the second (stanza) the act of confining (the poison) takes place<sup>1</sup>. 3. The (priest) walks about (the patient) towards the left (*Kesava*, *savyam* =

---

<sup>1</sup> *dvitīyayā grahaṇī*. *Dārila*, *kaśakabandha* ity arthaḥ, 'with the second stanza a rope is fastened (about the patient)'? Cf. *agrabham*, and *grīhṇāmi* in the mantra. The feminine gender of *grahaṇī* is peculiar. We should expect either *grahāṇam*, or *dvitīyā grahaṇī*. *Kesava*, *visham* na visarpati *deśasthitam bhavati sarīre na sarpati vishastambhanam bhavati*.

apradakshinam). 4. He fastens a bunch of grass<sup>1</sup> to the border of the (patient's) tuft of hair.'

b. etásu, feminine, with reference to the numerous female reptiles in sts. 7 ff.

### Stanza 3.

Kaus. 29, 5: 'With the third (stanza) he drives the poison forth.' Kesava, *damsâd visham anyatra gakkhati*. In Pâda a, *vrîshâ me rávaḥ* suggests perhaps the fire which is built to frighten away serpents; see RV. I, 94, 10; VII, 79, 4; X, 111, 2. At RV. X, 146, 2 = Tait. Br. II, 5, 5, 6 *vrîshârávâ* is the designation of a croaking bird. Pâda d echoes RV. I, 191, 8: the rising sun symbolises the quiescence or destruction of all harmful powers.

### Stanza 4.

Kaus. 29, 6, 7: 'While reciting the fourth stanza, along with VII, 88<sup>2</sup>, the (serpent's) bite is rubbed<sup>3</sup> with grass, and the grass thrown upon the serpent. 7. (Or in the absence of the serpent he throws it) where the biting took place.' Cf. Kaus. 32, 25. The ceremony is an attempt at the complete realisation of the mantra.

### Stanza 5.

Kaus. 29, 8: 'With the fifth stanza he sprinkles the poisoned person with water heated by quenching in it

<sup>1</sup> The virtue of this manipulation rests apparently in the pun between *stamba* and the root *stambh*, 'fasten, confine'!

<sup>2</sup> 'Go away, thou art an enemy, an enemy surely art thou! Thou hast mixed (thy) poison into poison, thou hast certainly mixed poison. To the serpent himself do thou go away. Him slay!' Cf. Ludwig, *Rigveda*, III, 511; Henry, *Le livre VII de l'Atharva-véda*, pp. 36, 106.

<sup>3</sup> Kesava, *pragvâlya*, 'heating the bite with burning grass.' This is due to confusion of this performance with Kaus. 32, 24, *damsma nitâpya*.

burning reeds from a thatch<sup>1</sup> mixed with grains of sesame.' For *avagvāla*, cf. Kaus. 27, 29 (introduction to III, 7); Kaus. 27, 33 (introduction to III, 11); 28, 2 (introduction to IV, 6). The punning symbolism which connects this practice with *úpatrīnya*, and perhaps also *álíkāh* (as though it were *valika*) in the mantra, represents the low-water mark of banale attempts to construct a practice upon the indications of the mantra. The names of the serpents in this and the following stanzas are for the most part very obscure (cf. Zimmer, pp. 94, 95): for *kaíráta*, see X, 4, 14, for *babhrú*, VI, 56, 2. *asítá* is a more common designation, VI, 56, 2; VII, 56, 1, &c., and cf. the note on VI, 56, 2.

o. *sthāmānam*, ἀπ. λεγ., we have rendered as though it were *sthāmānam* (masculine!). Cf. our remarks on the interchange between surd aspirates and non-aspirates, Amer. Journ. Phil. XII, pp. 436 ff., and Roth in the Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch. XLVIII, 105 ff. The Pet. Lex. under *sthâ* + *api* suggests *srāmānam*, without interpreting the passage in this form.

#### Stanza 6.

Kaus. 29, 9: 'With the sixth (stanza) a bowstring taken from the notched end of the bow is fastened upon the patient.' Again, the vaguest kind of symbolism in reference to Pāda d. For *taimâtá*, see V, 18, 4. The rendering of *ápodaka* is very uncertain. Though in accord with the apparent meaning of the same word in st. 2, it jars here: we should rather expect another designation of serpents, 'one that does not live in the water (?).'

#### Stanza 7.

Kaus. 29, 10: 'With the two next stanzas (7 and 8) the patient is given to drink water with the earth of a bee-hive.' (Kesava, however, *madhûdvāpa* = *madhuvr̥īkshamr̥īttikā*). The relation of the practice to the stanzas is profoundly obscure. Cf. the note on V, 5, 1.

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the introduction to VI, 24.



## Stanza 8.

b. We are tempted to change the instrumental *ásiknyā* to the ablative *ásiknyāḥ*, 'born of the black serpent,' or 'born of the black night.'

c. For *pratāṅkam*, see our note on IV, 16, 2; cf. also XII, 1, 46; Sat. Br. VII, 4, 1, 28 (*ye vā vāṇeshu serate*), and Ait. Br. VI, 1, 3.

## Stanza 9.

Kaus. 29, 11: 'With the ninth (stanza) the patient is given to drink water containing the excrement of a porcupine. With a prick (of the porcupine) that has three white stripes he feeds meat to the patient<sup>1</sup>.' Cf. the closely correlated RV. I, 191, 16.

a. The Pet. Lexs. and Zimmer, p. 82, translate *karṇā* by 'long-eared.' But has the porcupine long ears? I have preferred to think of his pricks (*salalī*) as giving rise to the somewhat fanciful adjective. The prickly porcupine may naturally not live on good terms with serpents, being hard to tackle.

b. *avaḥarantikā*, left untranslated by the Pet. Lexs., in the light of *pravartamānakāḥ*, RV. I, 193, 11, is obviously a diminutive participle; see our note on IV, 37, 10.

## Stanza 10.

Kaus. 29, 13: 'With the tenth (stanza) the patient is given water to sip from a gourd.' This looks as though there was some connection in the mind of the *Sūtrakāra* between *tābūva* and *alābu*. At any rate *tābūva*, and *tastūva* in the next stanza, seem to be a cure for poison. This and the next stanza are wholly problematic.

## Stanza 11.

Kaus. 29, 14: 'With the eleventh stanza he ties (a gourd) to the navel of the patient.' For *tastūvam* some MSS., according to Böhrtlingk's lexicon, read *tasrūvam*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kaus. 10, 16, and the *Gṛhya-sūtras*, where the prick with three stripes figures frequently; see Stenzler's index, s. v. *tryeṇī*.

## V, 14. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 77.

The hymn is one of the *krītyāpratiharaṇāni*, a series of hymns which counteract spells, given in the list at Kaus. 39, 7. See the introductions to IV, 17; V, 31; VIII, 5; X, 1, &c. The plant which figures prominently (sts. 1, 2, 4, 9) is not specified. It may be the *apāmārga*, as in IV, 17-19; cf. the *Anukramaṇi*, *vānaspatyam*. The hymn has been translated by Zimmer, p. 396 ff.; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 26, 147 ff.

**Stanza 1.**

The first hemistich is repeated at II, 27, 2; see the note there.

**Stanza 9.**

In the course of the performances undertaken with the *krītyāgana* at Kaus. 39, 7-12 (cf. the introduction to IV, 17) this stanza is rubricated (*Sūtra* 11), preceded by the words *krītyayā-mitrakakshushā samikshan*, which seems to be mantra, either entirely, or in part; cf. *Dārila* and *Kesava*, p. 341. The sense of the *Sūtra*, as much else in the same passage, is very obscure.

**Stanza 10.**

a. As a son goes to his father, thus do thou, O spell, return to thy father, i. e. to him that has prepared thee.

c, d. Grill, following Roth's lead, reads *bandhūm iva* and translates, 'wie sich der flüchtling heimwärts kehrt, &c.' We do not feel constrained to accept the emendation. *ava + kram* ordinarily means 'overcome,' hence we have translated *avakrāmī* by 'one who overcomes.' The comparison is as good, if not better. Zimmer, 'wie den Banden entfliehend eile zurück &c.'—a forced construction of the accusative, *bandhām*.

**Stanza 11.**

A doubtful stanza in changed metre (*gāyatrī*). It may have slipped in because of *mṛigām iva* in the next stanza.

The sense seems to be : as surely as the antelope, shy though she be, mates with the buck, so surely shall the spell strike him who prepares it. Cf. IV, 4, 7 = VI, 101, 3, and VII, 115, 2. But *abhiskādam* is ἀπ. λεγ. : we have followed Grill in referring it to the mounting buck. The Pet. Lex. regards it as a gerund, and Whitney, *Index Verborum*, emends to *abhiskādan*, a masculine participle, yielding a very problematic construction. Zimmer, 'wie die scheue Antilope, die Gazelle dem Angreifer (entflieht, so du, o Kranker, dem Zauber).'

#### V, 18. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 169.

The object of the two hymns V, 18 and 19 is clearly to present in the most drastic language the danger which arises from the oppression of Brahmans, and usurpation of their property<sup>1</sup>. Especially the cow of the Brahman, given to him as his sacrificial stipend (*dakshinâ* ; cf. XII, 4), is sacred and inviolable. The point is accentuated by the practices connected with them. The two hymns are rubricated at Kaus. 48, 13 ff. under the name *brahmagavyau* (i.e. the two *brahmagavî*-hymns). The practices are intended to compass the death of him that robs or slays the cow of a Brahman ; they are as follows : 13. '(The Brahman) recites the two *brahmagavî*-hymns against (the robbers)<sup>2</sup>. 14. He recites them while the activity (of killing and cutting up the cow is being performed). 15. *vikṛitā* (Dār. *ûvadhye haviḥkrîte•ty arthaḥ*). 16. (He recites the hymns) over the excrement within the entrails<sup>3</sup>. 17. And

<sup>1</sup> This is the *agyeyatâ*, 'freedom from oppression,' of the Brahman ; cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X, 60 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Dârila and Kesava add to this the related hymn XII, 5 (mixed prose and verse).

<sup>3</sup> Excessively doubtful ; Dârila has the following as text and scholion : *kaḥ kriyâ anvâha, ûvadhye, dveshyam manasi* (Cod. *anasi*) *krîtvâ saptamînirdesât*. Cf. XII, 5, 39, where the excrement of the cow is described as fit for sorcery-practices.

also at a burial-ground<sup>1</sup>. 18. Thrice he exclaims: "Slay those yonder." 19. While reciting the second (brahma-gavi-hymn) he hides a stone in the excrement. 20. Twelve nights does he rest observing every vow (of the brahma-kârin). 21. When the sun has risen twice (after the twelve days, the enemy) is laid low.' Cf. especially AV. XII, 4 and 5, and Sat. Br. XIV, 6, 7, 4 = *Bṛh. Âr. Up.* III, 7, 1. The *Anukramanî* designates the two hymns as brahma-gavîdevatye.

Both hymns have been translated by Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, I<sup>2</sup>, 285 ff.; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 447 ff., 451 ff. (cf. also 154); Zimmer, 199 ff.; Grill<sup>2</sup>, 41, 148 ff.; cf. also Hillebrandt's *Vedachrestomathie*, p. 42.

### Stanza 3.

Ludwig very ingeniously suggests the change of *mā* to *yā* at the beginning of Pāda c; this yields a more concise construction: 'Enveloped in her skin, as an adder with evil poison, sapless, unfit to be eaten is the cow of the *Brāhmaṇa*.' Shankar Pandit with all MSS., *sā*.

### Stanza 4.

This and the following stanza, as also 8, 9, and 13 are in *trishūbh* metre, and bear no reference to the cow of the Brahman: they deal with the Brahman himself. Muir, Ludwig, and Zimmer refer the verbs to the cow.

### Stanza 5.

b. *nā kittāt*, lit. 'not as the result of thought;' cf. *ākittyā*, V, 17, 12, and *malvāh*, V, 18, 7.

### Stanza 6.

b. The *Paippalāda* reads *agneḥ priyatamā tanûh*, and the *Pet. Lex.* suggests *agnēḥ priyā tanūr iva*; cf. st. 14, and XII, 5, 41. 73.

c. Soma is the heir of the Brahman, i. e. Soma is benefited by the service of the priest; or, perhaps, Soma is

<sup>1</sup> *Dār. smārāne pākasthāne ūbadhyavat.*

interested in the Brahman's cow (implied throughout the hymn), because her milk is mixed with Soma; cf. st. 14. See also Sat. Br. V, 4, 2, 3.

#### Stanza 7.

Cf. RV. X, 85, 34. *niṣkṛīdam*, lit. 'to throw out.' Professor Roth suggests *ni-kṛīdam*, 'to get down.' *niṣkṛīd* is certainly ἀπ. λ. and might be for *nishkṛīd*=*ni-shkṛīd*, reminding us of the MSS. of the Tait. S. which write *khkṛīd* in the interior of words (after augment and prepositions); see Ind. Stud. XIII, 106-7. But the statement, that the oppressor of Brahmins swallows the cow, and that he then cannot get her out again, because she sticks in his throat, is equally suitable.

#### Stanza 8.

b. The expression *nāṣṭikā dāntās tāpasā bhṛīdigdhā* seems to me to contain a double entente, 'his windpipe (shaft of the arrow), his teeth (points of the arrow), are bedaubed (like the arrow with poison) with holy fire.' A striking figure of speech, hardly to be misunderstood! Muir, 'his windpipe is arrow-points smeared with fire;' Ludwig, 'die *nāṣṭikā* (speiseröde oder luftröde?) die zähne vom *tapa* bestrichen;' Zimmer, 'seine luftröhre mit Gluth bestrichne Pfeilspitzen;' Grill, 'die Luftröhr Pfeilspitze, in des Eifers Gluth getaucht.'

#### Stanza 10.

d. *vaitahavyā*, patronymic from *vītāhavya*, a proper name; cf. st. 11, and V, 19, 1. Zimmer, pp. 132, 200-1, translates the word by 'die aus habsucht opfernden,' and 'die opfergierigen,' but the word per se has no disparaging meaning; cf. *vītihoṭra*.

#### Stanza 11.

o, d. Ludwig, 'die der Kesaraprābandhā letztgeborene gebraten.' This involves the emendation of *karamāgām* to *karamagām* (sc. *vatsam*, 'calf'), and makes Kesaraprābandhā the name of a cow; cf. *prathamagā*. That cows

had names may be seen from our introduction to II, 32, but this name, 'having her hair braided,' is clearly that of a woman. Apparently the iniquity of the Vaitahavyas reaches its height, when they do not spare the only goat of the poor woman. If the text were only as sound as the moral!

### Stanza 12.

a. Cf. V, 19, 11, where the number 99 takes the place of 101. Both are formulaic.

### Stanza 14.

Cf. st. 6 and XII, 5, 4. 58.

c. *hántābhīśastēndras* ought, in the light of stanza 6, to mean 'Indra slays the curser,' or 'Indra destroys curses.' Accordingly the Pet. Lex. proposes *hántā·bhīśastim* (cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar<sup>2</sup>, §§ 271 d, 946); *hántā·bhīśaster* is equally possible (cf. l. c., § 1182 d). The text might possibly be sustained by reading *hántā·bhīśastā* (acc. plur. neut.). Ludwig takes both words as nominatives of tar-stems, 'Indra töter flucher.' Zimmer, still differently, reads *hántā·bhīśastam*.

d. For *vedhās*, cf. our note on I, 11, 1 b.

## V, 19. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 171.

For the employment of this hymn in the ritual, and other general considerations, see the introduction to V, 18.

### Stanza 1.

c. *Bhrīgu* is a typical name for an Atharvan priest; cf. *āṅgirasā* in st. 2; *bhrīgvaṅgiras*, like *atharvāṅgiras*, is a name of the Atharva-veda itself; see Kaus. 63, 3; 94, 3. 4. Like Atharvan and *Āṅgiras*, the *Bhrīgu* are connected with the production of fire; cf. Ludwig, III, 140.

For the *Srīṅgayas*, see Weber, Ind. Stud. I, 208 ff., 232; Ludwig, III, 154; Zimmer, 132; Weber, 'Episches im vedischen Ritual,' Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie, July 23, 1891, vol. xxxviii, p. 797

(p. 31 of the reprint). The legend which is alluded to here (and in V, 18, 10. 11) is not to be found elsewhere. One may fairly question whether it is not, in a measure at least, trumped up in deference to a supposed etymology : -*gaya* in *sriṅgaya* suggests 'conquer, oppress' (cf. *gīyāte* in st. 6, and *brahmagyāsyā* in st. 7); the syllable *srin* (*Padapāṭha* *srin-gaya*) is not above the suspicion of having suggested *sriṅgin*, 'horned animal,' RV. I, 32, 5, &c.; cf. the later writing *sriṅgaya*, *Vishnu-purāṇa*, &c. Note however Tait. S. VI, 6, 6, 2, and Sat. Br. XII, 9, 3, 1 ff., in both of which places the *Sriṅgayas* come to grief.

### Stanza 2.

a. The text has *ubhayādam*, which we have emended (with Grill) to *ubhayādann*, 'having two rows of teeth.' The ram is ordinarily a harmless animal; but, just as he portentously devours a lioness at RV. VII, 18, 17, so he here appears armed with extra teeth, and capable of doing mischief. Possibly, however, *ubhayādam* is an accusative from *ubhayāda* = *ubhayādant*, 'horse,' and 'the goat devoured the horse' is another way of marking the ominous destruction of the property of oppressors. Cf. RV. X, 90, 10, and the Pet. Lexs., s.v. *ubhayátodant*, *ubhayátodanta*, *ubhayādant*.

### Stanza 3.

b. I have accepted Professor Weber's not altogether certain emendation of *suklám* to *sulkám* (Ind. Stud. XVII, 304). This is based upon Muir's perfectly secure parallel correction at III, 29, 3 (Original Sanskrit Texts, V, 310). These two passages are the only ones upon which the Pet. Lex., s. v. 2 d, bases the meanings 'auswurf, schleim, rotz' for *suklá*; otherwise the word means 'white.' It must be conceded, however, that the reading *sulkám* disturbs the parallelism between *Pādas* a and b, and that the construction of *ish* with the locative of the person from whom something is desired is strange. The text as it stands would yield, 'who threw slime upon him.'

c, d. This punishment broaches upon the later infernal

fancies of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*; see Scherman, *Romanische Forschungen*, V, 539 ff.; *Materialien zur Geschichte der Indischen Visionsliteratur* (Leipzig, 1892), and Féer, *Journal Asiatique*, Eighth Series, vol. xx, p. 185 ff.; Ninth Series, vol. i, p. 112 ff.; cf. also Zimmer, 420 ff.

#### Stanza 4.

b. 'As far as she reaches or penetrates,' i.e. wherever she is distributed and eaten (?). Ludwig, 'wohin sie überhaupt gewandelt,' i.e. wherever she has been during her life-time. Zimmer (and similarly Grill), 'während sie noch unter dem beile zuckt.'

#### Stanza 5.

b. I read *asyate* for *asyate* with Zimmer and Grill; cf. V, 18, 3 d. See also the note on III, 4, 7, and *Proc. Amer. Or. Soc.*, May, 1886 (*Journ.*, vol. xiii, p. cxvii ff.).

#### Stanza 7.

The last word, *brahmagyāśya*, is a gloss (*Anukr. upariśhrādbṛiḥati*). The cow is described as portentous, hence she forebodes destruction; cf. VIII, 6, 22.

#### Stanza 9.

c. The *Pet. Lex.*, s.v. *man* with *abhí*, reads *tád dhānam* for *sád dhānam*. The emendation is not urgent.

d. *Nārada* is the typical interlocutor in the *Purāṇas*; in AV. XII, 4, 16. 24. 41 ff., he is especially engaged in procuring the *brahmagaví*.

#### Stanza 11.

Cf. V, 18, 12. For *náva navatáyah*, see Whitney, *Sk. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> § 477 d.

#### Stanza 12.

A favourite method of imprecation in the Atharvan consists in threatening with the ceremonies of funeral, or even employing stanzas and formulas originally constructed for burial; cf. the introduction to I, 14, and the note on II, 12, 7. The present stanza, as well as sts. 13, and



XII, 5, 47 ff., contain such threats against the oppressor of Brahmins; cf. our Contributions, Second Series, Amer. Journ. Phil. XI, p. 336 ff. (especially pp. 339 ff.). In this stanza reference is made to the custom of tying a kûdî-plant (according to Dârila at Kaus. 21, 2. 13, &c. = badarî, 'Christ's thorn'; cf. Kaus. Introduction, p. xlv) to the dead, so that it trails after him and effaces the track of death: death shall not find the path again and turn upon his trail for further victims. Cf. Antoninus Liberalis 23, ἐξήπτε δὲ ἐκ τῆς οὐρᾶς πρὸς ἑκαστον ὕλην, ὥς ἂν τὰ ἔχνη τῶν βοῶν ἀφανίσῃ. To this rough embrace, symbolic of death, the oppressor is here assigned. See Roth in Festgruss an Böhlingk, pp. 98-9; and the present translator, Amer. Journ. Phil. XI, 338; XII, 416.

#### Stanza 14.

Cf. Âsv. Sraut. VI, 10, 2; Âsv. Grîh. IV, 1, 16; Max Müller, 'Die Todtenbestattung bei den Brahmanen,' Zeitsch. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. IX, p. ii.

#### Stanza 15.

a. For the relation of Mitra and Varuṇa to rain, see Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 314.

c. Cf. VI, 88, 3; Khâd. Grîh. III, 1, 6; and Ludwig, l. c., p. 256.

#### V, 20. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 130.

The purpose of the hymn is obvious. At Kaus. 16, 1, it is rubricated along with VI, 126, 1, and accompanied by the following solemnities. All musical instruments are washed, dipped into a mixture which contains the fragrant substances tagara (powder of the tabernaemontana coronaria) and usîra (the root of andropogon muricatus); they are next anointed with the dregs of ghee (cf. V, 21, 3), and finally the chaplain (purohita) of the king sounds them thrice and hands them over to the warriors as they go forth to battle. Cf. also Vait. Sû. 34, 11; Ath. Paris. 5, 4.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 460 ff.; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 68, 153 ff. Cf. Zimmer, p. 289. The *Anukramazî*, *vânaspatyadundubhidevatyam* . . . *sapatnasenâparâgayâya devasenâvigayâya*.

### Stanza 1.

Cf. V, 21, 3. The *Padapâtâ* *satvanâ-yân*, 'going with, or to, the warriors.' Grill, 'wann sie in den kampf ruft.' As regards the resonance of the wood, Tait. S. VI, 1, 4, 1 has the following pretty conceit: '*Vāk*, speech, once upon a time escaped from the gods, and settled in the trees. Her voice still resounds in wooden instruments.'

### Stanza 2.

a. *druvâya* (cf. XI, 1, 12), with an obscure suffix *vâya*, perhaps = *mâya*; cf. our remarks on the interchange of *v* and *m* in the *Proc. Amer. Or. Soc.*, May, 1886 (*Journ.*, vol. xiii, pp. xcvi ff.)<sup>1</sup>. Ludwig, 'an beiden hölzern nach beiden seiten befestigt.'

b. The MSS. read *vâsitām*, emended in the vulgate to *vâsitām*. This we have translated. Ludwig also adopts *vâsitām*, but renders 'losbrüllend wie ein stier auf die kühe.' Cf. VIII, 6, 12; XI, 9, 22.

### Stanza 3.

c. Possibly *vī vidhya* is to be read for *vidhya* (haplology; cf. *Proc. Amer. Or. Soc.*, April, 1893; *Journal*, vol. xvi, p. xxxiv ff.); see I, 8, 2; VI, 66, 1; XI, 9, 23.

d. *hitvā grāmān*, 'with broken ranks,' or, 'having abandoned the villages' (so *Pet. Lex.* and Ludwig).

### Stanza 7.

c. For *útpipānaḥ*, see our discussion, *Contributions*, Fourth Series, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* XII, p. 441 ff.

d. In the light of *satrutūrya* and *vratatūrya* one is

---

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, however, *druv-āya*, formed upon a denominal verb-stem; cf. *gav-ayā*, 'bos gavaeus:' go, 'cow.'

tempted to read *amitratûryâya*, notwithstanding the metre. The sense would be the same in the end. *svardhî* (stem *sv-ardhín*), ἀπ. λεγ., we have translated philologically 'having the good side;' cf. RV. II, 27, 15. The Pet. Lexs. and Grill, 'ein guter parteigenosse (kampfgenosse),' but the word is certainly a *bahuvrihi*. Ludwig's 'sinnend auf liecht (gewinn)' presupposes *svardhî*, but there is no reason for the loss of the *visarga*.

#### Stanza 8.

a. The metre suggests for *dhîbhî* the synonymous *dhîf-bhî*; cf. RV. I, 161, 7 with III, 60, 2. Likewise, *vadâsi* for *vadâti* would harmonise better with *Pâda b*.

c. Ludwig takes *sâtvano* as nominative of *sâtvana*, 'Indra-freund und held lass dich nennen.'

#### Stanza 9.

Treated by Roth, *Festgruss an Otto von Böhlingk*, p. 99. His translation implies that the drum heralds the return of the warriors after the battle, and announces the respective merits of the participants<sup>1</sup>. This breaks the connection, and imports over-pregnant sense into *Pâdas c, d*, 'das verdienst sachverständig abschätzend (but *vayúnâni vidvân* is a mere formula 1), teile vielen lob aus im kriege,' i.e. 'für ihre haltung im kriege (for their conduct in battle).' For *dvirâgá*, cf. *duellum, bellum*.

#### Stanza 10.

e, d. A blurred comparison. The press-stones are placed over the skin into which the juice trickles, *adhishávam* (sc. *kárma*)<sup>2</sup>; cf. Hillebrandt, *Soma und verwandte Götter*, p. 181 ff. They dance upon (beat down upon) the stems

<sup>1</sup> Note XII, 1, 41, *âkrandó yásyâm vádati dundubhî*, 'upon whom (sc. the Earth) resounds the roaring drum.'

<sup>2</sup> *adhishávam* by itself means the pressing-board, and so it may be understood here without altering the sense materially. Only the simile in that case is still further diluted.

of the plant over the skin. Thus the drum-sticks beating upon the skin for victory, as it were, dance upon (beat upon) the booty. The Pet. Lex. and Grill change ádri to ádhri, apparently as though it were the MS. reading ('man könnte an eine verwechselung mit ádri denken,' Pet. Lex. s. v. ádhri). But there is no word ádhri, and according to the Index Verborum the MSS. read ádri<sup>1</sup>. The expression grává ádri<sup>k</sup> seems to be a composite phrase, 'press-stone;' cf. Hillebrandt, l. c., 152 ff.

### Stanza 12.

c. For vidáthâ ní<sup>k</sup>/kyat cf. RV. IV, 38, 4. It seems to mean 'like a leader (puroetá) attending to the troops.' Ludwig, 'der opfersammlungen gedenkend;' cf. Der Rigveda, III, 259 ff. I believe that vidátha primarily means 'family;' cf. su-vidátra, 2. védana (pativédana), pári vid, &c.

### V, 21. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 131.

The practice connected with this hymn at Kaus. 16, 2. 3 is as follows: '(The purohita) while reciting the hymn makes an offering aloud, and swings the sacrificial spoon about high in the air<sup>2</sup>. Then he sews a soma-branch upon (a piece) of the skin of an antelope, and fastens it (as an amulet) upon the king.' The performance on high symbolises the shrill sound of the drum (cf. V, 20, 1); the amulet seems to be a blended, vague embodiment of the soma-shoot in V, 20, 10, and the antelope's skin in V, 21, 7. Stanza 12 of our hymn is rubricated in the aparâgitagana of the Ganamâlâ, Ath. Paris. 32, 13. The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 373-4.

### Stanza 7.

b. The skin of the antelope seems thus to have been used for the covering of the drum just as the skin of the

<sup>1</sup> Some of Shankar Pandit's MSS. do, however, read ádhri.

<sup>2</sup> Dâri<sup>la</sup>, ūrdhva<sup>m</sup> parivartayan . . . koma<sup>s</sup> ka uk<sup>k</sup>ai<sup>h</sup>.

cow (V, 20, 1; 21, 3). But the matter is not altogether clear, since in the Sûtra above the antelope's skin is combined with a soma-shoot. This points, rather, to some use of it either at the soma-pressing, or, perhaps, at some preparatory stage (dikshâ). The black antelope's skin is regularly employed at the dikshâ; cf. Ait. Br. I, 3, 17; Lindner, *Die Dikshâ*, p. 27 ff.; Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, pp. 87, 399 ff.

#### Stanza 8.

The first hemistich is altogether obscure. One may imagine that the poet desires to accentuate Indra's (and implicitly the king's) power by stating that the enemies are frightened at the beat of his feet, even when he is amusing himself; cf. Mahâbh. III, 14882, *yadi prakridate sarvair devaiḥ saha satakratuḥ*, 'if (Indra), of hundredfold power, disports himself in the company of the gods.' The words *kḥâyâyâ sahá* would naturally mean 'in the company of *kḥâyâ*,' and one is almost tempted to suspect *sákyâ* (*sákîâ*), 'in the company of *Sákî*.' But it is possible to extract the meaning, 'the enemies are frightened at the beat of Indra's feet and at his shadow.' Ludwig, 'mit denen Indra spilet mit dem fussgeräusch und seinem schatten' (!).

#### Stanza 9.

Ludwig, 'nur wie der laut einer bogensene sollen die dundubhi herschreien, von den heeren der feinde, welche besigt sind, und mit ihrer front nach allen weltgegenden gehn.' But *gyâghoshâḥ* is not a possessive compound, witness the accent, and the sense of *abhí krosantu* must be the same as that of *abhí krand* in V, 20, 2. 7; 21, 4-6.

#### Stanza 10.

The picture is that of interference of the sun and its rays with the operations of the enemy. *patsaṅgínir*, 'clogging their feet,' is not quite clear. Ludwig may be right in regarding it as an independent noun, 'schlingen,' 'traps;' cf. Kaus. 16, 16.

## V, 22. COMMENTARY TO PAGE I.

The word *takmán* is not mentioned at all in the Rig-veda, but occurs very frequently in the Atharvan. Four hymns, I, 25; V, 22; VI, 20; VII, 116, are devoted exclusively to its cure<sup>1</sup>; the word is mentioned frequently elsewhere in the Atharvan; and there are descriptions of diseases, such as are stated in AV. I, 12, which are very closely allied in character to the *takmán*, but the word is not mentioned in the text. The *Ganamâlâ*, the 32nd of the Atharva-Parisish/as, presents in its seventh paragraph a series (*gana*) of no less than nineteen hymns, supposed to be devoted to the cure of this disease (*takmanâsana*); see Kaus. 26, 1, note. Sâyana to AV. XIX, 34, 10 explains *takmán* as follows: *krikkhragîvanakartâram yasmin sati krikkhrena gîvanam bhavati*. Professor Roth in his famous tract, 'Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Veda' (p. 39), published in 1846, thought that the *takmán* referred to leprosy because the name of the plant *kúsh/ha* (*costus speciosus*), the specific against *takmán*, is in the later medical writings also a designation of leprosy. Adolphe Pictet in an article entitled 'Die alten Krankheitsnamen der Indo-Germanen,' published in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, V, 337, thought he found etymological support for this view in Persian *tákhtah* and Erse *tachas*, *tochas*, both of which refer to leprosy, or the like. Professor Weber, judging from the symptoms described in AV. I, 25, recognised fever as the chief feature of the *takmán* (see Indische Studien, IV, 119); after him Dr. Virgil Grohmann published in the same Journal, IX, 381 ff., a careful and exhaustive essay which corroborated Weber's view. This was still further supported by Professor Zimmer in his *Altindisches Leben*, p. 379 ff., and now Dârila and Kesava, the commentators of the Kausika-sûtra, everywhere gloss the word

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the hymns to the *kúsh/ha*-plant, V, 4 and XIX, 39.

by *gvara*<sup>1</sup>. The descriptions of *gvara* as offered by the Hindu medical *Sâstras* are such as to leave no doubt that the two diseases are essentially the same. Just as the word *takmán* is lost in the later literature, the word *gvara* is totally wanting in the Atharvan: the two words complement one another. Only one must not expect to find lucidly expressed diagnosis and consistent therapeutics in Atharvan writings; the descriptions are frequently vague, being blended with that of other diseases, and the treatment frequently symbolic. In many passages, moreover, the *takmán* is a person, and belongs to the same class of demoniacal manifestations as *graha*, *amîva*, *rakshas*, and the like.

Briefly, the disease is described as having for its chief symptom the change between heat and chills; intermittency, arriving either every day at the same time, every third day, or omitting every third day<sup>2</sup>; jaundice, which suggests true malarial fever, especially during the rainy season; and the association with a variety of other diseases, some of which are none too clear in character. Headaches, coughs are alluded to unmistakably; in addition the diseases called *balâsa* (AV. IV, 9, 8; XIX, 34, 10), and his 'brother's son,' the *pâmán* (V, 22, 12). Almost all diseases in India show a tendency to be accompanied by febrile symptoms, and the frequency of malarial fevers is notorious. *Susruta* designates fever as 'the king of diseases;' fever is present when man comes into the world, and it is also present when he leaves the world. Gods and men alone survive its ravages (*Susruta*, *Uttaratantra*, chapter 39). No wonder, then, that the burning weapons of *Takman* are dreaded so much in the Atharvan. The effort is made to drive him out, either with polite words (I, 25; VI, 20); with potent charms (IX, 8, 6); or with plants used as specifics, especially the *kúshtha* (*costus speciosus*), which is

<sup>1</sup> We may mention also that Dr. Muir translated the word by 'consumption:' Original Sanskrit Texts, IV, p. 280.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. AV. I, 25, 4; VII, 116, 2.

therefore designated as *takmanâsana* (V, 4, 1. 2), and the *gaṅgidā*, an unexplained member of the Indian flora<sup>1</sup>. In V, 22 the gods, Agni, Soma, Varuṇa, the Ādityas, and the deified press-stones (pressing the soma) are appealed to for help. Cf. in addition to the authorities mentioned above, Edmund Hardy, *Die Vedisch-Brahmanische Periode*, p. 198, and, for detailed descriptions of fever and its treatment in the medical Sâstras, Wise, *Hindu System of Medicine*, p. 219 ff.

The treatment of AV. V, 22 in the ritual, Kaus. 29, 18. 19, is as follows : '(The priest) gives (the patient) gruel made of roasted grain to drink. The dregs (of the gruel) he pours from a copper vessel over the head (of the patient) into fire derived from a forest-fire<sup>2</sup>.' The treatment is intensely symbolical, being based upon the *attractio similitum*, with a touch of homoeopathy. The roasted grain represents heat and therefore fever; the copper vessel (*lohita-pâtra*), with the other meaning of *lohita*, 'red,' in mind, again suggests heat and fever, and the forest fire, *dâvâgni*, figures in preference to ordinary fire because it is occasioned by lightning, and lightning is conceived as the cause of fever and its related diseases. See our treatment of AV. I, 12, and cf. *Seven Hymns of the Atharva-veda*, Amer. Journ. Phil. VII, 469 ff. (p. 4 ff. of the reprint). Note also the very parallel treatment which the fever patient undergoes at the hands of Kausika in 25, 26, in connection with AV. I, 25.

The hymn has been translated many times, either entirely or in part. See Roth, l. c., p. 38; Grohmann, *Indische*

<sup>1</sup> Dârila at Kaus. 8, 15, *gaṅgido-rgunaḥ akala iti dâkshinâtyaḥ*. Kerava, ib., *gaṅgido vâranasyâm prasiddhaḥ*. It is the name of a tree in any case; see XIX, 34 and 35.

<sup>2</sup> Kausika's language is of the most concise Sûtra sort : 18 . . . *lâgân pâyayati*. 19. *dâve lohita-pâtrena mûrdhni sampâtân ânayati*. The translation above is with the help of Dârila. The employment of the dregs after the act of *âplavana* is technical; see the *Paribhâṣâ-sûtra* Kaus. 7, 15. For the *sampâta*, see also *Grîhyasamgraha* I, 113.



Studien, IX, p. 381 ff. (especially pp. 411-12); Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 510; Zimmer, l. c., pp. 380 ff.; Grill<sup>3</sup>, pp. 12, 153 ff.; cf. also Hillebrandt, *Vedachrestomathie*, p. 49. The *Anukramanî* designates it as a *takmanâsanadevatyam* (sc. *sûktam*); *Bhrîgu-Aṅgiras* are the authors.

### Stanza 1.

a. Because the first *Pâda* is a *gagatî* followed by three *trishûbh* *Pâdas* the *Anukramanî* designates the stanza as a *bhurîg*. It is possible, however, to obtain a *trishûbh* by reading *âpabâdhatetâh* with elision and crasis; cf. Roth in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, XXVI, 50 ff. I prefer to retain the *gagatî*, because it frequently appears in *trishûbh* stanzas, without the possibility of a change.

b. *pûtâdakshâh* (stem *pûtâdakshas*) is not easily rendered. Roth, l. c., 'von unversehrter kraft;'; the Petersburg lexicons, Grohmann, and Grassmann, 'von reiner gesinnung;'; Hillebrandt, 'von geläuterter gesinnung;'; Grill, 'lautern sinnes;'; Ludwig, 'von geheiligter kraft;'; Max Müller, *Vedic Hymns*, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxxii, p. 493, 'endowed with pure strength.' But 'lautere gesinnung' idealises over much, and 'pure strength' is vague. Perhaps after all our translation 'of tried skill or strength' comes nearest to the true sense of the original. Cf. RV. III, 1, 5, *krátum punânâh kavîbhih pavîtraih*, 'purifying his intellect by wise means of purification.' The epithets *pûtâ-daksha* and *pûtâ-dakshas* are employed very frequently in connection with the *Âdityas*, singly or collectively, and it is perhaps significant that *Daksha* is one of the *Âdityas*.

d. Ludwig takes the words *amuyâ bhavantu* in their plainest sense, 'sollen nach jener seite hinweggehn.' But *amuyâ* frequently has a sinister, contemptuous meaning, 'in that well-understood, suitable, evil manner;'; it is a kind of euphemism like English 'gone,' German (slang) 'caput.' Cf. *amuyâ sâyânam*, RV. I, 32, 8; *pâpâyâ-muyâ*, RV. I, 29, 5, &c.; and Grill's note, p. 155.

**Stanza 2.**

a. In India malarial fever is frequently accompanied by jaundice ; cf. AV. VI, 20, 3, 'thou that makest all forms yellow,' and I, 25, 2. 3, where the takmán is designated as haritasya deva, 'the god of the yellow (colour).' Cf. Grohmann, ib. 393.

b. Between the expression agnír ivâ-bhidunván and the dâvâgni of the ritual practice (Kaus. 29, 19) there is a thread of symbolic connection. Cf. AV. I, 25, 2. 3 ; VI, 20, 1.

d. nyañ and adharāñ are synonymous to such an extent as to render it difficult to preserve the flavour of the original: literally, 'do thou go away down, or lower!'

**Stanza 3.**

a. For parushá and pârusheyá, Ludwig reads arusha and ârusheya, and translates 'der rot ist von rotem'—an unnecessarily severe handling of the text.

b. avadhvamsá is ἀπ. λεγ., but the meaning is fairly clear ; cf. the expression kûrnair avadhvams in the Pet. Lex., s.v. dhvams. The eruption (Grohmann, 394) produces roughness of the skin's surface, and the Hindus look upon such superficial changes as coming from without ; cf. Contributions, Second Series, Amer. Journ. Phil. XI, 323 (5 of the reprint).

c. visvadhâvîrya would seem to refer to the kúshtha-plant, if we consult AV. XIX, 39, 10. But the ritual does not indicate its employment.

**Stanza 4.**

a, b. Note the concatenation between this and the preceding stanza, effected by Pâdas 3 d and 4 a. The expression námañ krítvá indicates a polite modification of the power of the charm, calculated to engage the co-operation of the demon Takman himself. Pâda a is trochaic ; in b read krítuá.

c. Literally, 'the fist-fighter of Sakambhara,' i.e. the champion carrier of excrement, or the chief of diarrhoea

producing diseases: *sakambhará* seems to be the personification of abnormal evacuation.

#### Stanza 5.

I do not consider the versifier incapable of a certain kind of punning intention in the choice of ethnic communities to which he would relegate the *takmán*: *mahāvriśá*, here, and elsewhere in the hymns, may suggest to him 'a very strong' tribe, better fitted to cope with the ravages of the disease; *báhlhika* surely suggests to his mind *báhlhika* and *bahis*, 'without,' i.e. not his own people<sup>1</sup>; and even *mūga-*vant may suggest *muñga*-grass, the plant which figures among Kausika's remedies for the disease; see the introduction to I, 12, and cf. *muñgavant* in Yaska's comment at Nirukta IX, 8, as the equivalent of *mūgavant*<sup>2</sup>. Rigorous geographical deductions derived from the juxtaposition of these names are therefore to be avoided. They are, however, as also the *Gandhâri*, *Aṅga*, and *Magadha* in the sequel, true ethnical designations; see Roth, *Zur Literatur und Geschichte des Weda*, p. 39; Zimmer, pp. 29, 129, 431, 433, and Weber's article, 'Über Báhlh, Báhlhika,' *Proceedings of the Berlin Academy of November, 1892*, vol. xlvii, p. 985 ff.

a, b. Note the concatenation with 4 d.

c, d. The *Anukramani* designates the stanza as *virâṭpathyâ bṛihatî*, but *takmams* is in all probability interpolated. Its removal ensures a fairly good *anushṭubh*.—*nyokará* is *ḍṇ*. λεγ., its form being perhaps twisted in some measure in deference to the obvious pun with *ókas* in a, b ('gelegenheitsbildung'); it also suggests doubtless in its suffix the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially, Zimmer, p. 433, top.

<sup>2</sup> The name *mūgavant*, however, is typical for a region far distant; see Tait. S. I, 8, 6, 2; Vâg. S. III, 61, and Sat. Br. II, 6, 2, 17, in all of which Rudra with his destructive bow is entreated to depart beyond the *Mūgavants*: *esha te rudra bhāgaḥ . . . tenā vasena paro mūgavato ti hy avatatadhanvā*, &c. 'Here is thy share, O Rudra; provisioned with it go beyond the *Mūgavants* with thy bow strung, &c.'

word *kara*, 'going.' Ludwig's translation is very literal, 'wie gross du auch geboren bist, so gross bist du heimisch bei den Bahlikas.'

#### Stanza 6.

a, b. I really see no present possibility of translating the words *vyāla ví gada vyāṅga*; everything suggested is mere guess-work. A brief history of the interpretation of the words may be given in lieu of any personal conviction as regards their meaning. *vyāla*, according to the lexicons, means either 'malicious, wily,' or 'serpent,' or some other ferocious animal, any of which meanings might be given to the demon of a severe disease. Ludwig translates it 'schlange,' a rendering which is supported in a measure by *vyāṅga*, 'limbless'; Grill and Hillebrandt prefer 'tückisch.' The text of the *Samhitā* and the *Padapāṭha* both have *ví gada*, which is doubtless felt to be an imperative. Accordingly Ludwig translates it 'sprich heraus'; Grill in the first edition of his 'Hundert Lieder,' pp. 11, 63, emended *ví gadha*, and rendered 'lass los.' Whitney in his *Index Verborum*, s.v. *gad* and *vígada*, as also in his 'Roots, Verb-Forms,' &c., under root *gad* suggests the reading *vígada*, vocative, and this is now accepted by Grill in the second edition, who renders it 'stumm,' and Hillebrandt, s.v. *vígada*, who entertains the same view: etwa 'wort-, sprachlos.' With this emendation in mind the word might also be translated 'O chatterer,' referring to the delirium of the patient. One may be permitted, too, to consider the possibility that *gada*, 'sickness,' is at the bottom of the word: *vígada*, 'free from sickness' (euphemistic address to the demon of the disease); cf. Böhrtlingk's *Lexicon*, s.v. In that case *vígada* would be synonymous with *agadā*, 'free from disease,' and this would remind us strongly of RV. X, 16, 6; AV. XVIII, 3, 55; Tait. Ār. VI, 4, 2, *yát te kṛishnāḥ sakunā ātutōḍa pipilāḥ sarpā utá vā svāpadaḥ, agnīḥ tād visvād agadām kṛinotu*, 'If the black bird (vulture) has bitten thee, the ant, the serpent, or even the wild animal, may all-devouring Agni restore (*agadām kṛinotu*) that.' And further, we may remember that the

kúshṭha-plant, the specific against takmán, renders agadá a person suffering from takmán in AV. V, 4, 6; VI, 95, 3. vyāṅga again calls up a variety of possibilities. If we translate vyāla by 'serpent,' we will not fail to remember that vyāṅga, 'limbless,' occurs in AV. VII, 56, 4 as an epithet of the serpent, and render accordingly. So Ludwig and Grill in the second edition. Hillebrandt more vaguely, 'körperlos.' The Petersburg Lexicons, and Grill in the first edition, translate it by 'fleckig' (vi + añg), which might be justified by some symptom of the disease. Non liquet.— With bhūri yāvaya we have supplied vágram from Pāda d.

c. nishṭákvarīm with the following pun in mind: nísh takmánam (suva, or the like), 'drive out the takman.' The word is ἀπ. λεγ., but fairly clear as a synonym of prakīrná<sup>1</sup>, pumskālī, vipravráginī, bahuḥārinī, &c. Such a person is correlated with the cross-roads; see the citations in our edition of the *Gṛīhyasamgraha* II, 23, note 3 (*Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* XXXV, 573), and add Kaus. 37, 9.

#### Stanza 7.

b. The etymology of bálhika in the mind of the poet (báhika 'externus'; cf. note on st. 5) accounts for parastarām 'farther away.' The statement may not be utilised for geographical purposes.

d. ví\*va dhunūhi, 'shake her through as it were' with humorous intent. The symptom referred to is ague, and it is paralleled by the use of the root vip in st. 10 (cf. also IX, 8, 6).

#### Stanza 8.

b. I have translated in accordance with the vulgata, bándhv addhi parétya, but not without a strong temptation to emend to bándhv ádhi parétya, and translate, 'having passed over to thy kinfolk, the Mahāvrishas and the Mūgavants.' 'Eat your kinfolk' seems exceedingly crude even for the present production. The MSS. exhibit indigestible variants.

<sup>1</sup> Schol. at *Gṛīhyasamgraha* II, 22, grīhe-grīhe gamanasilā.

d. *anyakshetrāṇi vā imā* seems to refer to other countries, nearer to the speaker than those mentioned in the stanza; perhaps, as Grill remarks, the Aṅga and Magadha mentioned in st. 14.

#### Stanza 9.

The exact connection between the various statements made in this stanza is not easy to find. Perhaps as follows: Takman does not take pleasure in the other regions (near by), that is, he remains in the country of the person praying; therefore he seems to be implored not to damage him personally, but to seek out other victims. But (after all?) Takman has got himself ready and will go to the remotest region, that of the Balhikas, that being the final outcome announced by the priest in charge of the exorcism. Ludwig translates *anyakshetré* 'in andrer leib'; neither his, nor Grill's translation makes clear the sequence of thought.

b. The Pāda is formulaic = VI, 26, 1 b.

c. The translations of *prārthas*, our own included, are practically guess-work. The *Pet. Lexicons*, 'ausrüstung zur reise'; Ludwig, 'begirig nach der ferne'; Grill, in the same spirit, 'schon rüstet Takman sich zur reis'; Hillebrandt, 'bereitwillig.' I have translated simply upon the basis of the denominative *prārthayati*, 'desire, demand.' The metre demands *pra-arthas*.

#### Stanza 10.

a. We have translated *rûrá* by 'deliriously hot.' In the Atharvan it occurs only as a form of the *takmán* (see st. 13, and I, 25, 4; VII, 116, 1, and cf. *Tait. S.* II, 5, 2, 3), but in the *Tāndya-Brāhmaṇa* VII, 5, 10 it occurs as an epithet of Agni, and the scholiast is pretty nearly right in commenting, *rûrû iti sabdāyamāno dahatī-ti rûrah*. The word is indeed to be derived from the root *ru*, 'howl,' and it expresses both the heat and delirium of the fever. For *agnir rûrah*, cf. also the mantra in *Kaus.* 71, 6, addressed to Agni, *mā no ruroh*, &c. *Sāyana* at *AV.* I, 25, 4, *śitānantarabhāvine gvarāya*.

b. For *āvepayah*, cf. the note on stanza 7 d. Read *kāsā āvepayah*.

**Stanza 11.**

b. We have not rendered *balāsa* by 'consumption,' with most of the authorities, on account of our distrust of the commentators: Mahīdhara at Vāg. S. XII, 97, *kshaya-vyādhi* . . . *balam asyati kshipati*, and Sāyana at AV. XIX, 34, 10, *balasya asanakartāram balakshayakāram*. The explanations are of the etymologising sort, and the utterances of the texts as gathered by Zimmer, p. 385 ff., are not conclusive. The strongest evidence in favour of the identity or similarity of *balāsa* and consumption is the parallelism of VI, 14, 1 with V, 30, 9, but even that is not conclusive. Further, the formal parallelism with *kilāsa*, which means 'some kind of eruption, or leprosy,' points to a similar conclusion, 'sore, or swelling,' for *balāsa*. Such, indeed, was Grohmann's view, Ind. Stud. IX, 396 ff. (cf. also Wise, Hindu System of Medicine, pp. 296 and 311), and we do not see that it is supported by a lesser array of intrinsic evidence. The question is still sub judice, and is not likely to be settled until the medical Sāstras reveal their treatment of the disease more fully. We have therefore not undertaken to translate the word for the present. Ludwig renders it by 'dropsy,' upon what authority, we fail to see.—Note the masculine thematic form *kāsām* following closely upon the fem. *kāśā* in st. 10 b; we may, of course, resort to a correction of the accent (*kāsam*), but see our note on I, 12, 3 b. *udyugá* is ἄπ. λεγ., and might perhaps better have been left untranslated. We are permitting the word *udyoga*, 'exertion,' and Ludwig's rendering of *udyugá* by 'angestregter Husten' to entice us. Grill retains the original, 'mit Schwindsucht, Husten, Udyuga;' Zimmer, p. 384, 'den *Balāsa* und den sich anschliessenden *Kāsa*.'

**Stanza 12.**

c. For *pāmán*, see Grohmann, l. c., p. 401 ff.; Zimmer, l. c., p. 388, and Wise, l. c., p. 261. The latter describes the disease in accordance with Karaka's teachings as follows: 'Small tubercles in great numbers of a dark or

purplish hue with a copious bloody discharge accompanied with burning and itching.' In the AV. the word is *अप. लेय*. The schol. at Sat. Br. III, 2, 1, 31 renders *pāmā* by *vikar-ḥikā*, 'scurf, eruption.'

### Stanza 13.

a. Zimmer, l. c., 382, suggests upon rather slender evidence another explanation of *trītiyaka*, 'he who produces death after the third paroxysm.' *Sāyana* at AV. XIX, 39, 10 comments upon the traditional text *śirshalokām trītiyakam* (which Roth and Whitney have emended in their edition to *śirshasokām trītiyakam*), with the result, 'Thy head (O *kushtha*-plant) is in the third heaven,' thus omitting an opportunity to tell us what *trītiyaka* is. At I, 25, 4, however, he has, *trītiyadivase āgakkhate*. Without doubt the *takman trītiyaka* is identical with *gvara trītiyaka*, *Su-sruta* II, 404, 7 ; 405, 14, *trītiyakas trītiye-hni* (*pravartate*), i. e. the *rhythmus tertianus*. Wise, l. c., p. 232, says, rather obscurely, 'When the fever returns at an interval of one day it is called *Tritiyaka*.'—*vitṛitiyā* is *अप. लेय*. and not altogether clear. *Grohmann*, l. c., p. 388, regards this as equivalent to the *tertiana duplicata*, consisting of daily attacks which, however, correspond in every other day as regards the time of day in which they take place, or as regards their intensity. But *vitṛitiyā* translated philologically means 'leaving aside the third day,' and there is no evidence to connect it with the *tertiana duplicata*. According to our construction the *vitṛitiyā* would appear to be identical with the *takmān* of whom it is said, *yó . . . ubhayadyúr abhyéti*, I, 25, 4 (see the note there), and VII, 116, 2.

b. *sadamdī* is probably the equivalent of the *samtata-gvara*, or *satata-gvara* (Wise, l. c., 231), a kind of fever which continues without interruption for a longer period, seven, ten, or twelve days, is then followed by an interval, and again occurs and remains for several days. *Sāyana* at AV. XIX, 39, 10 blunderingly refers *sadamdī* to the *kushtha*-plant, and renders it by *sadā rogānām khandayitā*, 'the constant crusher of diseases.' He has in mind no doubt



the root 3. *dā*, 'divide,' and in this sense it may be an epithet of the *takmán*, 'always cutting.' The *Pet. Lex.* suggests derivation from 2. *dā*, 'für immer fesselnd,' which is no less apt an etymology than the preceding. Zimmer's suggestion, l. c. 383, note, is ingenious and enticing. He would see in the word an abbreviation of \**sadam*-*dina*, made like *madhyam*-*dina*, and meaning therefore 'belonging to every day'; this etymology may perhaps now be supported by *sadadī* (adverb), 'commonly,' which occurs quite frequently in the *Maitrāyaṇī-saṃhitā*, I, 5, 12 (80, 18); I, 10, 9 (149, 15), &c.—*śāradā* here, along with *grāśhma* and *vārshika* in the next *Pādas* show that the *takmán* raged at various seasons; it seems, however, to be associated most persistently with the autumn, at least if we may trust the adjective *visvāśārada*<sup>1</sup> in AV. IX, 8, 6; XIX, 34, 10. Wise, l. c., p. 233, remarks: 'The type of fever varies according to the season of the year.'

#### Stanza 14.

c. Read *gānam* *iva* as three syllables, either *gāneva* (cf. Roth, Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, XXVI, 45 ff.), or *gānam* *va*, with reference to the *Prākritic* form.—*sevadhīm*, i. e. they shall hold on to the *takmán* like a treasure, that he may not return.

#### V, 23. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 23.

The practice connected with this hymn at Kaus. 29, 20–26 is an amplification of that described in Kaus. 27, 14–20 in conjunction with AV. II, 31, being supplemented by a distinct therapeutical treatment of the patient, as follows: 20. 'While reciting AV. V, 23 the practitioner uses the root of a (reed-grass called) *karīra*<sup>2</sup>, performing the rite described in connection with the arrow (at Kaus. 27, 15) upon a cer-

<sup>1</sup> *Sāyana* at AV. XIX, 34, 10 glosses the word with, *sarvasya sarvadā vā visaraṇakartāram*!

<sup>2</sup> According to *Kesava* he ties it on as an amulet, but according to Kaus. 27, 14 he offers it as an oblation (*guhoti*).

tain part of it<sup>1</sup>. 21. The dust (which forms part of the performance in 27, 18) he takes from the village (using it the same way as in Kaus. 27, 18. 19). 22. He places (the sick child) upon the lap of its mother to the west of the fire, and with the bottom of a pestle (heated in the fire, and) greased with butter, he warms the palate (of the child) by thrice pressing upon it. 23. He anoints it with (a mixture of the leaves<sup>2</sup> of a) horse-radish tree and butter. 24. He takes twenty-one (dried) *usîra*-roots (*andropogon muricatus*<sup>3</sup>), pronounces over them the hemistich V, 23, 13 c, d, and performs upon them the acts mentioned therein (i. e. he mashes the roots and burns their surfaces with fire, Kesava). 25. He presents the *usîra*-roots (to the patient). 26. He pours water (upon the patient) along with the twenty-one (*usîra*-roots).<sup>4</sup> The practice is by no means clear in every detail, Sûtra 20 being especially obscure.

The hymn has been translated by Kuhn, Zeitsch. f. vgl. Sprachforsch. XIII, 140 ff., and Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 501. Cf. also Bergaigne et Henry, Manuel Védique, p. 148.

#### Stanza 1.

Cf. VI, 94, 3. The meaning of the stem *óta-* (*á uta-*) is not altogether certain; see Whitney, Roots, p. 11, under *u*, 'proclaim.' But I do not see how the meaning of the stem can be derived from the root *vâ*, 'weave,' and the preposition *á* (cf. the Pet. Lex. under 5. *vâ*), as Whitney suggests. Cf. *Sâyana* in the note on VI, 94, 3. Heaven and earth are called upon in a general way to protect against enmity and trouble, cf. II, 12, 1, and especially VI, 3, 2. The

<sup>1</sup> That is, according to Dârila and Kesava he winds the young of worms around a certain spot of the *karfra*-stalk (Dâr. *karîraika-desam*), mashes the stalk, roasts the worms in the fire, and places the stalk upon the fire (correct Dârila's *vratapatyâdadhâti* simply to *pratapaty âdadhâti*).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dârila at 38, 5, *sigrupatrâni*.

<sup>3</sup> The roots are dried (*gîrṇa*, *garant*): see Dârila to the passage, and the *Paribhâṣâ-sûtra*, Kaus. 8, 17. Dârila to the latter passage describes them as an odorous substance (*gandhadravayam*).

goddess Sarasvatî is invoked perhaps as the heavenly physician; Indra and Agni as driving away evil spirits. Cf. also the Mantrabrâhmaṇa of the Sâma-veda, II, 7, 4, krimim indrasya bâhubhyâm avâñkam pâtayâmi, and Indra's mill-stone, AV. II, 31, 1.

#### Stanza 2.

b. Indra as king of the gods, like the earthly king, is the guardian of treasures; cf. IV, 22, 3, where the king is called dhânapatir dhânânâm.

#### Stanza 3.

a. A parallel to worms in the eye, in Teutonic folklore, is cited by Prof. Kuhn, l. c., p. 150. In the medical Sâstras a disease of the eye is known under the name *kri-migranthi*, 'sty'; this may be related to the disease which is here imagined rather fancifully.

c. 'The worm which gets to the middle of the teeth' is similarly described in the later medicinal works as *kri-midantaka*, 'caries' (Pet. Lex.), and *dantâda* (*krimi*), Wise, p. 349; cf. also the *krimidûshitam dantavarnam*, by which the *Rîk-Prâtisâkhyâ* XVII, 10 describes *syâva*; see Regnier's edition, III, 189.

#### Stanza 4.

For the fanciful descriptions of forms, colours, and names in this and the following stanzas, see Kuhn, l. c., p. 147, and cf. the note on II, 32, 2.

c. The formula *babhrûs ka babhrûkarnas ka* is repeated in VI, 16, 3 c: the hymn is described by the commentators at Kaus. 30, 1 ff., as a charm against ophthalmia. It is there also implicated in a fanciful list of personified diseases.

d. For *kôka*, cf. VIII, 6, 2, where Sâyana glosses the word by *kakravâka*.

#### Stanza 5.

a, b. For the epithets *sitikâksha* and *sitibâhu*, cf. Vâg. S. XXIV, 2. 4. 7; Tait. S. V, 5, 20, 1; 6, 13, 1; Maitr. S. III, 3, 3. 5. 8.

**Stanza 6.**

See the notes on II, 32, 1 and 2, and cf. especially AV. VI, 52, 1=RV. I, 191, 9.

**Stanza 7.**

a, b. All designations are obscure. The *Kâth.* S. has a pendant yavâsha, perhaps a popular modification of yévâsha, in deference to yava, 'barley'<sup>1</sup>; kâshkasha, egatká, and sipavitnuká are ἀπ. λεγ. A natural explanation for egatká suggests itself, 'active, mobile.'

**Stanza 8.**

b. nadanimán, 'roaring, or buzzing.' This, again, is ἀπ. λεγ.

(o. mashmashá *kri*) recurs in the *Kâth.* S. XVI, 7; the Maitr. S. II, 7, 7 (p. 84, l. 3) has *mrismrisâ* (var. *mrismrisâ*) in its place; the Tait. S. IV, 1, 10, 3, and some of the MSS. of the Vâg. S. XI, 80 (supported by the Prâtisâkhya, V, 37) read masmasâ, an interesting onomatopoetic aggregation.

d. The Pâda is repeated at II, 31, 1.

**Stanza 9.**

With the exception of the first Pâda this stanza is identical with II, 32, 2; so also the next three stanzas repeat, without change, II, 32, 3-5. See the notes there.

## V, 30. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 59.

The present hymn is of essentially the same character as VIII, 1 and 2, and its manipulation in the ritual texts, Kaus. 58, 3. 11, and the âyushyagana (Kaus. 54, 11, note), coincides with both of these. See the introduction to VIII, 1. Previous renderings by Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V, 441 ff.; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 494 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Contributions, Fourth Series, Amer. Journ. Phil. XII, 429, note 2.

**Stanza 1.**

The first hemistich is verbose and obscure. Muir, 'from thy vicinity, from thy vicinity, from a distance, from thy vicinity (I call) to thee;' Ludwig, without construing, 'deine nähe nähe, deine ferne nähe.' We have taken the two Pâdas as quasi-intensive expressions, equivalent respectively to *âvâtas te*, and *parâvâtas te*.

**Stanza 2.**

Cf. for Pâda b the Italian proverb :—

Da chi mi fido, guarda mi, Dio,  
Da chi mi non, mi guarderò io.—

**Stanza 5.**

Cf. Ath. Paris. 4, 1. We have regarded the stanza, not without hesitancy, as a plea of the professional medicine-man in behalf of his art, and against domestic remedial expedients ('hausmittelchen'). The expression *pratyák sevasva* looks as though it meant 'refuse with thanks,' and our rendering of *sārgataḥ* aims to reproduce the supposed satirical flavour of the passage.

**Stanza 10.**

Cf. VIII, 1, 13, and the note on the passage.

**Stanza 12.**

b. The construction of the Pâda is not quite clear. Ludwig, 'anbetung denen die zu den vätern führen;' Muir, 'reverence to the Fathers, and to those who guide us.' Both renderings are non-committal; we have in mind the dogs of Yama as the subject of *utá yé náyanti*.

**Stanza 13.**

Cf. Ath. Paris. 13, 3.

**V, 31. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 76.**

The hymn belongs to the *krityâpratiharavāni*, a series of hymns designed to repel spells. It is closely similar in character to X, 1, together with which it is employed in the

practices described at Kaus. 39, 7 ff.; see the introduction to X, 1. The particular point of interest in this hymn is the full catalogue of animate and inanimate objects within which spells were instituted. It seems that these objects, through which the prosperity of an enemy was attacked, went in the ritual by the name of *marmāni*, 'vital spots;' see Kaus. 39, 28. 31. The notion appears to be that a man is vulnerable through his belongings as well as his own person. Cf. in general, Maitr. S. III, 3, 8 (106, 11); Tait. S. VI, 2, 11, 1; Sat. Br. III, 5, 4, 2.

### Stanza 1.

For the entire stanza, cf. IV, 17, 4, and our notes there.

a. An unburned vessel figures also in a witchcraft practice, Sat. Br. XIV, 9, 4, 11 = *Br̥h. Ār. Up.* VI, 4, 12. The symbolic aspect of an unburned vessel, namely its fragility, is in evidence at Sat. Br. XII, 1, 3, 23; Manu III, 179. We would remark in passing that the *Padapāṭha*'s *yád yāmám kakrúr* at VI, 116, 1 is to be emended to *yády āmám kakrúr*. Correct accordingly the Index Verborum.

### Stanza 2.

b. It is difficult to decide whether *kuríṛni* refers to some individual animal, 'a crested animal,' perhaps 'peacock,' or whether it is to be regarded as an epithet of 'goat' in *Pāda* a. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, I, 130, renders it 'horned,' but this is based upon a misinterpretation of VI, 138, 2; see the note there. Cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 91.

### Stanza 3.

The solipeds, horse, ass, &c., have one hoof, and incisors above and below, in distinction from the animals called *anyátodant*, 'those that have incisors only in the lower jaw.' They are contrasted with the pasture-animals in the preceding stanza. See Zimmer, l. c., pp. 74, 75.

### Stanza 4.

a, b. The meaning of *amûláyām* and *narākyām* (*vānarākyām*?) is problematic. Our translation is of the etymological

sort, and the feminine gender of the words is difficult to account for. But the suggestion of the Pet. Lexs. that both are designations of plants does not commend itself. See the passages cited under *amûlá*.

#### Stanza 9.

c. *mroká* and *nirdáhá* are designations of two kinds of destructive fire; cf. XVI, 1, 3. Our rendering of both words is purely tentative.

#### Stanza 10.

c. *maryâdhîrebhyaḥ* is very obscure. The *Padapâṭha*, *maryâ-dhîrebhyaḥ*, as a compound. At Maitr. S. I, 4, 8 (56, 18) we have *maryâdhaṛyena*, and the absence of the *vṛiddhi* of the first syllable suggests that *maryâ* may be an independent word, the enclitic *maryâ*, for which see Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, I, 61 ff. We might then translate, 'The fool verily has prepared (the spell) against the wise.' But Pischel's treatment of the word is not altogether convincing.

#### Stanza 11.

The first three *Pâdas* are identical with the corresponding *Pâdas* of IV, 18, 6.

#### Stanza 12.

b. *mûlín*, 'he that practises witchcraft with the roots of plants:' *mûlakriyâ*, Vishnu XXV, 7; *mûlakarman*, Manu IX, 290; XI, 64; Mahâbh. III, 233, 13=14660 ff. Cf. Winternitz, *Das Altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, p. 98.

#### VI, 2. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 66.

The hymn is employed at Vait. Sû. 16, 13 in the course of the *agnishṛōma*. The second stanza is made the pivot of a small charm against *Rakshas* (*rakshobhaishagyaṃ*) at Kaus. 29, 27. 'While reciting AV. VI, 2, 2 the performer eats milk-porridge that has been cooked upon a fire built up of birds' nests.' The symbolic connection with the stanza is apparent.

The hymn has been translated by Florenz, Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, XII, 251.

**Stanza 1.**

b. *ā dhāvata* (cf. RV. VII, 32, 6) is not altogether clear. *Sāyana*, *ādhāvanam nāma adābhyagrahārtham gr̥hītasya vasatīvarigalasya* (cf. Vait. Sū. 16, 1) . . . yad vā . . . *darāpavitrena sarvataḥ sodhayata*.

**Stanza 3.**

The first hemistich is identical with RV. VII, 32, 8 a, b.

VI, 8. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 100.

The rites connected with this charm are stated in the introduction to II, 30, above. The hymn has been translated by Weber, *Ind. Stud.* V, 261 ff.; Florenz, Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, XII, 257; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 54, 158 ff. The *Anukramanī* designates it as *kāmātmadaivatam*.

**Stanza 1.**

Cf. RV. X, 10, 13. The formulaic refrain occurs also at I, 34, 5; II, 30, 1.

**Stanza 2.**

'Large birds, as they start to fly, beat the ground with their wings, unable, as it were, to get off. Thus the mind of the woman shall not be able to free itself from her lover.' See Professor Roth, as quoted by Grill, and cf. VI, 18, 3; 70, 1.

VI, 9. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 101.

For the practices connected with this charm, see the introduction to II, 30, above. Previous translations: Weber, *Ind. Stud.* V, 264 ff.; Florenz, Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, XII, 10. The *Anukramanī*, *kāmātmadaivatam*.

**Stanza 1.**

Cf. III, 25, 3. 4, and the spirit of that hymn in general.



**Stanza 2.**

The second hemistich is formulaic; see I, 34, 2; III, 25, 5; the last Pāda at VI, 42, 3; 43, 3.

**Stanza 3.**

a. Literally, 'whose relations are a licking,' i. e. 'whose young furnish constant occasion for licking.' Licking the young is typical for fond maternity, e. g. AV. V, 1, 4.

**VI, 11. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 97.**

The hymn is employed in a ceremony calculated to ensure the birth of a male child (Kṛṣaṇa and Dārila, *pumsavanam*) at Kaus. 35, 8-10, to wit: 8. 'While reciting the hymn a fire is churned from the (two kinds of wood *samī* and *asvattha*) mentioned in the hymn, the fire is thrown into ghee (prepared from the milk) of a cow with a male calf, and then the ghee is treated like the *paidva* (i. e., it is put with the right thumb up the nose into the right nostril of the pregnant woman)<sup>1</sup>. 9. (Casting the fire) into a stirred drink with honey it (the stirred drink) is given to the woman to drink. 10. (The fire) is surrounded with the wool of a male animal<sup>2</sup>, and the wool is tied (as an amulet) upon the woman.' The symbolism of these acts is in general very clear. In the act of churning the fire *samī* is the female, and *asvattha* the male; cf. Ad. Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers*<sup>1</sup>, p. 71 ff.; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 58, 59.

The hymn has been rendered by Weber, *Indische Studien*, V, 264 ff.; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 477; Zimmer, l. c.,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kaus. 32, 21 in the introduction to X, 4.

<sup>2</sup> We emend *krishnornābhiḥ* to *vrishṇa ūrnābhiḥ* with double *saṁdhi*; cf. Kausika, Introduction, p. lviii ff. Some MSS. read *vrishṇo-*, and *vishṇo-*, and there is apparently no sense in black wool; on the other hand the wool of a male animal is exceedingly suggestive.

319; Florenz, Bezzenberger's Beiträge, XII, 260 ff. The Anukramanī, retodevatyam uta mantroktadevatyam.

**Stanza 1.**

b. 'The male child' is the fire, which plays, therefore, an important part in the practices stated above.

**Stanza 2.**

d. Pragāpati, the god of procreation, is, of course, the prime authority in these matters; they are, therefore, said to be of his dictation.

**Stanza 3.**

Sinivālī and Anumati are two of the personifications of the four phases of the moon. They all preside over the act of procreation, and special rites in their behalf are practised by those desirous of offspring. See Weber, l. c., p. 228 ff.; Zimmer, l. c., p. 352.

VI, 12. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 28.

According to the text of Kaus. 29, 28. 29 in our edition the performances connected with this hymn consist in quickly (śibham) giving the patient honey to drink, and then continuing with the practices described in connection with IV, 6 at Kaus. 28, 2 ff.; see the introduction to IV, 6. But Kesava and Sâyana (who regularly bases his presentation of the ritual upon Kesava) have madhukrīdam for Kausika's madhu śibham<sup>1</sup>; Dārila's full text is, mādakam ('broth') sūktasya karmābhimantrya pāyayati. It seems likely, therefore, that madhuśibham is to be regarded as a compound meaning some kind of honey mixture. Shankar Pandit prints accordingly madhusibham as a compound<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Kesava reads also once, madhusāmtam.

<sup>2</sup> For gapams ka, Kaus. 29, 29, Sâyana reads gapādīms ka. This does not commend itself: since the passage refers to the rites described in Kaus. 28, 2 we should expect gapādīni (sc. karmāni) ka.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rig-veda*, III, 501 ff.; Florenz, *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, XII, 262 ff. Cf. also Bergaigne et Henry, *Manuel Védique*, p. 149. The *Anukramāṇi*, *takshakadaivatam* (cf. *Kaus.* 28, 1; 29, 1, and the introduction to IV, 6).

#### Stanza 1.

Imperfect metaphors. In the second half the notion is that night puts a stop to all activity, and thus the physician stops the action of the poison. In Pāda c the notion seems to be that the *hamsá* is awake at night; cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 90. *Sāyana* takes *hamsá* in the sense of *ātman*, soul (cf. *brahmán* = *paramahamsa*), 'as the entire body, but not the soul, is at rest.' Perhaps *hamsá* is here, as frequently elsewhere, the sun. Can we trust the present poet to know that the sun is at work by night in another hemisphere? The sense would then be that every creature but the *hamsá* (i. e. the sun) is at rest. Cf. RV. X, 136, 5. Ludwig, 'wie die nacht das übrige lebende tötet (? *dhvan-sāt*),' or, 'as night separates the remaining living things from the sun (*hamsa*).'

#### Stanza 2.

c. *āsanvát* (Padap. *āsan-vát*) is *ἀπ. λεγ.*, literally 'that which has a mouth.' *Sāyana*, *āsyayuktam*. In effect the word seems to mean 'the present' ('that which can speak, or breathe?' highly and grotesquely poetic, if true). The *Pet. Lex.* suggests that it is either an obscure derivative of root *as*, 'be,' or a corruption of *āsannam*. Does it stand for *asthanvát*, 'corporeal'; cf. Avestan *astvāt*? The change of *asthan* to *āsan* may have crept in from *āsné* in 3 d. Or possibly, *ātmanvat*. The *Paippalāda* has *āsunvat*.

#### Stanza 3.

c. *Parushṇī* is the name of a river: Zimmer, l. c., p. 11. *Śīpālā* seems to be a fanciful, typical river, or lake, named after the water-plant *śīpāla*, *avakā* (*blyxa octandra*), ib., p. 71. The *avakā* quenches fire, see *Contributions*, Second Series, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* XI, p. 342 ff. The entire stanza

contains the statement that the poet with his song is sweetening all waters and (the plants of) the mountains. In the practice honey is added to water and other ingredients, as a potion for the invalid.

## VI, 14. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 8.

For the nature of the disease *balāsa*, see our discussion in the note at V, 22, 11, and cf. VI, 127. This particular charm is defined by *Kerava* (and *Sâyana*) as a *sleshma-bhaishagyam*, 'cure for phlegm,' in agreement with the medical *Sâstras*; cf. *Wise, Hindu System of Medicine*, p. 311. We may suppose that it refers to some virulent swelling of the throat. The indications of the *Kausika*, 29, 30, are not helpful: the practice is purely symbolic. A reed is placed into the water (of a river) and then the patient is washed with water by means of a branch from a 'holy' tree (*Dârila*, *sântavrikshasakalena*; cf. *Kaus.* 8, 15), so that the water flows down upon the reed. The perishable reed upon which the disease has been washed out of the patient is supposed to float away; cf. sts. 3 c, d.

The hymn has been translated by *Florenz*, *Bezzenberger's Beiträge*, XII, 265 ff. The *Anukramanî*, *balāsadevatyam*.

## Stanza 1.

Cf. the parallel stanza, V, 30, 9, where very similar qualities are ascribed to consumption, *yákshma*. But we must not, on that account, go so far as to identify *balāsa* outright with *yákshma*.

a, b. Note the alliteration between *asthi-* and *āsthitam*.

## Stanza 2.

a, b. The *Paippalāda* has *krinomi* for *kshinomi*. The *Pet. Lex.* suggests, most ingeniously, the reading *nír . . . akshnomi* for *nír . . . kshinomi* (cf. IV, 22, 1, and for the sense in general III, 9, 2). But perhaps the ἀπ. λεγ., *níz kshinomi*, 'remove, destroy,' simply suggests the other verb by way of *zeugma*. *Sâyana* with the *Paippalāda*

escapes the difficulty by reading *pushkaram*, 'as a lotus that has grown up in a great lake thus it is torn up by the root.' Possibly this is the true solution. Cf. also VI, 127, 2.

c, d. Cf. RV. VII, 59, 12. The Paippalâda, *mûlam ulvâlvo yathâ*.

### Stanza 3.

b. Sâyaṇa reads *surukaḥ*, 'as a wild animal of that name (*suruka*) runs to a distance.' The word is not quotable. The Pet. Lexs., on the other hand, suggest that *âsumga* is the name of some bird. Neither suggestion commends itself.

c. For the reed that passes away in a year's time, cf. IV, 19, 1. On the other hand reeds grow profusely and quickly, VI, 137, 2. 3. Sâyaṇa reads *ita* for *îta*.

### VI, 16. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 30.

This hymn, full of hocus-pocus and singular diction, represents the extreme Atharvanesque manner, and for this reason alone is worth reproducing. All details are exceedingly obscure, and the rather full elaboration of it in the ritual is not very helpful. The commentators agree in regarding it as a charm against ophthalmia (*akshirogabhai-shagyam*); the performances, Kaus. 30, 1-6, are as follows : 1. 'While reciting the hymn (an amulet derived from the mustard-plant), anointed with the dregs of mustard-oil<sup>1</sup>, is fastened (to the patient). 2. (And) the stem (of the mustard-plant) smeared with (mustard-oil is also fastened upon him as an amulet). 3. The leaf (of the mustard-plant) mixed (with the oil) is given (to the patient)<sup>2</sup>. 4. (Then) four fruits of the *sâka*-tree (*tectona grandis*) are given (to

<sup>1</sup> We would now read *sârshapatailasampâtam* in accordance with the comments of Dârila, Kesava, and Sâyaṇa. The latter *sârshapatailena sampâtitam*.

<sup>2</sup> Sâyaṇa, *sârshapatailena bhrîṣṭam sarshapapatrasâkam lakshû-roga-grastâya prayakket*.

the patient). 5. A paste made from the sap of the plant is smeared (upon the eyes of the patient)<sup>1</sup>. 6. (The patient) eats (of the sap). We are permitted to judge from these practices that the mustard-plant, and perhaps other plants (the *sāka*-tree) are referred to in the hymn, but the identification is uncertain.

The fourth stanza is rubricated at Kaus. 51, 15. 16 in a practice that seems to be calculated to remove weeds from a field (*ālabheshagam*)<sup>2</sup>. The practice consists in burying three tips of the *silāṅgāla*-plant (cf. Kausika, Introduction, p. xlv) into the middle of a furrow.

The hymn has been translated by Florenz, Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, XII, 268 ff. The *Anukramanī*, *mantrokta-devatyam uta kândramasam*.

#### Stanza 1.

*Sāyana* reads *āvayo* and *anāvayo*, which he derives from *āvayati*, 'eat,' and accordingly, with complete dependence upon the *Sūtra*, 'O mustard that art being eaten, and, O mustard-stalk that art not eaten.' It must be admitted that there is a punning correlation between these two words and *āvayaḥ* in st. 2 d, which *Sāyana* renders, *bhakshitam akaroḥ*; it is quite likely, too, that *ābayu* is more or less identical with the mustard-plant. But here our guesses end. *Sāyana* glosses *karambhām* again after the *Sūtra*, *sārshapatailamisrabhrīṣṭam tatpatrasākam* (Kaus. 30, 3).

#### Stanza 2.

a, b. The mention by name of the father and mother of a plant is typical and formulaic; cf. the note on V, 5, 1. Shankar Pandit reads *viḥāhlo*; *Sāyana*, *vihamlākhyah kasṭit pitā*. For *madāvatī*, cf. IV, 7, 4, and the note on *varanāvatī*, IV, 7, 1.

c, d. For *hī nā* of the vulgata Shankar Pandit with the

<sup>1</sup> *Sāyana*, *mūlakshīram abhimantrya vyādhitasya akshinī aṅgyāt*.

<sup>2</sup> For *āla*, see Kausika, Introduction, p. xlvii. But *Sāyana* reads *annabheshagam*, 'curing of food:' *annasvastyanakāmaḥ tisraḥ sasyavallīr abhimantrya kshetramadhye nikhanet*. Cf. also Kerava.

majority of his MSS., both *Samhitā* and *Padapāṭha*, reads *hi na* (both enclitic). The sense of the extremely obscure passage seems to be, that the plant does not consume itself in vain, but confers the benefits expected from it. So also *Sāyana*, *âtmano hânim prāpyā-pi paropakâraparo bhavasi*, 'even when thou hast arrived at thy own destruction thou hast for thy highest aim the benefaction of others.'

### Stanza 3.

*Sāyana* regards *tauvilikā* as the name of a female demon that causes disease. And thus also *babhrú* and *babhrú-karna* are two personified *rogahetû*<sup>1</sup>. We have rendered *ailabāḥ* by 'howling one' (*Sāyana*, *rogavisheshaḥ*); better, 'howl' (abstract): cf. XII, 5, 47. In *Pāda d* the *Padapāṭha* reads *nīḥ āla* as two separate words, and we have taken *āla* as a vocative. The word, according to *Dārila* to *Kaus.* 25, 18 (cf. the introduction to I, 3, p. 236), seems to mean 'a kind of weed.' *Whitney* in the *Index Verborum* suggests a verb *nīr āla* from a root *āl*, comparing *vy āla*, V, 22, 6 (*obscurum per obscurius*). *Sāyana*, he *nīrāla etatsamgñā roga*, again regards the entire word as the name of a disease.

### Stanza 4.

All that we know of the names in this stanza is that they are plants, and, probably, compounds of *āla* (st. 3), though the *Padapāṭha* does not divide them as compounds<sup>2</sup>. At *Kaus.* 51, 16 *silāṅgālā* occurs as the name of a plant (*Kesava*, *sasyavallī*; cf. *Kausika*, Introduction, p. xlv), and *Sāyana* says, doubtless correctly, of all three, *tisraḥ samgñās tisrinām sasyavallīnām*. But the true value of the formula seems beyond reach.

<sup>1</sup> *Pāda c* is formulaic: it recurs at V, 23, 4 c; see the note there.

<sup>2</sup> *alasa* means 'dull, sluggish'; for *silāṅgālā*, cf. *silāḥ*, V, 5, 1. 8. The MSS. of *Kaus.* 51, 16 read *silāṅgālā*, suggesting the presence of the word *silā*, 'stone,' in the first member. *Sāyana*, *salāṅgālā (sasyamaṅgarī)*.

## VI, 17. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 98.

The Kausika, 35, 12-15, has a performance entitled *garbhadrimhanâni*, 'performances for steadying the womb, or foetus,' which rubricates, in addition to our hymn, AV. V, 1, 1, and a mantra whose pratika is *akyutâ* (probably the hymn given in full at Kaus. 98, 2<sup>1</sup>). It is as follows: 35. 13, 'A bowstring, thrice knotted, is tied about (the foetus) that has been seized by convulsions. 14. (The woman) is fed upon lumps of earth. 15. Black pebbles are scattered about her couch.' For the character of *gambha*, 'convulsions,' see the note on II, 4, 2, and cf. especially the references there given to Wise, pp. 421-3.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 477; Florenz, *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, XII, 269 ff. The *Anukramanî*, *garbhadrimhanadevatyam*.

## VI, 18. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 106.

The performances at Kaus. 36, 25 ff. involve the use of this hymn in company with VII, 45, and the third stanza of VII, 74. They picture a woman engaged in symbolic acts calculated to appease a jealous man, and to remove the jealousy from his body, to wit: 25. 'The practising woman mutters the above-mentioned mantras against (the jealous) man, presents to him (a stirred drink with grits, Kaus. 7, 7), and touches (his person). 26. With the first (of these hymns) she performs upon his body the act described in the hymn (i.e. she blows out fire held over his body<sup>2</sup>). 27. While reciting VII, 45, 2 (see the stanza) [she gives him to drink] water, warmed by pouring it over a heated axe.' Soothing the jealous man, and the symbolic removal of the fire of his jealousy, are therefore the points of the practice.

<sup>1</sup> Kerava, *akyutâ dyaaur iti*. Dârila, *sâkhântarīyasûktam*.

<sup>2</sup> Dârila, *hridaye-gnirivâpanam mantroktatvât*. Kerava, *kasīpradese . . . dhamati*.



The present hymn has been rendered by Weber, *Indische Studien*, V, 235 ff.; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 514; Florenz, in *Bezzenger's Beiträge*, XII, 270 ff.; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 28, 159 ff. The *Anukramanî*, *îrshyâvinâsanadevatyam*.

### Stanza 3.

b. For *manaskâm patayishnukâm*, cf. RV. I, 163, 11; VI, 9, 5. Ludwig renders *patayishnukâm* by 'zu falle bringend,' but that would require *pâtayishnukâm*, since the Vedas discriminate between the stems *pâtaya* and *pâtaya*, the former being simple, the latter alone causative. Weber also causatively, 'was dir den sinn entfallen macht.'

d. *nrîter* is untranslatable, though Ludwig renders the *Pâda*, 'wie die erhitzung eines tänzers.' The *Paippalâda* reads *trîter*; this supports in a measure Weber's and the *Pet. Lexs.* emendation to *drîter*, 'as heat from a pot,' or, 'as the exhalation from a (water-carrier's) skin.' Similarly also *Sâyana*, with the approval of Shankar Pandit, *yathâ driteh karmamayyâ bhastrikâyâh sakâsât tanmadhyavartinam ûshmânâsvâsavad antakpûritam vâyum*.

### VI, 20. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 3.

The *Kausika* offers by way of practice to be performed in connection with this charm a part of that reported for AV. V, 22. The exceedingly terse *Sûtra*, 31, 7, *agner ive=ty uktam dâve*, is to be translated, 'With AV. VI, 20 he does what has been said in connection with the forest-fire,' i.e. according to *Dârila*, what is prescribed in *Sûtra* 29, 19 (and by implication also what is prescribed in 29, 18). Namely, he pours the dregs of gruel, which the patient has imbibed previously, from a copper vessel over his head into fire derived from a forest-fire. See the introduction to V, 22. The practice is again symbolic, aiming by *attractio similitum* to obviate the symptoms of heat and fire incidental to the disease. The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 511; Zimmer, p. 380; and Florenz, in *Bezzenger's Beiträge*, XII, 273 ff.; and it is quoted also in the

takmanāsanagana of the Gaṇamālā, Ath. Paris. 32, 7 (Kaus. 26, 1, note). The Anukramanī designates it as yakshmanāsanadaivatam, and describes its authorship and purpose as follows : bhrigvaṅgirāḥ . . . anena mantroktān sarvān devān astaut.

### Stanza 1.

a. A gagatī Pāda may be construed if one syllable is suppressed. Probably agnér iva is to be read as three syllables with elision of r and crasis (cf. Pet. Lex., s. v. iva 4 c), or by reading va in the manner of the Prākṛit. Florenz, l. c., makes different propositions. The Anukramanī designates the stanza as atigagatī.

sushmīn is a derivative from sūshma, whose fundamental meaning seems to be 'lightning,' from which 'strength' is derived secondarily; see Contributions, Sixth Series, Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. XLVIII, 565 ff.

b. mattó vilāpan; cf. the words unmaditó and lālapīti in AV. VI, 111, 1.

c. Ludwig and Florenz propose to emend avratās to avratām, because the epithet 'impious' does not seem to suit the takmán; cf. RV. I, 132, 4. A glance at AV. VII, 116, 2 exhibits the takmán with the same epithet under circumstances which admit of no doubt, showing the danger of subjective reasoning on matters connected with foreign folk-psychology. Ludwig renders 'irgend einen werklosen.'

### Stanza 2.

a. Note the concatenation with Pāda 1 d : tápurvadha in 1 d suggests Rudra in 2 a, and takmāne is repeated.

c, d. The diction lapses into formulary prose, which does not however deter the Anukramanī from assigning the entire stanza to the metre kakummatī prastārapañkti.

### Stanza 3.

The metre is very rough, according to the Anukramanī, sata/pañkti. Pāda a is a trochaic anushṭubh if we read =bhiṣoḥayishṇur; b is a trishṭubh; c is a hypercatalectic anushṭubh; d a gagatī.

a, b. In close parallelism with V, 22, 2 a, b : see the note on the passage.

c. The epithet *babhrú* calls to mind Latin *febris* from *febrv-is*, which would then be the 'brown, sallow disease.'

d. The meaning of *ványa*, 'silvestris,' seems fairly certain. The *Pet. Lex.* suggests 'greenish,' in order to establish a parallelism with *aruná* and *babhrú* in the preceding *Pāda*. *Grohmann*, l. c., p. 385, translates 'dem wilden (wassergeborenen?) *Takman*.' If the word means 'forest-born' then it must refer to the malarial fever of the rainy season which is caused by the decay of the tropically prolific flora. Cf. the *takmán vārshika* in AV. V, 22, 13. Living in wooded, ill-ventilated valleys is, according to *Wise*, l. c., p. 220, one of the causes of fever. *Sāyana*, *saṃsevyāya*, 'to him that is to be adored.'

#### VI, 21. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 30.

This interesting hymn is accompanied by equally interesting symbolic practices, at *Kaus.* 30, 8-10, part of which passage is unfortunately very obscure: 8. 'While reciting the hymn the person that desires the growth of hair (*Sāyana*, *kesavṛiddhikāmaṃ*) is rinsed off with water heated by burning plants<sup>1</sup> that grow upon the earth under trees. 9. His head is rinsed off with an effusion prepared by heating dice in water. 10. (And also with an effusion prepared) from two *nikāṭā*-plants<sup>2</sup> (?).' The symbolism of the first practice is quite clear: as the head of the earth is clothed with plants (cf. st. 1), as the crown of the tree is full of leaves, so shall the person practising the charm be luxuriantly hirsute. But the dice (the fruit of the *vibhītaka*-tree) and the *nikāṭā* are left unexplained.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the note on *Kaus.* 27, 29, in the introduction to III, 7 (p. 336, note).

<sup>2</sup> Very doubtful. *Kesava*, *dāruharidrāharidre* (!) *ka dvābhyāṃ kvāthayitvā avasiṇketi*. *Sāyana*, *haridrākvāthodakena avasiṇket*. According to these authorities *nikāṭā* would then be the yellow *curcuma*.

The hymn has been translated by Florenz, Bezzemberger's Beiträge, p. 275 ff.; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 50, 160 ff. Cf. also Bergaigne et Henry, Manuel Védique, p. 150. The Anukramāṇi, kândramasam (cf. st. 2).

### Stanza 1.

For the conception of the three earths, see the note on IV, 20, 2. Sâyana refers tvaśó in Pāda c to the real earth, which is the skin of the other earths, tāsām prithivīnām tvaśah tvaḡ iva upari vartamānā yā bhūmih tasyāh.

### VI, 24. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 12.

Rubricated at Kaus. 30, 13. Dārila prescribes it against dropsy; Kesava, more explicitly, as a cure for pain in the heart, dropsy and jaundice (cf. the introduction to I, 22). Kausika's performance is as follows: 'While reciting VI, 24 water is drawn from a stream along its current<sup>1</sup>; (the water is warmed with burning) grass from a thatch (and sprinkled upon the patient)<sup>2</sup>.' It seems quite possible that the ritualist has in mind the particular disease dropsy: the water (Varuṇa's infliction) shall flow from the body like a running stream. The word hriddiyota (st. 1) would accord with dropsy, since diseases of the heart are frequently associated with it. But st. 2 seems to point to a more general and vague conception on the part of the hymn, and accordingly we have expanded the caption. See also Kaus. 9, 2; 18, 3, note; 41, 14; Ath. Paris. 41, 1.

The hymn has been translated by Florenz, Bezzemberger's Beiträge, XII, p. 279 ff.; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 13, 161 ff.

<sup>1</sup> anvipam: Pet. Lex. 'am wasser gelegen'(?). The word means 'along the course,' i.e. the water must not be drawn against the current. Cf. Maitr. S. IV, 4, 1, and Kesava, anulomam. The opposite of anvipam is pratipam, 'against the current.'

<sup>2</sup> The supplied passages are indicated, it seems, by Kaus. 29, 8; see the note on V, 13, 5. Kausika is at times so terse as to render necessary the memorising of the entire Sūtra.

## Stanza 1.

d. For *hriddiyota*, see the note on I, 22, 1.

## VI, 25. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 19.

Adalbert Kuhn, in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, XIII, 128 ff., treated the hymn under the head of 'Seven and seventy-fold disease,' comparing with it Germanic formulas directed against fever and other diseases; these are often described as being of seventy-seven varieties. Florenz, *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, XII, 281 ff., suggests that some febrile disease, accompanied by eruptions, is in question. In *Contributions*, Second Series, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* XI, 327 ff., we assumed that the hymn with its ritual represent a charm against a disease, similar to the scrofulous swellings called *apaḥt* (VI, 83; VII, 74, 1-2; 76, 1-2), and this is now fully corroborated by Kerava and Sâyana who define the present charm as a cure for *gandamâlâ*, 'scrofula.' Cf. also the interesting 'Manskunder' (*mányâḥ* and *skândhyâḥ* in sts. 1, 3 of the hymn), defined as 'tumours of the neck' in the previously quoted passage of Wise, *Hindu System of Medicine*, p. 316. The *Anukramanî*, *mantroktamanyâvinâsanadevatyam*.

The practices are stated at *Kaus.* 30, 14-16, as follows: 14. 'While reciting the hymn, fifty-five leaves of the *parasu*<sup>1</sup> (plant or tree?) are kindled by means of pieces of wood. 15. (The sap of the leaves) which has boiled forth into a cup is smeared with a stick of wood (upon the sores). 16. (The sores are then smeared) with a (pulverized) shell, and with the saliva of a dog, and subjected to the bites of leeches, gnats, and so forth (cf. Kerava's

<sup>1</sup> The word *paraśūparṇān* is not altogether clear, Dârila's and Kerava's (*gopâśūlikām?*) glosses being corrupt. *Kaus.* 47, 25 presents the obviously parallel *parasupalâra* which Kerava glosses by *parsuvrkshapatram*, and this we have adopted as the sense here. But Dârila at 47, 25 has *kuḥhâramukham*, 'the blade of an axe!' Cf. the note on *Kaus.* 47, 25 in the introduction to II, 12.

comment upon this Sûtra at Kaus. 31, 16, and our remarks in the above-cited Contributions, pp. 325-6).

### Stanzas 1-3.

d. The word *vākāḥ* in the refrain is translated by Kuhn as 'swarms,' by the Pet. Lexs. and Florenz as 'buzzing.' But the *apaḥt* are not insects (see VI, 83). and Sāyana's *vaṇanīyā doṣhāḥ* designates the low water-mark of his hermeneutical capacity. As it seems impossible to retain the word, we may perhaps resort to the emendation *pākāḥ*, remembering the well-known confusion in the MSS. of *v* and *p*<sup>1</sup>. The sense would then be 'may they (the tumours) pass away like the pustules of the *apaḥt*.' The implication would then be that the tumours in question are 'hard and large' (Wise, l.c., 316), and that the *apaḥt* are more easily brought to the point of breaking open.

### VI, 26. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 163.

The ritual treats this as a remedial charm, fit to remove all diseases (*sarvarogabhaishagya*m). The performances, Kaus. 30, 17. 18, are as follows: By night the hymn is recited, parched grains of corn are poured into a sieve, and then cast away. On the next day three *bali*-offerings are thrown into the water for *Sahasrāksha* ('the thousand-eyed divinity,' cf. st. 3), and (three) puddings of rice are thrown and scattered upon the cross-roads<sup>2</sup>. The ceremony is symbolic for the most part: the sieve is always the tangible expression of passing through and out (cf. Kaus. 26, 2 in the introduction to I, 12), and general dispersion is the salient motif. The hymn is also rubricated in the *Sāntikalpa*, chapter 15, in a rite directed against the goddess of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *upolava* and *upolapa*, Kausika, Introduction, p. xlviii.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the sentiment in st. 2 of the hymn: the cross-roads are the most convenient spot at which to part company. For the character of the cross-roads in general, see the note on p. 519 in the introduction to VI, 111.

misfortune (*nirṛitīkarma*), and in the *pāpmagana* and the *takmanâsanagana* of the *Ganamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 7. 12 (cf. Kaus. 26, 1 ; 30, 17, notes). It has been translated by Florenz, Bezzenberger's Beiträge, XII, 282. The *Anukramanî*, *pāpmadevatâkam*.

### Stanza 1.

b. The Pâda is formulaic, being repeated at V, 22, 9 b.

### Stanza 3.

b. For the epithet *sahasrâkshâ*, see the note on IV, 20, 4. 'Thousand-eyed' here refers to the power of infallibly spying out victims; cf. especially the 'thousand-eyed curse' at VI, 37, 1.

## VI, 27. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 166.

The pigeon as a bird of omen is well known in Teutonic mythology; cf. Gothic *hraívadubô*, literally 'carcass-dove,' as the name of the turtle, and see Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 659 ff. The present hymn is the Atharvanic equivalent of RV. X, 165, 1-3, and the archaic locative *âshrî* in 3 b (cf. Ath. *Prâtisâkhya* I, 74) seems to indicate a certain superiority of the Atharvan text, which is, however, not borne out by 2 b and 3 c, whose Rig-vedic form is metrically preferable. Cf. *Adbhuta-Brâhmaṇa* 6 and 8 (Weber, *Omina und Portenta*, pp. 325, 330); Hultsch, *Prolegomena zu des Vasantarâga Sâkuna*, p. 7. At Kaus. 46, 7 this and the two following hymns are recited while the 'great consecration' (*mahâsânti*) is being poured (cf. Kaus. 9, 6, note). The *Anukramanî* defines the three hymns as *yâmyâny uta nairṛitâni*. The present hymn has been treated by Florenz, Bezzenberger's Beiträge, XII, p. 282 ff.

### Stanza 2.

b. The RV., *grîhêshu* for *grîhâm nahî*. The Atharvan reading almost looks as though *anâgâ(h)* were understood in the sense of 'not arriving' (*an-â-gâh*). The accent of

the stem is both anâgás and ánâgas, and the Padapâtha does not divide it, thus apparently indicating its own doubt as to the character of the word. Sâyana, anaparâdhakāḥ.

# VI, 29. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 166.

For the general character of this hymn and its treatment in the ritual, see the introduction to VI, 27. It has been treated by Florenz, Bezzenberger's Beiträge, XII, p. 287 ff.

# VI, 32. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 36.

The practice connected with this hymn at Kaus. 31, 3 consists in digging a ditch near the fire, filling it with hot water, and in sacrificing into it a rice-cake after circum-ambulating it thrice and muttering the hymn. The hot water near the fire is doubtless emblematic of the well-known properties of Agni as the most obvious enemy of spooks and uncanny hostile forces. Dārila, piśākanāsanam. The hymn figures also in the kâtanagana, 'list of hymns with which (demons, &c.) are chased away' in the Ganamâlâ, Ath. Paris. 32, 3 (cf. Kaus. 8, 25, note). It has been translated by Florenz, Bezzenberger's Beiträge, XII, 291 ff.

Stanza 2 — see 2006 42.504-4.

## Stanza 3.

The second hemistich is repeated at VIII, 8, 21. Sâyana renders gñâtāram by abhigñam svāminam, 'experienced master.' Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 528, bottom, 'der sie kennt.'

# VI, 37. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 93.

The hymn is rubricated at Kaus. 48, 23-26, in practices designed to repel the sorcery-practices of enemies. A white lump (of earth)<sup>1</sup> is given to a dog (cf. st. 3), an

<sup>1</sup> So Kerava and Sâyana, svetamṛttikā.



amulet of *tārka*<sup>1</sup> is put on, an oblation (of *ingida*-oil, Kaus. 47, 3) is poured, and fagots (of *vadhaka*-wood, Kaus. 47, 13; cf. AV. VIII, 8, 3) are laid on the fire. The practice is based upon symbolic realisations of suggestions contained in the hymn<sup>2</sup>.

Previous translations: Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 25, 161 ff.; Florenz, Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, XII, 297. The *Anukramanī*, *kāndramasam*.

### Stanza 1.

a. For the epithet 'thousand-eyed,' see the note on IV, 20, 4, and especially VI, 26, 3. *Sâyana* identifies it outright with Indra, *indraḥ sapathaḥ śapakriyâyâḥ kartâ*.

### Stanza 2.

d. The sentiment of this *Pâda* and of the first hemistich of the next stanza are worked up anew in VII, 59. That mantra is accompanied, Kaus. 47, 37, by an interesting practice: wood from a tree struck by lightning is put on the fire, to symbolise the destruction of the enemy by lightning.

### Stanza 3.

c. *pêshtram* may mean 'flesh' rather than 'bone,' in accordance with our note on IV, 12, 2. *Sâyana* reads *peshtram* (*pishtramayam khâdyam*). For *âvakshâmam* (*Pada-pâtka*, *âva-kshâmam*) we have ventured a new interpretation, 'down upon the ground,' from *ava* and *kshâman* 'ground.' *Sâyana*, *avadagdham*; Pet. Lex., 'abfindung' ('sop'); Grill, 'brocken'; Florenz, 'knochenrest'; Bôht-

<sup>1</sup> According to *Dârila* 'an amulet consisting of a bone' (? *asthi-kamani*; cf. *pêshtram* in st. 3); according to *Kesava* and *Sâyana* 'an amulet of *palâsa*-wood.' Cf. the mantra in Kaus. 13, 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Sâyana* thinks that st. 3 is referred to in Kaus. 47, 37 under the *pratîka*, *yô naḥ śapât*. But the lightning is not mentioned in st. 3, but rather in st. 2. Hence the little hymn VII, 59 is doubtless the one intended at Kaus. 47, 37: it consists of sentiments contained in VI, 37, 3 and 2, and begins also with the words, *yô naḥ śapât*.

lingk's Lexicon, 'lean ;' Whitney in the Index Verborum shelters the word under the root ksham with áva. Cf. XI, 10, 23.

# VI, 38. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 116.

This and the next hymn are worked up in the course of the royal rites (*râgakarmâni*, Kaus. 14-17). The object of both the hymn and the practices connected with it is to endow a king with *várkas*, 'lustre,' and more particularly to transfer to him the *várkas* inherent in men, animals, and brilliant substances. The practice, Kaus. 13, 3-6, is as follows: While reciting VI, 38 and 39, hairs from the navel of a *snâtaka*<sup>1</sup>, a lion, a tiger, a goat, a ram, a bull, or a king, are pasted together with lac, covered with gold, and fastened on as an amulet. Also an amulet prepared from the splinter of ten kinds of ('holy') wood is put on (see the introduction to II, 9). While reciting the same two hymns, and in addition III, 16; VI, 69, and IX, 1, the seven vital organs<sup>2</sup> (of a lion or any of the other animals mentioned above), mixed with a mess of rice, are eaten. The relation of these performances to VI, 38 are obvious.

Both hymns are rubricated further in the course of the practices at the initiation of pupils to the study of the Vedas, Kaus. 139, 15, and they hold membership in the two *varṇasyagamas* of the *Gaṇamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 10 and 27 (see Kaus. 12, 10 and 13, 1, notes). Cf. also Ath. Paris. 4, 1; 18<sup>2</sup>, 12.

The two hymns have been translated by Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 240; Florenz, Bezzenberger's Beiträge, XII, 297 ff. The *Anukramani*: *ime br̥haspatidevatye varṇas-kāmaḥ . . . rishir apasyat*.

<sup>1</sup> A Brāhmaṇa who has performed the ceremony of ablution, required on finishing the period of his discipleship (*brahmaṭārya*), before entering the second period of his life, that of a householder (*gr̥hasṭha*). This embodies in practice the word *brāhmaṇé* in st. 38, 1 b.

<sup>2</sup> Dārila defines these as *pādamaḍhyāni nābhihriḍayam mūrdhā ka*.

**Stanza 1.**

The relation of the two hemistichs of each stanza of the hymn is anacoluthic. It seems best in translation to supply some such expression as *na astu* from *na étu* in *Páda d*.

b. The rendering of *bráhmaṇé* by 'in the *Bráhmaṇa*' is rendered certain by the word *snátaka* in the *Sûtra* above. Florenz, erroneously, 'im *Brahman Agni*.'

d. The mention of *Indra* in all sorts of royal charms is due to the most prominent characteristic of the god, namely strength. *Indra* is the heavenly *râgan*, par excellence. His ever-shadowy mother also is personified strength. *Indra* is *putráh sávasah* and *sávasah sūnúh* (RV. VIII, 92, 14; IV, 24, 1). See Perry, *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* XI, 130 ff.; *Contributions, Sixth Series, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XLVIII, 548.

**Stanza 2.**

Cf. the related passage from the *varṇasya*-hymn, IX, 1, 18.

**Stanza 4.**

a, b. Ludwig renders *dundubhāv áyatâyâm* 'in der pauke, der langezogen tönenden.' This receives a certain support from *Sâyana*, *âtâḍyamânâyâm*, but we prefer to compare *áyata* as used of the tightened bowstring, e.g. XI, 2, 1. For *púrushasya máyáu*, cf. XIX, 49, 4.

**VI, 39. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 117.**

For the employment of this hymn in the ritual, and previous translations, see the introduction to VI, 38. The keynote of the present hymn is *yásas* (cf. VI, 58), that of the preceding, *várkas*. The word *yásas* seems to be technically the name of the oblation which must have accompanied the recital of the hymn; see sts. 1 a and 2 a.

**Stanza 1.**

a. Ludwig, 'als herrlichkeit gedeihe das havis (das *yaso-havis*);' Florenz, 'zur ehr' gedeih das havis mir;' *Sâyana*,

yaśaso hetutvât. It seems difficult to construe yâśas as a nominative, in co-ordination with hâvis, but cf. the bhû-tâm havís, VI, 78<sup>1</sup>. We may, of course, either emend to yasohavír, or take yâso as an instrumental; cf. Lanman, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. X, 562. But, I believe, the construction as it stands is technical.

b. Sâyaṇa has for súbhṛitam the rather more acceptable reading suvṛitam (sushṭku vartamānam).

### Stanza 2.

a. yâsobhir seems to refer directly to the havis in st. 1; see the introduction. Sâyaṇa, evasively, kîrtibhiḥ.

### VI, 42. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 136.

According to the text of the mantra this is a charm to appease wrath in general. But the Kausika, 36, 28-31, deals with it in the course of the so-called 'women's rites' (striakarmâṇi, 32, 27-36 end), and the commentators are agreed in regarding it as an instance of conflict between two persons of opposite sex. According to Kesava and Sâyaṇa the charm is practised by a woman against an angry man (her husband, or lover); Dârila, on the other hand, more naturally ascribes the acts to a man trying to appease an angry woman. These nicer specifications are therefore in all probability secondary. The practice is as follows: The person who desires to appease wrath takes up a stone while reciting st. 1. He places the stone upon the ground while reciting st. 2. He spits around the stone while reciting st. 3. Finally he lays an arrow on a bow while standing in the shadow (of the wrathful person). The last executes the sentiment of st. 1, with rather vague symbolism. The hymn is also recited, at Vait. Sû. 12, 13, by

<sup>1</sup> So also abhîvarténa havíshâ, RV. X, 174, 1. Ordinarily these havís are accompanied by an adjective, e. g. samsrâvyâm havís, II, 26, 3; nairbádhyâm havís, VI, 75, 1. Cf. also VI, 64, 2; VI, 87, 3, and Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 371 ff.

one who is consecrated for the performance of the soma-sacrifice (*dikshita*), if he has been guilty of an outburst of wrath.

Previous translations by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 515; Florenz, *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, XII, 302 ff.; Grill<sup>2</sup>, 29, 162. The *Anukramanî*, *mantroktamanyudevatyam*.

### Stanza 3.

The elaboration of this stanza in the *Sûtra* above shows how vaguely punning the connection of the two channels of literature, *mantra* and *sûtra*, may be at times: the words *abhi tishthâmi* of the stanza seem to have suggested *abhi-nishthivâmi* in the *Sûtra*. Cf., e.g. *Sânkh. Grîh.* where the *mantra* word *akshan*, 'they have eaten,' is employed as though it meant *aksham*, 'axle.' This is symbolism gone to seed, but we should err in supposing that the performers of the practices really misunderstood the mantras to that extent. It is the extreme outgrowth of the habit of consciously turning to immediate use, in any way at all, materials whose real value is something quite different, and whose true sense may have been well understood.

d. The *Pâda* is formulaic; see I, 34, 2; III, 25, 5; VI, 9, 2; 43, 3. The entire second hemistich is repeated in VI, 43, 3.

### VI, 43. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 137.

The magic power of *darbha*-grass (cf. XIX, 32) is here employed to appease wrath. According to Kaus. 36, 32, the grass is dug up (in the manner prescribed at Kaus. 33, 9; cf. *Kerava*), and fastened on as a talisman. The *Kausika*, in working up this hymn among the 'women's rites' (cf. the introduction to the preceding hymn), is committed to the view that the hymn deals with a conflict between a man and a woman. The text of the hymn, however, reveals no such specific purpose. The hymn has been translated by Florenz, *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, XII, 303; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 30, 162. The *Anukramanî*, *mantroktamanyusamanam*.

**Stanza 1.**

For Pāda b, cf. RV. VI, 75, 19. The text of Pāda c seems untenable. For *vīmanyukasyā-yām*, Grill suggests *vīman-yukas kâ-yām*, Florenz, *vīmanyuko ayām*, either of which yields the sense of our translation. Possibly *mānor vīman-yukasyā-yām* may be the true reading: 'the appeaser of wrath of the man that is free from wrath it is called;' cf. *Sāyana*, *manyoh manyumatah purushasya*.

**Stanza 3.**

For the second hemistich, and for Pāda d, cf. the note on VI, 42, 3.

## VI, 44. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 10.

Dārila does not state what disease this hymn and the practice at Kaus. 31, 6 are directed against. Kesava (and *Sāyana* depending upon him) describes it as an *apavāda-bhaishagyam*, and his comment leaves no doubt that he regards it as a practice against calumniators<sup>1</sup>. It looks as though this obvious misconstruction stood in some connection with the word *apavâtâyâh* in the *Sûtra*, which Kesava either fails to understand, or deflects by a pun into the channel of a usage with which neither hymn nor *Sûtra* had anything to do in the first instance. Unless indeed Kesava interprets the first stanza in the sense that the heavens, the earth, and all living beings have stood (stand), and that, therefore, the character of the person impugned will stand in spite of all aspersions. Or, again, the horn fallen by itself from the head of a cow, and that, too, a cow that has weaned her calf, symbolises, perhaps, the withdrawal of the good will of men. This might be employed homoeopathically to cure their hostility. Note also *vishânâ*, 'horn,' which suggests *vi sâ*, 'loosen;' cf. VI, 121, 1. The practice is as follows: A horn

<sup>1</sup> *apavāde bhaishagyam ukṛyate, bahubhāṣaṇam adharme ka pravarṭane tasya apavādaḥ* (l).

that has been shed by a cow whose calf has been weaned<sup>1</sup> is anointed with the dregs of ghee (is filled with water; the patient is given the water to drink, and is also sprinkled with it) while the hymn is being pronounced in a low voice (cf. Kaus. 28, 1). Obviously Kausika interprets *vishânakâ* in st. 3 as 'horn,' and a horn that has curative power we have in III, 7, 2. 3 (cf. the *Sûtra* in the introduction). But the statements in st. 3 seem to contain a fitting characterisation of a plant, and in this sense we have interpreted the passage in our Contributions, Fourth Series, Amer. Journ. Phil. XII, 426 ff. On the other hand, *vishânakâ* is a *ἀπ. λεγ.*, and may after all be only the diminutive of *vishânâ*, 'horn,' III, 7, 2. 3; VI, 121, 1. This seems on the whole the more conservative view, although Kausika's *gosriṅgena* may be due either to misunderstanding, or to conscious symbolic manipulation. At any rate the hymn itself is of no uncertain character: being a remedial charm, it takes its place among the *bhaishagyakarmâni* in the first part of the fourth book of the Kausika, and the terms for the diseases mentioned in it are fairly clear.

Previous translations by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 509 (cf. also 321, 343); Florenz, *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, XII, 304 ff. Cf. also Bergaigne et Henry, *Manuel Védique*, p. 151. The *Anukramanî*, *visvâmitramantroktadevatyam*<sup>2</sup> *uta vânaspatyam*.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. of the text read *apavâtâyâh*. *Dârila* *apagatâyâh*, which he explains by, *apagatâ vatsavigalitasnehâ*; cf. Kausika, Introduction, p. xlv. The opposite of *apavâtâ* is *abhivâtâ*, *Lâty*. Sr. VIII, 5, 3, 'a cow that nourishes her calf.' Cf. *abhivânyavatsâ*, 'a cow that gives suck to a strange calf,' Ait. Br. VII, 2, 4 (cf. the commentary, p. 377 of Aufrecht's edition); *apivânyavatsâ*, Kaus. 80, 25; 82, 22 (our edition, erroneously, *api vânyavatsâyâh*), in the same sense; and *nivânyavatsa* (also *nivânyâ*) frequently in the Sat. Br. in the same sense (see Pet. Lex.). See also Ludwig's note on RV. VI, 67 (110), *Der Rigveda*, IV, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> The word *visvam*, not *visvâmitra*, occurs in st. 1. In st. 2 we have *vâsish/ham*. Some blundering manipulation of the two seems to have inspired the compiler of this futile tract.

**Stanza 1.**

The first hemistich is formulaic ; see VI, 77, 1. *Sâyana*, his general interpretation of the hymn notwithstanding, is not prevented from interpreting *rôga* and *âsrâva* (st. 2) by *rudhiraśrâva* or *raktasrâva*, 'flow of blood.' In the introduction to I, 2, he interprets *âsrâva* more broadly as excessive discharge in general, diarrhoea, flow of urine, or of blood. The word *vâtikṛitanâsanî* (see the note on st. 3) tends to narrow down this more general construction in accordance with our caption, but we must beware of ascribing any too pointed diagnoses to these early physicians ; it is quite possible that excessive discharges of all sorts were exorcised with this charm. For the use of the aorists, cf. Delbrück, *Syntaktische Forschungen*, II, 87.

**Stanza 2.**

Cf. II, 3, 2.

**Stanza 3.**

a. For *vishânakâ*, see the introduction. Possibly the word is identical with *vishânikâ*, reported by the medical *Sâstras* (cf. Wise, *Hindu System of Medicine*, p. 146), and the lexicographers, as the name of a plant.

e. Cf. Wise, l.c., 250, *bâta byâdhi* (*vâtavyâdhi*), 'diseases produced by wind (in the body),' not 'wound,' as Zimmer has argued, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 389 ff. *Sâyana* divides *vâtikṛitanâsanî* in two, *vâtî âsrâvasya rogasya soshayitrî* ; *kṛitanâsanî*, *kṛitam rogasya nidânabhûtam dushkarma, tasya nâsayitrî*. Cf. the note on VI, 109, 3, and the introduction to I, 12.

## VI, 45. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 163.

This hymn (along with the next) is directed against bad dreams, an application due, perhaps, in the first instance, to the chance expression, 'awake or asleep,' in st. 2. It may be the case, however, that evil thoughts were conceived as returning in the form of annoying dreams. The practice



at Kaus. 46, 9-10 is as follows: 'With VI, 45 and 46 the person that has an (evil) dream rinses his mouth. If he has had an excessively frightful dream he offers a cake of mixed grain, and deposits a second in the territory of an enemy.' Kesava tells what constitutes an evil dream, mentioning the svapnâdhyâya, probably Matsya-purâna 242, as his authority. Cf. also Mârkaṇḍeya-purâna 43; Vâyupurâna 19; Ait. Âr. III, 5, 16 ff. (Sacred Books, I, 262 ff.); Aufrecht, Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch., XXXII, 574; and Hultsch, Prolegomena zu des Vasantarâga Sâkuna, pp. 15 ff. Both hymns figure in the duḥsvapnanâsanagana of the Gaṇamâlâ, Ath. Paris. 32, 8 (Kaus. 46, 9, note); cf. also Ath. Paris. 33, 1.

The present hymn has been translated by Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 443, and Florenz, Bezzenberger's Beiträge, XII, 305 ff. The Anukramanî, duḥsvapnanâsanadevatyam.

#### Stanza 1.

a. Sâyana, contrary to the Padapâṭha, reads manas pâpa, 'O mind devoted to evil that hast become the cause of dreams;' cf. the introduction. The text of the Pâda seems to be an Atharvanic contortion of RV. X, 164, 1 a, âpe•hi manasas pate.

#### Stanza 2.

Cf. RV. X, 164, 3 with the variant âsâsâ niḥsâsâ•bhisâsâ; Tait. Br. III, 7, 12, 4, âsâsâ nisâsâ yât parâsâsâ. The exact meaning of the words in our text is not easily definable; Sâyana transcribes them all by compounds of sasana = himsana, 'injury.' Ludwig leaves them untranslated, and regards them as various kinds of imprecations; but compare his version of the RV. words (927, vol. ii, p. 552). Florenz, 'durch unrecht verlangen, abweis, verwünschung.'

#### Stanza 3.

Cf. RV. X, 164, 4. Sâyana identifies the lightly personified Praketas with Varuna. The word is indeed a frequent epithet of Varuna. But the patronymic Âṅgîrasa suits

*Brahmanaspati* rather than *Varuṇa* (so Grassmann, II, 501); Ludwig refers it to *Agni*.

#### VI, 46. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 167.

The hymn is employed along with VI, 45 in the practice described at Kaus. 46, 9. 10; see the introduction to the preceding hymn. The last two stanzas of the present hymn are employed further, in the case of peculiarly oppressive dreams, in a cumulative performance embracing the acts of Kaus. 46, 9. 10, as well as those of 46, 11. 12. The latter are undertaken in connection with AV. VII, 100 and 101: the dreamer turns over on his other side, and looks at real food if he has dreamt of eating food. Cf. also Ath. Paris. 8, 1; 33, 1.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 498; Florenz, *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, XII, 306.

#### Stanza 1.

*Varuṇāṇī* is a variable term, either a personification of the waters (cf. Tait. S. V, 5, 4, 1), or of the night (see the passages in the *Pet. Lex.* under *váruṇa* 1 b, column 724, bottom). Here the latter function is in evidence; cf. Ait. Ār. III, 4, 18. *Araru* is a personification of hostility and demoniac force; cf. Tait. Br. III, 2, 9, 4.

#### Stanza 3.

Cf. RV. VIII, 47, 17; AV. XIX, 57, 1. *Sâyana*, mechanically, 'as one removes claws and other parts that have been injured by disease, or as wicked men transmit their debts by tradition (inheritance),' &c.

#### VI, 50. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 142.

*Kesava* and *Sâyana*, in their introductions to the ceremonies prescribed in connection with this hymn at Kaus. 51, 17-22, mention a long line of pestiferous insects, but the rare and unknown words in the hymn are not elucidated.

The performances are as follows: 17. 'While the hymn is being recited, the performer walks about the grain-field, hacking a piece of lead with an iron instrument' <sup>1</sup>. 18. He scatters stones upon the field. 19. He ties a hair through the mouth of a *tarda* (insect) and buries him head downward into the middle of the field. 20. He performs the act which is to be done while walking <sup>2</sup>. 21. He offers a bali-offering to *Âsâ* ("region"), to *Âsâpati* ("lord of the regions"), to the two *Asvins*, and to *Kshetrapati* ("lord of the field"). 22. On the day when he performs the ceremonies for these (divinities?) he shall remain silent up to the time of sunset.'

The hymn is catalogued also in the first *abhayagana* (cf. st. 1) of the *Ganamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 12 (cf. Kaus. 16, 8, note). It has been rendered by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 499 ff.; Florenz, *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, XII, 312 ff. The *Anukramanî*, *âsvinam abhayakâmah*.

#### Stanza 1.

The renderings of *tardâm* and *samañkâm* are conjectured etymologically. For the latter, see the note on I, 12, 2 c.

#### Stanza 2.

The name *ûpakvasa* is not even etymologically suggestive. *Sâyana* reads *apakvasah* (a-pakvas), glossing, *adagdhâh santah*.

<sup>1</sup> For Kausika's *ayasâ sîsam karshan* *Sâyana* reads *aya/sîsam gharshan*, paraphrasing it by *lohamayam sîsam gharshan*. Possibly *sîsam* is to be changed to *sîtâm*: the performance would then consist in ploughing a furrow with an iron (plough) about the field. Cf. Kaus. 50, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kaus. 51, 2 (in the introduction to IV, 3): 'While walking he offers thrice to the *Asvins* (so *Sâyana*; cf. st. 1 of our hymn) milk of a cow with a calf of the same colour as herself.' *Sâyana* reads for *kâre*, the word which we have rendered 'while walking,' *karau*. By transcribing *kâre* in *Devanâgarî*, and adding a vertical line after the *r*, the partial ambiguity will appear. *Sâyana's* statement is, *karum asvibhyâm guhuyât*. We are not convinced. Why should the MSS. of the Kausika write the diphthong *au* in this fashion in this instance, and never elsewhere?

**Stanza 3.**

The two compounds with *pati* are ambiguous. The final long *â* of the stems preceding may be due to Vedic (metrical) lengthening: in that case, 'lord of the *tarda*,' &c., is the proper rendering. So *Sâyana*. For *vyadhvarâh* Shankar Pandit's edition, with most MSS. and *Sâyana*, read *vyad-varâh*; cf. our notes on II, 31, 4 c; III, 28, 2.

## VI, 56. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 151.

The terms of the hymn indicate a charm against serpents, of the general sort<sup>1</sup>, but Kaus. 50, 17-22 gives it a pragmatic turn; the practice is designed to keep serpents away from the premises: 17. 'While reciting this hymn along with sundry other mantras, lines are scratched around the bed, the house, and the grain-field. 18. Grass that has been anointed with the dregs of ghee is fastened upon the door through a yoke-hole<sup>2</sup>. 19. Dung from the entrails (of a cow) is crumbled (at the door). 20. It is dug into (the ground). 21. And laid on (the fire). 22. (The same performances as with the dung are undertaken with) the blossoms of the *apâmârga*-plant (*achyranthes aspera*; cf. the introduction to IV, 17), the hoofs(!) of the *kudrikî*-tree<sup>3</sup>, the roots of them being turned away<sup>4</sup> (from the ground, fire, &c.)<sup>5</sup>.'

The hymn is also rubricated (with others) at Kaus. 139, 8, in the course of practices preparatory to the study of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Kerava*, *sarpâdisvastyanam*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. AV. XIV, 1, 40; Kaus. 76, 12, and *Indische Studien*, V, 199, 387.

<sup>3</sup> Very doubtful: the word is *kudrikîsaphân*. *Kerava*, *gudûkî-pâdân*, 'the feet of the *gudûkî* (*cocculus cordifolius*)'. *Sâyana* simply, *gudûkîm*.

<sup>4</sup> The text, *parâkînamûlân*. Neither *Kerava*, nor *Sâyana* comments upon the word.

<sup>5</sup> The aim of these performances is clear: the serpents are to be excluded by magic lines, and purifying substances and plants.

the Vedas. Cf. also Vait. Sû. 29, 10; Ath. Paris. 19, 5. It has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 502: Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 5, 162 ff.

#### Stanza 1.

The second hemistich recurs at X, 4, 8 (cf. also IV, 3, 7) without the formula *námo devaganébhyaḥ*. This may therefore have been borrowed from the end of st. 2. The divine folks are the serpents themselves, cf. XI, 9, 2. 5. 26; 10, 5, and the *sarpadevaganâḥ*, Vâg. S. XXX, 8. See also Sat. Br. VII, 4, 1, 28.

#### Stanza 2.

For different designations of serpents, see Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 94 ff. For *asitá* (*Sâyana*, *krishnavarna*) and *tírasķirâgi* (*Sâyana*, *tiryag avasthitâ . . . valayo yasya*), see III, 27, 12; VII, 56, 1; X, 4, 5 ff.; XII, 3, 55 ff., and the note to the last-mentioned passage. See also the note on V, 13, 5, and TS. V, 5, 10, 1. 2. The Hindu commentators explain *svagá* als 'self-born.' *Sâyana*, *svayam eva gâyate kâraṇântaranairapekshyena utpadyate*; cf. the gloss, Tait. S. V, 5, 14, 1. The Pet. Lex., 'vivipara,' or 'the embracer.' Weber at Tait. S., l. c., also derives it from *svag*, 'enfold.'

#### Stanza 3.

Cf. A. Kuhn, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, XIII, 60.

The third Pâda may refer to the forked tongue of the serpent (*Sâyana*, *sarpasya hi dve gihve*). But perhaps, more likely, it is a strong way of saying, 'I shut up thy tongue,' continuing under the impetus of the first hemistich. Cf. Pâda d.

#### VI, 57. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 19.

The practices of the Kausika, 31, 11-15, contribute not a little towards the elucidation of this medicinal charm. In the hymn the disease is merely designated as the arrow of Rudra, but in the Sûtra it is called *akshata*; the remedy is *akshatavranabhaishagyam* (*Kesava*), and *Sâyana* explains

it as a 'wound without opening' (*mukharahitavrana*<sup>1</sup>); cf. also *Dārila* at *Kaus.* 32, 11. 13. In *Contributions*, Second Series, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* XI, 321 ff., we have shown that the disease in question is a tumour or a boil, and in *Contributions*, Fourth Series, *ib.* XII, 425 ff., we have assumed on the basis of the ritual that the remedy designated in the hymn (st. 2) as *gālāshā*, the particular remedy of Rudra, is identical with *mūtra*, 'urine,' of the *Sūtra*<sup>2</sup>. The practice consists in moistening the tumour with the foam of (cow's) urine, throwing the urine itself upon it; next, washing it off, then, smearing it with scourgings from the teeth, and with the pollen from bunches of grass. The disease is probably much the same as the *gandamālā*, 'scrofula;' cf. *AV.* VI, 83; VII, 74; VII, 76, 4, and the introductions to these hymns.

The third stanza is rubricated in the list of purificatory mantras, *Kaus.* 9, 2 (cf. the *brīhakkhântigana* of the *Gāṇamālā*, *Ath. Paris.* 32, 26), and in a similar list, *Kaus.* 41, 14.

#### Stanza 1.

c, d. The arrow here described is Rudra's arrow that inflicts disease. Fittingly, Rudra's own remedy the *gālāshā* is employed as a cure. The very rare word *galāshabhesha* occurs also in the *Nīlarudra-Upanishad* 3, *esha ety avīrahā rudro galāshabheshagaḥ* (see Jacob's *Concordance*).

#### Stanza 2.

For *gālāshā* *Sāyana* reads four times *galāsha*; cf. our discussion of the forms of the word in *Contributions*, Fourth Series, l. c., 425.

#### Stanza 3.

c, d. Cf. *RV.* VIII, 20, 26; X, 59, 8-10. The last *Pāda*

<sup>1</sup> *Kerava*, *yasya gandadushasya rudhiram na vahati*.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Windisch, in a review of the above-mentioned essay (*Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1892, No. 51, col. 1836), refers to a treatise of E. Wilhelm, 'On the use of beef's urine' (Bombay, 1889). This is not at hand, but see Wise, *Hindu System of Medicine*, p. 117.

is formulaic ; see AV. XVIII, 5, 23, and note the variant, RV. X, 59, 8-10.

#### VI, 59. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 144.

This hymn, obviously a cattle-charm, is employed, along with a great variety of other mantras, rather indifferently, at Kaus. 50, 13. The practice is that of a merchant who starts out upon his business : in Kaus. 50, 13 he offers<sup>1</sup> a variety of substances with the list of hymns in question. Cf. the introductions to III, 15 ; VI, 128, and XI, 2. It is rubricated further in the list of purificatory mantrās, Kaus. 9, 2 (cf. the *bṛiḥakkhântigana* of the *Gaṇamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 26), and in a similar list, Kaus. 41, 14 ; it has been rendered by Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 65, 163. For the character of the plant *arundhatī*, see the introduction to IV, 12.

#### Stanza 1.

Sâyana defines *arundhatī* as *sahadevī*, a common name for plants, but the interpretation is not to be trusted because he reads *sahadevī* for *sahá devīr* in st. 2 b. Cf. the introduction to IV, 12. In Pâda c, Grill emends *váyase* unnecessarily to *avayase*, 'was nicht erstarkt ist.' Sâyana, quite correctly, 'at the age beyond five years when weaned from the mother.' Cf. the quotations in the *Pet. Lex.* under 3. *váyas* 2); the passage, *ekahâyanaprabhrīty âpañkahâyanebhyo vayâmsi*, quoted from *Âpastamba* at *Tait. Br. III, 12, 5, 9*, is referred to by Sâyana also.

#### Stanza 2.

b. For *sahá devīr* we read *sahá devaīr* ; cf. the reading *kalasīr* for *kalásair* in the note on III, 12, 7, and, more generally, the note on XII, 3, 32 c. Grill, similarly, the

<sup>1</sup> The word *upadadhîta* there and elsewhere is a technical term, 'lay upon.' *Kerava*, at the end of Kaus. 6 (see p. 309, middle, of the edition), defines it as the act of offering one of thirteen offerings (*haviṃshi*), very varied in character ; cf. the word *upadhâna* in the *Paribhâshâ-sutrâ* 8, 17.

compound sahádevī (cf. XII, 4, 23); Sāyana, sahadēvyākhyā arundhatī abhilashitaphalasya avārayitrī oshadhiḥ (avārayitrī=arundhatī).

### Stanza 3.

b. gīvalā as epithet of arundhatī occurs also, VIII, 7, 6. See the note there, and at XIX, 39, 3.

## VI, 60. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 95.

The prescription for the use of this hymn at Kaus. 34, 22-24 is to pour an oblation (of ghee) for Aryaman (in the morning) before the crows rise, and to place bali-offerings within the corners of the house. (The wooer is, then, sure to come) from the direction from which (the crows) come flying. The charm is, therefore, an oracle (pativedanam<sup>1</sup>); it is not employed in the marriage-ritual, Kaus. 75, where the actual arrival of the bridegroom is described, unless, indeed, it is implied in the word pativedanam (75, 6). But the Paddhatis refer to Kaus. 34, 13, a rite performed in connection with AV. II, 36, rather than to our performance.

The hymn has been translated by Weber, Indische Studien, V, 236 ff.; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 56, 164; Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 306.

### Stanza 1.

a, b. Aryaman is the typical wooer or bridegroom; cf. AV. XIV, 1, 34 (=RV. X, 85, 23). 39; 2, 5 (=RV. X, 40, 12). Weber and Grill join purástād to vīshitastupaḥ, 'with crest loosened in front'; Sāyana, 'from the east.' We are having in mind a bridal procession consisting of many wooers (cf. AV. XI, 8, 1. 2, and Kaus. 75, 13). See also Indische Studien, V, 380, bottom.

### Stanza 2.

d. The plural anyāḥ and the singular ā-yati do not agree. Weber would read āyantu or āyanti; Grill, anyā.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kaus. 34, 12; 75, 6.



The latter change results in the best metre. *Sâyana*, coolly, *âyati prâpnuvanti*.

#### VI, 64. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 136.

This hymn is rubricated in the *gana*, or series, entitled *sâmmānasyāni* in Kaus. 12, 5, and the practices are the same as those employed in connection with III, 30, above. The entire hymn is repeated with many variants in RV. X, 191, 2-4, in Maitr. S. II, 2, 6, and in Tait. Br. II, 4, 4, 4 ff. It has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 372 ; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 31, 164 ; cf. also Zimmer, p. 175, and the well-known translations of RV. X, 191.

##### Stanza 1.

a. The RV. and Tait. Br. read, *sām gakkhadvam sām vadadvam* ; the Maitr. S., *sām gakkhadvam sām gānīdhvam*.

d. Cf. *Pañk.* Br. II, 2, 4 ; *Āsv. Sr.* II, 11, 10.

##### Stanza 2.

Of the four texts, cited above, no one has precisely the same readings, though the sense is essentially the same in all. For the *samānām havīh*, cf. the introduction to VI, 39, and the foot-note on VI, 39, 1.

##### Stanza 3.

d. All the texts read *yāthā vah sūsahā-sati* ; the *Padapāṭhas* of the RV. and AV. resolve *sūsaha āsati*. This leaves upon our hands a compound adverb *sūsaha*, which I have translated 'perfectly in common.' Ludwig resolves *susahā asati*, translating 'that you may have easy victory.' It is possible, too, to ignore the *Padakāra*, and read *sū sahā āsati*, and translate again as we have done. I had thought also of emending *yāthā vāsu sahā-sati*, 'that you may have possessions in common,' and found later that the *Padapāṭha* of the Maitr. S. had something similar in mind, reading, *vasū sahā āsati*. Cf. also the simple *sahā-sati* at AV. VII, 36.

## VI, 70. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 144.

Dārila, Kesava, and Sāyana explicitly define the performance in connection with this hymn at Kaus. 41, 18–20 as designed to effect harmony between cow and calf. Sāyana, govatsayor anyonyavirodhasântirûpe sâṃmanasya-karmani. Kausika himself designates the rite as vananam; cf. the note on the word apavâtâ in the introduction to VI, 44 (p. 482, note).

The practice consists in washing the calf, sprinkling it with the cow's urine, leading it thrice around (the cow), and tying it (near her), while the hymn is being recited. It is then recited once more over the head and ears of the calf. The symbolic force of these acts is apparent. The hymn has been translated by Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 65, 165. The *Anukramanî*, āghnyam.

**Stanza 1.**

a, b. Sāyana, 'as meat is liked by the eater, as brandy is most welcome, and as dice are most welcome at the gaming-place.' Grill connects mamsâm and sūrâ rather too closely, 'as surâ goes with meat.' But cf. RV. VII, 86, 6; AV. XIV, 1, 35. 36; XV, 9, 1. 2, where surâ and gambling are associated. All three, being forbidden fruit, inspire strong attachment in their devotees. Cf. the practices in the introduction to III, 30 (Kaus. 12, 6–9).

**Stanza 3.**

The interrelation of the parts of the wheel are not clear: pradhî and upadhî may be respectively the outer fellow (Sāyana, rathakrasya nemiḥ), and a second circular part closely joined to the fellow (Sāyana, nemisambaddhaḥ arâṇâm sambandhako valayaḥ). They may be, respectively the tire (ordinarily pavî), and the fellow; or, the fellow, and some inner connective circle next to the fellow. We have, however, followed the Pet. Lex. and Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 248, in regarding upadhî as the spokes, taken collectively. Sāyana takes nábhyam in this latter sense,

nabhyam nâbhaye hitam rathakakramadhyaphalakam pradhâv adhi nemidese sambadhnâti.

# VI, 71. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 196.

An expiatory prayer (prâyasāittam) to obviate any impropriety, such as greed and worldliness, on the part of the Brahman who receives gifts, or the absence of sacredness in the gift itself. At Kaus. 45, 17 it is recited along with other mantras upon the receipt of the dakshinâ; at Kaus. 57, 29-30 the begging Brahman disciple offers, while reciting the hymn, the fruits of his mendicancy: the firewood which he has begged is put on the fire in the evening and in the morning, while reciting this hymn. At Vait. Sû. 4, 16 the Brahman consumes with it his share of the rice-cakes at the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 433; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 66, 165. The Anukramanî, brahmâ--gneyam.

## Stanza 3.

This seems to be spoken by a non-Brahmanical sacrificer (yagamâna), to make sure that the fruits of his sacrifice shall not fail him. For the second hemistich the Dasa Karmâni (paddhati) at Kaus. 57, 29 substitutes the second hemistich of VI, 53, 2.

# VI, 73. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 135.

This is one of the sâmmanasyâni (sc. sùktâni), 'charms designed to produce harmony,' treated at Kaus. 12, 5 ff. See the introduction to III, 30 for the practices connected with these hymns. The charm seems to be undertaken by the patriarchal head of a community; cf. Sat. Br. IV, 1, 5, 3 ff. The hymn is rubricated also among the vâstoshpatiyâni (sc. sùktâni), 'hymns to Vâstoshpati' (cf. st. 3, note), at Kaus. 8, 23, and note; the third stanza in the course of ceremonies connected with the building of a house, Kaus.

23, 6. Cf. also the *pushkîkâ mantrâh*, in the note on Kaus. 19, 1.

**Stanza 2.**

c. The MSS. are divided between *tām khrivayâmi*, *tân khrî-*, and *tân srî-* (*Padapâtha*, *tân srî-*). The vulgate has *tām khrî-*, emended in the Index Verborum to *tām srî-*. Shankar Pandit adopts Sâyana's rather vapid *sivayâmi* (*tām vividhâm âkûtim balam ka . . . parasparasambaddhâm karomi*).

**Stanza 3.**

Both Pûshan, the guardian of the distant ways, and Vâstoshpati, the genius of home, are invited to co-operate with the person desiring adherents, in order to put a stop to dissension and disintegration.

VI, 74. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 135.

This is one of the *sâmanasyâni* (sc. *sûktâni*), 'charms designed to produce harmony,' treated at Kaus. 12, 5. See the introduction to III, 30 for the practices connected with these hymns.

**Stanza 2.**

d. The word *srântâm* seems suspicious. Possibly *sântâm* is intended 'with the peace of Bhaga.' The root *sam* is used with words for 'strife,' *vigraha*, *Kathâsaritsâgara* 56, 96; *vaira*, *Mahâbh.* XIV, 2509.

**Stanza 3.**

Cf. *Tait. S.* II, 1, 11, 3, with the variant *rudrâh* for *ugrâh* (*Sâyana* = *rudrâh*). *Sâyana* explains *trinâman* as the threefold fire of the earth, lightning, and sun, or, as the threefold fire of the sacrifice (*gârhapatya*, &c.). Cf. the gloss at *Tait. S.*, l. c.

VI, 75. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 92.

This hymn is an *âbhihârîka*-hymn, and is, accordingly, rubricated twice in the sixth *adhyâya* of the *Kausika*, which is devoted to hostile (witchcraft) practices. The

so-called *saṁsthitahomāḥ*, 'final oblations,' in the case of auspicious (*śānta*) performances, are undertaken while VII, 97 is being recited. Thus according to Kaus. 6, 3 (cf. also 3, 19, note). But in the case of *ābhiḥārika*-practices, according to the *Paribhāṣhā-sūtra* 47, 10, a sinister turn is given to the *saṁsthitahomāḥ* by reciting the present hymn with them<sup>1</sup>. The more special practice attached to this hymn is at Kaus. 48, 29-31. The sacrificial straw is spread with the thumb. Reed-grass (or an arrow, *sara*?) is thrown upon it from baskets made of *kadvindu*<sup>2</sup>. By means of a leaf of the red *asvattha* an oblation<sup>3</sup> (of *īṅgīḍa*-oil; 47, 3), dashed with poison, is offered. There is no special rapport between the hymn and the ceremony.

Previous translations by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 373; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 22, 165 ff. The *Anukramanī*, *mantroktadevatyam aindram sapatnakshayakāmaḥ*. The entire hymn recurs with variants, and markedly different arrangement of the *Pādas*, at *Āpast. Sr.* III, 14, 2; cf. also *Tait. S. V*, 1, 10, 3 ff.

#### VI, 77. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 106.

This charm is obviously a patchwork of mantras of various original values. The first hemistich of stanza 1 is identical with VI, 44, 1 a, b. The second hemistich of st. 3 is also formulaic (cf. *Vāg. S.* XII, 8), and fits poorly into the present conception of the hymn. The second stanza (= *RV.* X, 19, 5) is clearly derived from a charm calculated to bring stray cattle home. As the hymn stands it would answer this purpose quite well, but the *Kausika*, 36, 5-9, as explained by the commentaries, treats it as a charm for capturing a runaway woman, or holding in check a woman

<sup>1</sup> The oblations in the latter case, implicitly, are not of ghee, but of *īṅgīḍa*-oil; cf. 47, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 47, 1; *Tait. S. II*, 1, 5, 7. Our rendering of the *ḍπ. λγ.* *kadvindukosh/haiḥ* is conjectural.

<sup>3</sup> This is the *nairbādhyāṁ havīs* (st. 1). For these especially pointed *havīs*, see the note on VI, 39, 1.

disposed to run away<sup>1</sup>. The proceedings consist in fastening a band down the cross-beam of the house and then fastening it to the middle post<sup>2</sup>. Then the foot of the (woman's) bed is fastened to an utpala-plant (nymphæa)<sup>3</sup>. Further it is fastened to an âkrishṭa<sup>4</sup>. Finally sesame is offered by means of a coal-rake (âkarsha: cf. Dârila). The two words âkrishṭa and âkarsha both contain the root karsh with â, 'drag back;' cf. âkrishṭamantra, 'charm for drawing a person to one's self,' Hitopadesa, book I, sloka 90. There can be no doubt as to the meaning of the performances: they are intended to hold fast, or to compel the return of a person that has gone off.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 468, under the heading arvâh ('horses').

### Stanza 1.

For the use of the aorists in this and the following stanza, cf. Delbrück, Syntaktische Forschungen, II, 87. To our feeling presents would be preferable to the aorists, and we might perhaps have better so rendered. In Pâda d Sâyana supplies iva (luptopamam) with arvân, and striyam with atishṭhipam, in slavish adherence to the Sûtra. See the introduction.

### Stanza 3.

Pâdas b, c are formulaic: cf. Vâg. S. XII, 8.

<sup>1</sup> Sâyana, palâyanasilâyâh striyâ nirodhanakarmanî. The position of the charm in the second part of the fourth adhyâya of the Sûtra, among the strîkarmâni (Kaus. 32, 28-36, end), shows that Kausika himself regards it as a practice concerning women.

<sup>2</sup> The symbolism is obvious. For the parts of the house, cf. III, 12, 6, and the introduction to III, 12. See also Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> This is very doubtful. The word utpale here, as at Kaus. 35, 26 (see the introduction to III, 25), is very problematic. Sâyana has upale, 'to a stone.' Apparently a specious, easier reading.

<sup>4</sup> Whatever that may be. Dârila, âkrishṭaḥ mâtrîke+ti prasi-ddhâbhîdhânas tasmin sayanapâdam badhnâti. See Pet. Lex. under mâtrîkâ.

## VI, 78. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 96.

In the light of the words *bhûténa* (st. 1 a), and *râshtréna* (st. 2 b) it would seem as though this blessing related to the marriage of a royal personage (*kshatriya*). The central idea of this charm is the *bhûtám havís*, 'oblation that produces power;' cf. especially IV, 8, 1, and the *yáso havís*, 'oblation that yields glory,' VI, 39. The latter forms also part of the practices of a king (see the introduction to VI, 38). But there is nothing in the treatment of the hymn, Kaus. 78, 10. 14-16, to show that it refers to a royal couple, though that is not conclusive as regards its original intent. The practices consist in pouring the dregs of ghee upon the heads of the couple, after they have come home (a kind of consecration, *abhisheka*); in causing them to eat together of fluid food (*rasa*; cf. st. 1 d) and porridge; and, finally, in offering as much barley mixed with ghee as can be held in the two hands placed side by side.

The hymn has been translated by Weber, *Indische Studien*, V, 238; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 371 ff.; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 57, 166. The *Anukramanî* to the first two stanzas, *kândramasyau* (cf. *ā pyāyatām*, st. 1; *abhî vardhatām*, st. 2) . . . *gâyābhivridhyai kândramasam astaud rayim ka dampatyor aprārthayat*; to the third stanza, *tvāshtrî*.

## Stanza 1.

a, b. For *bhûténa* the *Paippalâda* reads *bhûtasya*; Grill suggests *bhûtyena*. But the use of the noun in apposition, rather than the attributive adjective, seems to be idiomatic in connection with these pregnantly employed *havís*: see *yáso havís*, VI, 39, 1 (cf. the note there), and *abhîvartám havís*, RV. X, 174, 1. Weber regards Agni as the subject of *ā pyāyatām*; *Sâyana*, the bridegroom. The latter is correct, but it would seem as though the passage alluded to the moon (cf. the *Anukramanî*), the typical bridegroom; cf. RV. X, 85, 6 ff. = AV. XIV, 1, 6 ff.

d. The *Paippalâda* has *sâ rasenâbhi vardhatām*. The rendering of the *Pâda* is not at all certain; the word *rasena*

(and páyasá in st. 2) surely alludes to sexual sap (cf. RV. I, 105, 2): some such sense as 'he causes the wife to increase with his semen' is to be expected. But vardhatām is not causative, and we have given a purely philological rendering. Cf. also RV. X, 174, 1 d; AV. I, 29, 1 d. Weber, 'das (weib) mög' umwachsen er mit kraft;' Ludwig, 'die soll er mit dem besten gedeihen machen (vardhatām);' Grill, 'für's weib . . . nehm er an zeugungskräften zu.'

### VI, 79. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 141.

The performance which accompanies this charm at Kaus. 21, 7 consists in placing a stone upon a grain-bag (cf. st. 2 b), sprinkling it, laying upon it a handful of grain with each of the three stanzas, and letting (another person also) lay on (three hands full). The hymn is also rubricated at Vait. Sû. 31, 4; Gop. Br. II, 4, 9, where nábhasaspāti is explained as vāyu, 'wind,' and deva samsphāna as āditya, 'sun.' The Atharvāṇīya-paddhati (Kaus. 19, 1, note) counts the hymn among the pushkīkā mantrâḥ, 'hymns that produce prosperity.' The hymn recurs with notable variants at Tait. S. III, 3, 8, 2-3; cf. also III, 3, 8, 6.

#### Stanza 1.

c. The Padapāṭha does not analyse āsamātim, either here or at RV. X, 60, 2. 5<sup>1</sup>. The Pet. Lex. renders it by 'incomparable.' Böhtlingk, in the smaller lexicon, emends it to āsamarti, 'exemption from injury;' cf. āsamartyai in the passage cited above from the Tait. S. We with Sâyana, mâtir mânam parikkhedas tena saha vartata iti samâtiḥ, tadvaiparityam asamâtiḥ.

#### Stanza 3.

c. The Pâda is formulaic: Tait. Br. III, 7, 5, 7, tasyâs te bhakshivānaḥ syāma; Maitr. S. I, 4, 3; 5, 3. 10; Âpast.

<sup>1</sup> The later tradition regards asamâti as a proper name; cf. Sâyana on RV., and Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 33.



Sr. IV, 13, 7, tasyâs (tasya) bhaktivâno bhûyâsma; cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar<sup>2</sup>, § 462 d.

#### VI, 80. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 13.

The subject matter of this hymn is identical with a Brâhmana legend, told at Maitr. S. I, 6, 9; Kât. S. VIII, 1; Tait. Br. I, 1, 2, 4-6 (cf. also Sat. Br. II, 1, 2, 13-16). The substance of the story is that certain demons (asura) called kâlakâṅga piled up a fire-altar in order to ascend by it to heaven. Indra joined them, adding a brick of his own. When they had climbed to heaven, Indra pulled out his brick and they tumbled down. They became spiders, all but two who flew up and became the two heavenly dogs. In our essay, 'The two dogs of Yama in a new rôle,' printed in the third series of Contributions, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XV, 163 ff.<sup>1</sup>, it has been shown that the two heavenly dogs, otherwise the two dogs of Yama, are the sun and the moon. The mythic character of the kâlakâṅga is altogether uncertain. We have surmised (l. c., p. 169) that they are either the galaxy, or the stars in general, conceived as spiders. Possibly some especial group of stars, three in number (cf. st. 2 of our hymn), is intended.

All this is embalmed in the present hymn in a technical oblation (havîs; cf. the note on VI, 39, 1) which is designated 'the majesty of the heavenly dog,' i. e. presumably, 'the majesty of the sun.' This and an appeal to the three kâlakâṅga are the central points of the hymn, and the ritual, in a fashion altogether obscure, manipulates the prayer as a cure for paralysis (pakshahatabhaishagyaṃ, Dârila and Kesava)<sup>2</sup>. But the sense of the Sûtras, Kaus.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the note on IV, 20, 7 b.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wise, Hindu System of Medicine, pp. 253, 256. According to Sâyana, kâkakapotasyenâdipakshihatam, it would seem as though paralysis was supposed to be inflicted by strokes of the wings of crows, pigeons, eagles, and other birds (cf. also Kesava). Apparently purely symbolic: pakshin, 'winged, bird,' and paksha, 'side, half' (hemiplegia).

31, 18. 19 is also not at all clear. With the help of the commentators some such practice as the following seems to be restorable. The paralysed part of the body is rubbed with earth taken from the footprint of a dog, while keeping in quick motion. Then the part is fumigated by burning an insect (taken from a dog). The dog—the word occurs only in the commentaries, not in the Sūtra itself—refers, of course, to the ‘heavenly dog’ in the mantra; the quick motion is opposed to the palsy of the patient; the use of the insect seems to symbolise the fate of the *kālakāṅga*, who in the legend become spiders. Cf. the article cited above, p. 166.

The third stanza is employed also in a nondescript fashion at Vait. Sū. 23, 20; Ath. Paris. 39, 1 (*tadāgādividhi*) and 42, 3 (*snānavidhi*). The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 373.

#### Stanza 1.

The stanza cannot be addressed to anything else but the sun, judging from the identity of its first hemistich with RV. X, 136, 4 a, b, which clearly refers to the sun (cf. Contributions, l. c., pp. 167–8, and Tait. S. IV, 6, 3, 4, *ukshā samudro*, &c.). Sāyana, along totally different lines: ‘The bird, crow, pigeon, &c., looking down upon all beings with a desire to injure, flies down upon the limbs of men. In order to remove its injury we honour thee, O Agni, with the oblation, that is the majesty of the heavenly dog.’ Cf. the note on st. 3. Ludwig’s rendering ignores *te* in Pāda d, ‘des himlischen hundes grösse der möchten wir dienen mit disem havis.’

#### Stanza 3.

Here even Sāyana feels compelled to recognise the presence of the sun, he agne . . . *dyuloke tava ādityātmanaḥ sahassthānam*.

#### VI, 81. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 96.

The practice connected with this hymn at Kaus. 35, 11 is restricted to the tying on of the (bracelet) mentioned in the

mantra. No ceremony of this sort is found in the *Gr̥hya-sūtras* (cf. *Pāraskara*, I, 13), and the word *parihastá* seems to occur here alone (cf. *parihāṭaka* in the *Pet. Lex.*). The hymn has been rendered by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 477; Weber, *Indische Studien*, V, 239. Cf. also Bergaigne et Henry, *Manuel Védique*, p. 153.

### Stanza 2.

The second hemistich is exceedingly obscure: *máryāde* seems to be the vocative of *maryāḍā*, and our rendering is a *pis-aller*. The idea of 'limit' may refer to the confinement within the womb; cf. *Sâyana* in the foot-note. The *Pet. Lex.*, simply, 'designation of an amulet.' If it could be construed as a locative singular masculine<sup>1</sup> (*maryāde* for *máryāde*; cf. V, 1, 8) it might be translated 'within proper limits of time;' cf. *śaṣṭmâsamâryâdayâ*, 'within six months,' *Br̥hat-saṃhitâ* 4, 24. The sense would then be that the child shall be born within ten months; see *Pār. Gr̥h.* I, 16, 1; *Sâṅkh. Gr̥h.* I, 19, 6; *Hir. Gr̥h.* I, 25, 1; II, 2, 5. Again, *âgame* is not at all clear; it may possibly refer to the circular shape of the bracelet, 'that comes back upon itself.'

### Stanza 3.

*Aditi* is the typical mother that desires a son; cf. *RV.* X, 72, 8; *AV.* VIII, 9, 21; *Maitr. S.* II, 1, 12; *Sat. Br.* III, 1, 3, 2. Nowhere else have we met with the statement that her desire was promoted by a bracelet furnished by *Tvashṭar*. The latter, however, fashions the embryo in the womb; cf. Ludwig, l. c., p. 334.

## VI, 82. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 95.

In the *Kausika* the hymn is employed in a twofold manner. At 59, 11 a person who desires a wife sacrifices and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Sâyana*, *maryāde maryâḥ maraṇadharmâno manushyâḥ tair âdityâmâne svotpattiyartham svikriyamâne sthâne garbhâsaye he gâye tvam putram â dhehi*, i. e. 'O woman, place a son into thy womb, the place appropriated by men for reproducing themselves!'

prays with it to Indra. At 78, 10 the hymn is recited with sundry other mantras (cf. VI, 78) while dregs of ghee are being poured upon the heads of the bridal couple, after they have come home. The hymn has been translated by Weber, *Indische Studien*, V, 239 ff.; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 470; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 57, 167. The *Anukramanî*, aindram, composed by *gâyâkâmo bhagah*.

### Stanza 2.

The marriage of Sûryâ, the daughter of Savitar, to Soma, the moon, is the typical heavenly marriage. The Arvins acted as wooers. Cf. RV. X, 85, 6 ff.=AV. XIV, 1, 7 ff.; Ait. Br. IV, 7, 1. For a large number of correlated passages, see Contributions, Third Series, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XV, 186. To these may be added Maitr. S. II, 2, 7; IV, 2, 12; *Kâth.* S. XI, 3 (*Indische Studien*, III, 467); Tait. Br. II, 3, 10, 1 ff. Suryâ is probably identical with Ushas; the Arvins are frequently conceived as her husbands, rather than wooers in behalf of Soma.

### Stanza 3.

According to RV. VIII, 17, 10, Indra is conceived as having a long hook or rake with which he heaps together goods: here he is implored to furnish with its aid a wife (and, implicitly, property also). At II, 36, 6 he is addressed as 'lord of wealth.' The word *sakîpate* is to be taken here in its secondary, legendary sense, not in its primary sense, 'lord of might;' cf. Contributions, Sixth Series, Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. XLVIII, 548.

### VI, 83. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 17.

The two Petersburg Lexicons; Adalbert Kuhn in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, XIII, 155; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 342, 500; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 54, 97; and Florenz, *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, XII, 280 regarded the *apakîlt* as a certain noxious insect. In Contributions, Second Series, Amer. Journ. Phil. XI,

320 ff., we assumed for it the meaning 'sore, pustule, boil,' or the like, and this is now fully borne out by Kesava and Sâyana who render the word by *gandamâlâ*, 'scrofula.' The *apakî* is a scrofulous sore, from root *kî* and *apa*, 'pick off;' cf. Lat. scabies, scabere, Germ. die schabe, schaben, Engl. scab. The word is identical with *apakî* in the medical Sâstras. The hymn is rubricated along with the first part of VII, 76 at Kaus. 31, 16. 17; the practices prescribed are in part those undertaken in connection with VI, 25 (Kaus. 30, 16), for which see above: the sores are smeared with a (pulverised) shell, and with the saliva of a dog, and subjected to the bites of leeches, gnats, &c.<sup>1</sup> The practice is then continued: rock-salt is ground up, placed upon the sore, and spat upon. Cf. the strikingly similar performances, reported by Wise, Hindu System of Medicine, p. 315, in connection with the cure of 'scrofulous swellings' (*gandamâlâ*, *apakî*).

The second hemistich of st. 3 is accompanied by an independent practice at Kaus. 31, 20: it is identical with the one described in the introduction to VI, 57 for the cure of the *akshata*. And the fourth stanza, again, is prescribed against wounds (sores, *arus*) of unknown origin, at Kaus. 31, 21: the wound is sprinkled with 'holy water' (*sântyudaka*), and, while the nature of the disease is revolved in the mind, with the dregs of ghee<sup>2</sup>.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 500.

<sup>1</sup> Sâyana, *rudhiramokshârtham*, 'to relieve the congestion by letting blood.'

<sup>2</sup> Kausika seems to express this in the curiously condensed statement, *manasâ sampâtavatâ* (cf. the stanza). Sâyana (after Kesava) *âgyam hutvâ manasâ samkalpya vane sampâtân ânayet*. Sâyana, by the way, connects st. 4 with the following hymn (VI, 84), which he supposes to be included in these performances. But VI, 84 appears in a totally different function at Kaus. 52, 3, of which Sâyana makes no mention. Cf. also Vait. Sû. 38, 1.

**Stanza 1.**

The conception that a disease flies forth from the patient occurs also at RV. X, 97, 13, 'O yakshma, fly forth, fly with the blue jay, fly with the current of the wind.' See also AV. V, 30, 9; VI, 40, 3. The converse notion that sores fly on to the body occurs at AV. VII, 76, 4.

**Stanza 3.**

Sâyana, glauh varnaganito (Shankar Pandit, vana-) harshakshaya<sup>h</sup> . . . galunta<sup>h</sup> gandamâlodbhavavikârena tatratatra hastapâdâdisamdhishu udbhûtân gadûn tasyati (!) upakshapayati<sup>ti</sup> gadunta<sup>h</sup>. Wise, l. c., p. 311, has, 'Gilin. The swelling in this disease is like the swelling of a plum, not painful, but hard; and is produced by diseased phlegm, and blood.' Cf. gilâyu, 'a hard boil in the throat,' Pet. Lex. The correspondence with either is uncertain.

**Stanza 4.**

The formula seems to correspond perfectly with its use in the practice (Kaus. 31, 21) above: whatever oblation suits thee, that do thou comfortably enjoy, while I am mentally making an offering with the auspicious svâhâ. The disease is uncertain, hence the exact character of the offering is left undefined.

## VI, 85. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 39.

The varana-tree (*crataeva roxburghii*) is extolled very highly for its medicinal and magic qualities. See the longer hymn, X, 3, and cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 60 ff. Apparently the sole basis for this belief is the supposed derivation of the word from the root var, 'shut off;' cf. the similar puns upon âsvattha, khadirâ, tâgâd-bhaṅga, vâdhaka at VIII, 8, 3; sarâ (*srinâti*), vibhîdaka (*bhinatti*) at Tait. S. II, 1, 5, 7, and many more. At Kaus. 26, 33. 37 the practice prescribed consists simply in tying on an amulet derived from the varana-tree. The hymn is also rubricated in the takmanâsanagana of the Ganamâlâ,

Ath. Paris. 32, 7 (Kaus. 26, 1, note). The first hemistich of st. 2 recurs in a different connection, Kaus. 6, 17. In st. 3 b Sâyaṇa reads *visvadhâyanîh* for *visvâdhâ yatîh*.

# VI, 90. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 11.

It is far from easy to determine the exact disease which this charm aims to mitigate. The text of the hymn suggests rheumatism, but this presupposes perhaps too acute a diagnosis. At any rate it is some kind of sharp internal pain, either rheumatism, neuralgia, or colic, and that is the view of the ritualist. The hymn is rubricated at Kaus. 31, 7, as follows: 'While pronouncing VI, 90 a spear (-amulet)<sup>1</sup> is fastened upon him who suffers pain as if from a spear (or who has, as it were, a spear sticking in him).' Kesava describes the symptoms as follows: *âtha udare vâ hridaye vâ ŋge vâ sarvâṅge vâ sūle utpaṇṇe*. The disease *sūla*, and he who suffers from it (*sūlin*) are well known in the medical Sâstras. Wise, *Hindu System of Medicine*, p. 341 ff., identifies it with colic (gastro-periodynia), and reports it as due to the deadly *trisūla* or trident of Siva (Rudra). This seems to establish a fairly firm connection between the hymn (cf. st. 1) and the later medical tradition. In the Srauta-practices the *hridayasūla*, the spit upon which the heart of the sacrificial animal is roasted (Tait. S. VI, 4, 1, 4; Âpast. Sr. VII, 8, 3; 23, 10; 27, 15; XI, 20, 15; Sat. Br. III, 8, 5, 8; VI, 2, 2, 38; IX, 5, 4, 41; Kâty. Sr. V, 11, 26; VI, 7, 14; 10, 1; Vait. Sû. 10, 22; Lâty. Sr. V, 4, 6), is always connected symbolically with pain (*hridayam sug rikhati*): the connection between spear and pain is most natural.

The hymn has been translated by Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 14, 168. The *Anukramanî*, *raudram*.

## Stanza 2.

a. *dhamânayaḥ*, perhaps, more broadly 'interior canals, or vessels;' see the notes on I, 17, 3, and VII, 35, 2.

<sup>1</sup> Kesava, *sūlam lohamanîh pâshâno vâ*.

## VI, 91. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 40.

The supposed etymology of yáva, 'barley,' from root yu, 'ward off,' is a fruitful source for the application of barley in charms to cure disease and ward off demons. See the introduction to II, 7. The present hymn consists of three loosely connected stanzas (st. 2=RV. X, 60, 11; st. 3=III, 7, 5; RV. X, 137, 6), in praise of the barley and the waters; the liturgical texts and the collateral practices define it as a cure for all diseases (sarvabhaishagya). Kausika's rite (28, 17-20) avails itself of these indications, to wit: 17. 'While reciting V, 9 and VI, 91 four portions of the dregs of ghee are poured into a pail of water. 18. Two (portions) are poured upon the earth (cf. V, 9, 2. 6. 7). 19. These two are gathered up again (into the afore-mentioned pail of water) and (the patient) is washed off with (the resulting mixture). 20. (And putting dregs of ghee into a pail full of barley<sup>1</sup>) an amulet of barley<sup>2</sup> is fastened (to the patient) while pronouncing the second of the two hymns (VI, 91).'

The hymn is rubricated also in the takmanâsanagana, Ath. Paris. 32, 7 (see Kaus. 26, 1, note); the Anukramanî, yakshmanâsanadevatyam. It has been translated by Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 14, 168.

**Stanza 1.**

Cf. Zimmer, p. 237. vyaye (in relation to yáva) hazily satisfies the inordinate craving of the Atharvanist for puns. One wonders why yāvayāmi is not worked in instead (cf. the introduction to II, 7).

## VI, 92. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 145.

The materials from which this hymn is compounded are, apparently, not original with the Atharvanist. St. 3 occurs with variants at RV. X, 56, 2; sts. 1, 2 in the writings of

<sup>1</sup> sayave. Kerava, yavasahite udapâtre. The passage is not excerpted in our edition.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kaus. 19, 27 in the introduction to VI, 142.



the White Yagur-veda: Vâg. S. IX, 8. 9, and the corresponding passage of the Kâṇva-śākhā (each with independent readings); Sat. Br. V, 1, 4, 9. 10. The stanzas seem to belong in the first place to the vâgapeya-ceremony; see Weber, *Über den Vâgapeya*, *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1892, p. 788 (28 of the reprint). At Kaus. 41, 21–25 they are worked up in a ceremony which Dârila designates as *asvasya vidhikarma*, *Kesava* and *Sâyana* as *asvasânti*<sup>1</sup>. The ceremony consists in pouring dregs of ghee over the horse, after it has been bathed; pouring more dregs of ghee upon (fragrant substances) that have been ground up, and been placed into a leaf; giving drink to the horse, washing it off, and scattering the ground substance upon it. Cf. also Vait. Sû. 36, 18; Ath. Paris. 4, 1; 15. The hymn has been rendered by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 459.

### Stanza 3.

The variants of this stanza here, as compared with RV. X, 56, 2, betray themselves readily as secondary inspirations to suit the practical application of the hymn as a charm.

### VI, 94. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 138.

The key-note of this charm is the word *sam-nam*, 'to bend to one's will.' The idea is a common one, having assumed a somewhat stereotyped and technical character in the works of the Yagus and Brâhmaṇa literature; see, e.g. Maitr. S. I, 4, 14; Tait. S. III, 4, 4, 1; VII, 5, 23, 1; Tait. Br. III, 8, 18, 5; Pâr. Grîh. I, 5, 9. In the Atharvan the hymn IV, 39 (cf. Kaus. 5, 8; 68, 37; 72, 37) is the most elaborate production of this sort. In the Kausika (12, 5 ff.) the present hymn comes under the head of *sâmanasyâni* (sc. *sûktâni*), 'charms designed to procure harmony;' for the practices associated with these hymns, see the introduc-

<sup>1</sup> *Kesava*, 'horses are rendered by it consecrated, brilliant, safe from accidents, swift, healthy.'

tion to III, 30. The first two stanzas of this hymn recur at III, 8, 5. 6; the third is almost identical with V, 23, 1. Translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 514.

### Stanza 2.

b. éte in the vulgata is a misprint (not accounted for in the Index Verborum because of the statement on p. 3). Shankar Pandit with all MSS., éta (Padapâtha, á ita), as in III, 8, 6.

### Stanza 3.

For the stem óta (Padapâtha, á uta), cf. the note on V, 23, 1. Sâyana derives uta from the root vâ, to wit: ote ábhimukhyena samtate parasparam sambaddhe vâ. But how about Sarasvatî in Pâda b?

## VI, 96. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 44.

Dârila at Kaus. 31, 22-25 prescribes this charm for one seized by evil (pâpagrîhita). Kṛṣava for the same, or for a dropsical person. Sâyana for one attacked by the curse of a Brâhmaṇa (brâhmaṇâkrośe; cf. st. 2 a), or for a dropsical person. The stanzas and pâdas, however, betray the most undefined character, being compiled from various spheres (cf. RV. X, 97, 15. 16. 18; Tait. S. IV, 2, 6, 4; Vâg. S. XII, 90. 92; cf. also AV. VIII, 7, 28; XI, 6, 7; RV. X, 164, 3=AV. VI, 45, 2=Tait. Br. III, 7, 12, 4; Baudh. Dharmas. II, 4, 7, 18): the compilation is, in effect, a panacea. The practice of the Kausika consists in fumi-gating the sufferer with (the soma-branch) mentioned in the mantra (st. 1), which is burned, together with other plants; in giving him to drink a mixture of honey and udasvit (water and curds), a mixture of milk and udasvit, and, again, both these messes combined. The hymn is counted as one of the amholingagana (cf. st. 1) in the Gaṇamâlâ, Ath. Paris. 32, 32 (cf. Kaus. 32, 27, note); it has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 506; Grill<sup>2</sup>, 38, 168. The Anukramanî, vânaspatyam.

**Stanza 2.**

d. For devakilbishât, cf. the note on VIII, 7, 28.

**VI, 97. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 122.**

This and the two following hymns figure among the 'battle-charms,' the *sâmgrâmikâni* (sc. *sûktâni*), or the *aparâgitagana*, as it is designated by the *Ganamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 13. The practices connected with the list are treated at Kaus. 14, 8-11. They consist in offering oblations of ghee and grits; placing bows as fagots upon a fire built of bows; next, placing arrows as fagots upon a fire built of arrows; and in the presentation (to the king by the chaplain, the *purohita*) of a bow that has been anointed with the dregs of ghee, and has been polished off. The entire list of hymns is further employed at the ceremonies connected with the beginning of the study of the Veda (*upâkarma*) at Kaus. 139, 7; the hymns VI, 97-99, at the *indramaha*-festival, Kaus. 140, 10.

**Stanza 3.**

Repeated at XIX, 13, 6, and with variants, RV. X, 103, 6; SV. II, 1204; Maitr. S. II, 10, 4; Tait. S. IV, 6, 4, 2; Vâg. S. XVII, 38. The stanza is primarily addressed to Indra, but Indra and king are at this stage of Vedic literature perfectly synonymous; cf. the note on III, 3, 2, and Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 251.

**VI, 99. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 123.**

In the Kausika the hymn is employed along with, and in precisely the same situations as VI, 97; see the introduction there, and cf. also Vait. Sû. 18, 16. Previously translated by Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 18, 168 ff. The *Anukramani*, *aindram*.

**Stanza 1.**

c, d. Cf. RV. X, 128, 9, which suggests by its word *adhîrâgâm* the possibility that *ekagâm* in our stanza is some

sort of a secondary product of *ekarâgâm*. But this is not favoured by the metre, and we may compare, in support of our rendering, *ekaganman*, as the designation of a king, 'of singular birth,' quoted by the *Pet. Lex.* from the *Trikândasesha*.

### Stanza 2.

The first hemistich is formulaic; cf. I, 20, 2.

### VI, 100. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 27.

The equivalence of the word *upagîkâ* with *upagîhvikâ*, *upadîkâ*, and *upadîpîkâ*<sup>1</sup>, and its meaning of 'ant,' was established by the present translator in 'Seven Hymns of the Atharva-veda,' *Amer. Journ. Phil.* VII, 482 ff. The *upagîkâ* are a kind of ants, fancied to be endowed with the power of digging up beneficent, healing water: according to sts. 1, 2 the gods themselves furnished them with this quality. They are, accordingly, brought into contact with the bodies of poisoned persons in every possible manner. According to *Kaus.* 31, 26, a lump from an ant-hill is fastened (as an amulet) upon the poisoned person; he is given some of it to drink (in water); is made to rinse his mouth with the same mixture; and is besmeared with a solution of it in warm water. Cf. also the introduction to II, 3. In addition to the numerous passages bearing upon this subject, that have been cited in the above-mentioned article, see also *Vâg. S.* XXXVII, 4; *Kâty. Sr.* XXVI, 1, 6; *Tait. Br.* I, 1, 3, 4; 2, 1, 3; *Tait. Âr.* IV, 2, 3; *Âpast. Sr.* V, 1, 7; XV, 2, 1; 16, 5; *Ath. Paris.* 67, 2 (cf. *Weber, Omina und Portenta*, p. 324); *Yâska's Nighantavas* III, 29 = *Kautsavaya* 67 (cf. *Roth's Erläuterungen*, p. 35); and the scholiast at *Tait. S.* I, 1, 3 (p. 19 of the edition of the *Bibliotheca Indica*). For *upakîkâ*, &c., the Pâli forms of the word, see *Morris* in the *London Academy* of Nov. 19, 1892, vol. xlii, p. 462.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *dehikâ*, *uddehikâ*, and *upadehikâ*, 'names of ants that throw up earth,' and see *Grill*<sup>2</sup>, p. 81, note. And again, cf. *utpâdikâ* (with variants), *Pet. Lex.* s. v. *utpâdaka* 3.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 511 (cf. also pp. 343, 507). See also Bergaigne et Henry, *Manuel Védique*, p. 153.

**Stanza 1.**

c. The Pet. Lex. suggests three rivers named Sarasvatî, or perhaps simply three rivers in general. But some personified group of divinities is more likely to be in the mind of the writer, probably three of the Âprî divinities, Sarasvatî, Idâ, Bhârâtî. This conclusion was arrived at before inspecting Sâyana, who has, *sarasvatyas trayîrûpâh*<sup>1</sup>, *yad vâ idâ sarasvatî bhârâtî*. See Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 243.

**Stanza 2.**

The vulgate erroneously emends *upagîkâ(h)* of the MSS. to *upagîkâ(h)*; cf. 'Seven Hymns &c.,' p. 483 (18 of the reprint). Sâyana manipulates the text still further: he *devâh vah yushmâkam sambandhinyah upagîkâh . . . nirudake sthâne . . . udakam . . . akshârayan*.

VI, 102. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 101.

For the practices connected with this hymn, see the introduction to II, 30, above. The rites of Kausika (35, 21) seek especially to realise in practice the similes of this hymn (sts. 2, 3). The *Anukramanî* designates it as *âsvinam*, spoken by one who is *abhisammanaskâmah*. It has been translated by Weber, *Ind. Stud.* V, 243 ff.; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 54, 169 ff.

**Stanza 1.**

The comparison seems to be derived from the practices in ploughing. Cf. RV. IV, 57, 4. 8; AV. III, 17, 5. 6. The Asvins play a part in agriculture; see RV. I, 117, 21.

**Stanza 2.**

a, b. Both *râgâsvâh* and *prishtyâm* are problematic. Sâyana, *yathâ asvasreshthah prishtyâm saṅkubaddhâm*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Oldenberg, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* XXXIX, 54 ff.

sabandhanaraggum līlayā ākhidati unmūlayati tadvat, 'as a noble horse uproots with ease the halter fastened to a peg.' Altogether unlikely. Roth, as quoted by Grill, and Böhlingk's Lexicon, s.v. *prishṭyā*, regard the latter as related to (in fact a feminine of) *prāshṭi*, 'side-horse,' and accordingly we have translated, without any feeling of certainty. Cf. X, 8, 8. But *prishṭyā* may possibly be identical with *prishṭivāh* (*āsva*), XVIII, 4, 10, 'the horse which carries burdens upon its back,' and *rāgāsvāh* simply the 'horse of the king.' The point then would be that ordinary horses follow the royal stallion on expeditions, or processions.

o. The edition of Roth and Whitney reads *trīnma*. But many MSS. read *trīnam*; this is accepted by Whitney in the Index Verborum, and is rendered certain by Kaus. 35, 21.

### Stanza 8.

The ingredients of the love-mixture are worked up in the Kausika; the sweetwood figures especially in charms of this sort; cf. I, 34, 4. In Pāda c Sāyana regards *turó* as a genitive of *túr*, agreeing with *bhagasya*, *tvaramānasya* *saubhāgyakarasya devasya*.

### VI, 105. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 8.

The practice attached to this hymn in Kaus. 31, 27 is designated by Dārila as a cure for coughs, and by Kesava as a cure for coughs and expectoration (*kāse śleshma-patane ka*). The Sūtra is as follows: *yatha mano·va diva ity arishṭena*, 'While reciting AV. VI, 105 and VII, 107 he performs the practice prescribed (for the cure of the disease called *arishṭa*).' This latter disease seems to be a nervous trouble in the nature of epilepsy or St. Vitus dance (Dārila, *arishṭam* . . . *āṅgaspandanakalahalabhûtādi*, see Kausika, Introduction, p. xlv). The practice according to Kaus. 28, 15 consists in making the patient take a few steps away from his house (Dārila, *kānikṣit padāni grīhān nishkrāmayati* [cod. *nishkrāmayati*]), after having previously, in accordance with the Paribhāṣhā-sūtras, Kaus.

7, 18 and 7, 7 (cf. also Kes. at 28, 15; 31, 27), fed him with a churned drink and porridge. The patient, as he leaves his habitual place, is, doubtless, supposed to leave the disease behind him.

AV. VII, 107, which appears in company with the present hymn, is a formula, consisting of a single stanza, to wit, 'May the seven rays of the sun bring down (the waters?) from heaven: the waters, the floods of the sea, have caused thy pangs to leave thee (literally, have caused the point, or arrow, to fall out of thee).'

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 510; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 385; cf. also Hillebrandt, *Vedachrestomathie*, p. 50.

#### Stanza 1.

b and sequel. The force of the adverbial suffix -mat is similar to that of dialectic -like in 'quicklike' and similar expressions.

d. pravāyāṃ, ἀπ. λεγ., literally, 'the course along which the wind blows;' see, e.g. RV. V, 83, 4, prá vātā vānti. Sāyana, pragantavyam avadhim; the Pet. Lexs., etwa 'flüchtigkeit;' Zimmer, 'fittig;' Ludwig, 'wehen;' Hillebrandt, 'flughahn.'

#### VI, 106. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 147.

The present charm forms a link in a long chain of practices for quenching fire by means of water-plants (cf. dūrvāḥ in st. 1) and a frog (cf. the Vaitāna-sūtra, below). This line of conceptions has been assembled and treated by the translator in Contributions, Second Series, Amer. Journ. Phil. XI, p. 342 ff., where the present hymn is also treated<sup>1</sup>. Allied with it most closely is the passage, RV.

<sup>1</sup> The numerous passages assembled in that article may be supplemented further by Maitr. S. III, 3, 3. 6; Tait. S. V, 4, 2, 1; Sat. Br. IX, 1, 2, 20 ff.; XIII, 8, 3, 13; Lāṭy. Sr. III, 5, 13 ff.; cf. also Indische Studien, IX, 414, and our introductions to III, 13 and VII, 116.

X, 142, 7, 8; anent this, the *Rigvidhâna*, IV, 11, 1, states that it is also employed against danger from conflagrations (*agnibhaye sati*); see Oldenberg, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* XXXIX, 79, and cf. *Shadgurusishya* (ed. Macdonell), p. 163.

The practices at Kaus. 52, 5-9 present the hymn in the somewhat general character of a *samanam*, 'quieting force,' operative against danger from fire in the first place, but, further, intended to appease curses (mental fire) and to quiet the pain of one that has been burned by fire: 5. 'While reciting the present hymn a practice to quiet (fire) is performed within a pond<sup>1</sup>. 6. (The same ceremony is performed) in a ditch dug inside of the house. 7. The house is covered with an *avakâ*-plant (a water-plant, *blyxa octandra*; cf. the article cited above, p. 349). 8. To a person who is being cursed (a stirred drink and porridge<sup>2</sup>) are offered. A person who has been burned is washed (with water).' The third and second stanzas are employed, along with III, 13, 7 and XVIII, 3, 5 (6), at Vait. Sû. 29, 13, to scatter the fire upon the altar by means of a frog, an *avakâ*-plant, and reed-plants; see our article, p. 345.

The hymn has been treated previously by Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 63, 170. The *Anukramanî*, *dûrvâsâlâdevatyam*.

### Stanza 1.

The *dûrvâ*-plant, a kind of a millet (*panicum dactylon*), figures from early times (RV. X, 16, 13, &c.) in these fire-charms; see our article, pp. 342-3, and Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 70. The stanza is repeated with variants at RV. X, 142, 8.

### Stanzas 2, 3.

Cf. RV. X, 142, 7; Maitr. S. II, 10, 1; Tait. S. IV, 6, 1, 3; Vâg. S. XVII, 7; Âsv. Sr. II, 12, 2. Pâda 3 d occurs

<sup>1</sup> According to Kesava water is poured into the pond, as a protection against fire.

<sup>2</sup> Thus if we trust the *Paribhâshâ-sûtra*, Kaus. 7, 7. But *Sâyana* (after Kesava), *taptamâshake divye tailâdikam abhimantrya sapathakartre (!) prayakhet*.



frequently in the Yagus-texts, &c., in the form *agnir himasya bhashagam*: Tait. S. VII, 4, 18, 2; Maitr. S. III, 12, 19; Vâg. S. XXIII, 10; Âsv. Sr. X, 9, 2; cf. Tait. Br. III, 9, 5, 4. The present version seems adapted for the occasion.

#### VI, 109. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 21.

The hymn is rubricated at Kaus. 26, 33 along with five others<sup>1</sup> in a series which is designated *ganakarmâgana* (!) by the *Ganamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 24. Its particular employment is indicated at 26, 38: the patient is given peppercorns to eat. Dârila defines the practice as *kshiptabhaishtagyam*, and Kesava (and Sâyana) clearly regard it as a cure for wounds. Cf. the note on st. 3.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 509; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 389. Cf. also Bergaigne et Henry, *Manuel Védique*, p. 154.

#### Stanza 1.

Sâyana has alternate renderings for *kshiptabheshagî*, and *atividdhabheshagî*, in effect, 'throwing aside, and suppressing (other) remedies.' Hardly probable: note the accents.

#### Stanza 3.

a. For the rôle of the Asuras in connection with curative plants, see the introduction to I, 24, and cf. especially II, 3, 3.

c. Zimmer, l.c., p. 389, has endeavoured to show that *vâtîkrîta* means 'produced by wounds.' Kesava (and Sâyana) here (not however at VI, 44, 3) seem to agree with this construction of the word. Sâyana, in the introduction, must have this word in mind when he defines the charm as *dhanurvâta - kshiptavâtâdi - krîtsnavâtavyâdhisântyartham*, and he seems to take *vâta* in the sense of 'wound.' Yet we would adhere to the ordinary sense of *vâta*, 'wind of the body,' in the medical Sâstras; cf. Wise, *Hindu System*

<sup>1</sup> II, 7; 25; VI, 85; 127; VIII, 7.

of Medicine, p. 250. Zimmer's quotation from Wise, p. 323, is based upon a misunderstanding of the English words. The words, 'or throw pieces of wood or stone,' mean that the consumptive shall not exert himself by throwing, not, that his consumption has been brought on by throws (on the part of some other person) of pieces of wood or stone.

# VI, 110. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 109.

The Kausika, 46, 25, very intelligently, prescribes this charm for one born under an inauspicious constellation (*pāpanakshatre gâtāya*). The sense of the Sūtra is obscure<sup>1</sup>. The word *mūlena* refers to some performance undertaken elsewhere either 'under the constellation *mūla*'—this is identical with the *vikṛtau*, st. 2—, or 'with a root.' Curiously enough, it would seem as though this referred to some performance described in the Nakshatrakalpa, if we are to trust Kṛṣṇa, who says: 'This rite is performed under the constellation *mūla*. He shall perform the rite mentioned in the Nakshatrakalpa . . . He eats milk-porridge over which dregs of ghee have been poured . . . In this rite sacrificial straw with the roots (*samūla*) is spread<sup>2</sup>; fagots with the roots attached are laid on the fire . . .' The entire practice according to Kṛṣṇa (and Sāyana) consists in washing off and sprinkling (the child, or the parents), and in eating the above-mentioned porridge (cf. Kaus. 46, 26)<sup>3</sup>.

The hymn has been treated by Weber, *Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Nakshatra*, II, 291; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 431 (under the caption, 'Segensgebet für den opferer'); Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 321.

<sup>1</sup> The full text is, *pratno hī-ti pāpanakshatre gâtāya mūlena*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kaus. I, 22. 23 and the scholiasts. Of course the word 'root' throughout symbolises the constellation *mūla*.

<sup>3</sup> The practice thus coincides largely with that undertaken in connection with VI, 112 (see the introduction) and, since the word *mūla* occurs also in its first stanza, *mūlena* in Kaus. 46, 25 perhaps simply refers to the practices in Kaus. 46, 26 ff.

**Stanza 1.**

Repeated with variants at RV. VIII, 11, 10; Tait. Âr. X, 1 (st. 69). In Pâda c Sâyaṇa with these texts reads piprayasva (sarīram . . . pūraya) for piprāyasva. The meaning of the latter is at any rate in doubt, either 'delight' (from root prī) or 'fill' (from root prā<sup>1</sup>).

**Stanza 2.**

For the character of the constellations *gyeshthaghni* (thus, not *gyaishthaghni*, the MSS.) and *vikṛtau*, see Weber, Nakshatra, II, pp. 292, 310, 374, 389; Zimmer, l.c., pp. 356, 392. In Pâda b (formulaic, see VI, 112, 1 b) the expression *mūlabārhanāt* plays upon two alternate names of the *vikṛtau*, namely, *mūla*, and *mūlabārhanī*<sup>2</sup>. The name *vikṛtau* is here felt to be 'entanglers, ensnarers'; elsewhere in the AV. and in other texts, the word is rather regarded auspiciously, 'they that loosen the bonds of disease,' and the like. See the note on II, 8, 1. The change of person in the second hemistich is noteworthy, but Agni seems to be the subject in both.

**Stanza 3.**

For *vyāghréhni*, cf. *vyāghráu dāntau* VI, 140, 1. The tiger, thus early, typifies danger to life, as even to this day he claims thousands of victims annually in India.

**VI, 111. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 32.**

The hymn is one of the three *mātrīnāmāni* (sc. *sūktāni*), 'hymns that contain the names of the mothers,' Kaus. 8, 24. They are II, 2 and VIII, 6 in addition to the present, and appear to have been so designated because they contain the words *āpsaras* (II, 2, 3. 5; VI, 111, 4), and *mātār* (VIII,

<sup>1</sup> So Whitney, doubtfully, in the Index Verborum, p. 195 b (cf. also 382). The form *piprāyasva* is not quoted in the same author's Roots, Verb Forms, &c., either under *prā* and *prī* (p. 102), or under *prī* (p. 100).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the foot-note on VI, 112, 1 a, b.

6, 1<sup>1</sup>); cf. Kausika, Introduction, p. lviii. The *mâtrînâmânî* are mentioned frequently in the Kausika (see Index B); the employment which bears most closely upon the sense of the present hymn is at Kaus. 26, 29-32, a rite which, according to the scholiasts, cures a person possessed by demons. Pulverised fragrant substances, mixed with ghee, are sacrificed, and the patient is anointed with what remains. The patient is next placed upon a cross-roads<sup>2</sup>, a wicker-work of darbha grass, containing a coal-pan, upon his head; and upon the coal the previously mentioned fragrant substances are again offered. The patient going into a river against the current throws the same substances into a sieve<sup>3</sup>, while another person from behind washes him off. Pouring more of the fragrant substances into an unburned vessel, moistening the substances (with ghee), placing the vessel into a three-footed wicker-basket made of *muṅga*-grass he ties it to a tree in which there are birds' nests. The complicated ceremony is largely symbolic: it aims to purify, and indicate the passing out of the unhealthy conditions.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 512; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 393; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 21, 170; cf. also Hillebrandt, *Vedachrestomathie*, p. 50; Wise, *Hindu System of Medicine*, p. 279 ff. The *Anukramanî*, *âgneyam*.

### Stanza 1.

The *Anukramanî* designates the first stanza as *parā-nushṭup trishṭubh*. A considerable variety of textual emendations, none of which seems warranted by the exigencies of the case, are suggested by Grill<sup>2</sup>, p. 170. The stanza consists of three *trishṭubh Pâdas*, the second of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also XII, 1, 60, and the introduction to IV, 20.

<sup>2</sup> The favourite place to divest oneself of evil influences; cf. Kaus. 27, 7, in the introduction to II, 10; Kaus. 30, 18, in the introduction to VI, 26, &c. See in general Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 267, and the index under 'kreuzweg.'

<sup>3</sup> For the sieve, see the introduction to VI, 26.

which is hypermetric, and seems to suggest a slurred reading of the five syllables preceding the caesura, perhaps *ém yó baddháḥ* for *ayám yó baddháḥ* (cf. Avestan *aêm*).

b. *baddháḥ* and *súyataḥ* may refer either simply, or with double entente to the mental condition of the patient, 'bound and checked by the fetters of the dementia.'

c. Zimmer, p. 393, 'dann wird er dir deinen antheil darbringen.' But *ádhi kar* does not seem to bear any such interpretation.

### Stanza 3.

a. Zimmer renders *devainasá* by 'sin against the gods;' Ludwig, 'von befleckung (where is there a corresponding word in the original?), sünde gegen die götter, der wunsinnig.' It does not seem that the gods madden him that offends against them, a mere sight of them suffices: see *Mahābh.* III, 14501, 'the man who, awake or asleep, beholds the gods quickly becomes mad; that is known as possession by the gods.' Our translation, too, preserves the parallelism between the first two *Pādas*. Indeed, *devainasá* seems to mean outright 'the sins committed by the gods.' See the introduction to VI, 112, and *Proc. Amer. Or. Soc.*, March, 1894 (*Journal*, vol. xvi), p. cxix ff., and cf. especially *Āpast. Sr.* XIII, 17, 9; *Pañk. Br.* I, 6, 10 (*devakṛitasyai-nasaḥ*). Thus also *Sāyana*, *devakṛitam enas . . . devakṛitāt pāpād upaghātād unmaditam*. Cf., perhaps, also VIII, 7, 28.

b. Read *yathānunmaditó* for *yadānunmaditó*: the corruption is due to 1 d.

### Stanza 4.

a. At *AV.* II, 2, 5 the *Apsaras* are designated as the 'mind-bewildering' wives of the *Gandharvas*; at *Tait. S.* III, 4, 8, 4, 'the *Gandharvas* and *Apsaras* render mad him that is mad.' In the sequel of the latter passage it is stated that it is necessary to quiet them (*śamayati*, cf. st. 2 a). The expression *púnar dā* is used in the sense of 'give back, give up possession,' rather than in the derived sense, 'make well, restore.' All this seems to be well founded in the early Hindu view; in *RV.* X, 11, 2 the *Gandharvī* and the

woman of the waters (ápyâ yóshanâ) perform a similar service: 'And the Gandharvî, the woman of the water, spake; when the reeds rustle may she protect my mind <sup>1</sup>.' Primarily, the madness which the Gandharvas and Apsaras can cause, and which they are called upon to remove, is, in accordance with the general character of these divinities, the madness of love; cf. the story of Urvasî and Purûravas (RV. X, 95, especially st. 14).

#### VI, 112. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 164.

This and the following hymn reflect a cycle of legends to which the translator has devoted an article in the *Proc. Amer. Or. Soc.*, March, 1894 (*Journal*, vol. xvi, p. cxix ff.), entitled, 'Trita, the scapegoat of the gods.' Without the light of the conceptions there alluded to the hymns are hardly intelligible <sup>2</sup>, and a brief statement of them here will not be out of place. At Maitr. S. IV, 1, 9, it is stated that the gods did not find a person upon whom they might be able to wipe off from themselves the bloody part of the sacrifice, i.e. their guilt. Agni spat upon the waters, and successively three personages, Ekata, Dvita, and Trita, were born. The gods wiped off their guilt upon them; they in turn wiped themselves upon one who was overtaken by the rising sun, i.e. one over whom the sun had risen while he was asleep; this one wiped himself upon one who was overtaken by the setting sun; he upon one afflicted with brown teeth; he upon one with diseased nails; he upon one that had married a younger sister, before the older was married; he upon one whose younger brother had married before himself; he upon one who had married before his older brother; he upon one who had slain a man; he upon one who had committed an abortion. 'Beyond him who has committed an abortion the sin does not pass.'

In Tait. Br. III, 2, 8, 9 ff. the same story is told with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, I, 188.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Contributions*, Third Series, *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* XV, 163; Fifth Series, *ib.* XVI, 3.

variants, the chief difference being that the culminating sin is the slaying of a Brahman: 'Beyond the slayer of a Brahman the sin does not pass.' Still other versions occur in the *Kâth. S.* XXXI, 7; *Kap. S.* XLVII, 7 (cf. also *Sat. Br. I*, 2, 2, 8; *Kâty. Sr. II*, 5, 26; *Mahîdhara to Vâg. S. I*, 23; *Âpast. Sr. I*, 25, 15); and similar lists of sinful personages are to be quoted from a variety of *Sûtras*, and later *Smârta*-texts; see Delbrück, *Die Indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse*, in the *Transactions of the Royal Saxon Society*, vol. xi, nr. v, p. 578 ff. (200 ff. of the reprint); cf. also Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 315. All those mentioned in the lists are obviously regarded as burdened with guilt (*énaś*); and the legend clearly marks them as persons upon whom, therefore, the guilt of others may be unloaded.

In another version of the legend, *Sat. Br. I*, 2, 3, 1 ff., Trita and his two shadowy companions Ekata and Dvita roam about with Indra, and when the latter slays *Viśvarûpa*, the son of *Tvaśtar*, they are saddled with this crime, equivalent to the murder of a Brahman, because they 'knew about his going to be killed.' The truth is this: Indra's drastic performances upon the great variety of demons whom he slays, coupled as they are at times with wiles and treachery, have not failed to arouse the compunctions of a certain school of Vedic moralists (see, e.g. *TS. VI*, 5, 1, 1-3; *Tait. Br. I*, 7, 1, 7. 8; *Pañk. Br. XII*, 6, 8; *XX*, 15, 6; *Maitr. S. IV*, 3, 4; 5, 6), and they have given rise to the notion of misdeeds on the part of the gods in general (*devainasá*, *AV. VI*, 111, 3; *X*, 1, 12). It was natural, now, that some personage closely associated with Indra—a personage, moreover, who could be construed as subservient, or at least ancillary to him—should be picked out for the unenviable position. For this Trita seems fitted in an eminent degree. Trita is the double of Indra in his struggle with the demons (*RV. I*, 187, 1), or his coadjutor (*RV. I*, 52, 5; *V*, 86, 1; *VIII*, 7, 24, and especially *X*, 8, 8). Whether we regard him as the faded predecessor of Indra in the rôle of a demiurge, being, as it were, the Indo-Iranian

Hercules (cf. the Avestan *Thraêtaona Âthwya*); whether we regard him as Indra's lieutenant (see the passages of the RV. just cited); or whether we follow Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*, II, 326, 330, in viewing him as a divine sacrificer; in each case the moralising fancy, which would whitewash the cruelties incidental upon Indra's valued services, naturally alights upon Trita, and makes him bear the burden of his superior's misdeeds. And this again has been generalised so that in AV. VI, 113 the gods in general, without specification, are said to have wiped off their guilt upon Trita. He in his turn passes off his guilt upon the sinners among men.

The rites within which AV. VI, 112 and 113 are embedded in Kaus. 46, 26-9 have for their object the removal of the sin of him whose younger brother marries first, as also of the prematurely married younger brother. Symbolically the sin is again removed, this time to a non-living object, to wit: 'While reciting VI, 112 and 113 (the performing priest) ties fetters of *muṅga*-grass upon the limbs of the *parivitti* and the *parivividâna*<sup>1</sup>, as they sit at the edge of a body of water (a river), washes them by means of bunches of grass, and rinses them off. Placing other fetters upon the foam (in the river) he lets them flow away while reciting the hemistich, VI, 113, 2 c, d. And having entered the dwelling (the priest) sprinkles them while reciting all the hymns to the waters (see Kaus. 7, 4, note).

The treatment of the Kausika embraces but one aspect of the hymn, in employing it in connection with the ex-

---

<sup>1</sup> *Dârila*, 'the younger brother along with the unmarried older brother.' Kerava somewhat differently, 'an expiatory performance for him who marries, sets up the fire, and is consecrated for the soma-sacrifice, while the older brother is living.' Cf. the sins of the *paryâdhâtar* and the *paryâhita*, 'the younger brother who sets up the fire, and the older brother who is passively implicated in the same sin;' and the *paryash/ar* and the *parîsh/a*, 'the younger brother who is consecrated for the sacrifice before the older, and the older brother who is passively implicated in the same sin.' See Delbrück, l. c., pp. 580-1 (202-3).



piatory performances of the parivitta and the parivividāna. It seems that this is too narrow, and that the hymns were constructed to cover all the crimes in the catalogues connected with the legend of Trita, as mentioned above. This at least is in Kesava's mind; see the foot-note. Further, the text of both hymns (VI, 112, 3; 113, 2) states distinctly that the sins in question shall be wiped off upon the abortionist, the bhrūṇahān, whose crime figures as a most shocking one at the end of the lists. This indicates that the entire list of sins is in the mind of the poet, even though he intends to direct his charm against some special part of them. Finally, the expression dvādasadhā in VI, 113, 3, refers, in my opinion, again to the list of crimes which are stated variously as from 9-11 in number, the use of the numeral 12 being due to its formulary and solemn character. From all this it seems to me that the hymns have in mind at least all those sins that arise from the inversion of the order of precedence as between the younger and older brothers, and probably the rest also.

The hymns have been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 469, 444; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 15, 171; Hardy, *Die Vedisch-brahmanische Periode*, p. 201. Cf. also Zimmer's luminous allusion to VI, 113, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 315; and Bergaigne et Henry, *Manuel Védique*, p. 154. Ludwig introduces VI, 112 with the caption 'Heirat. Für vater mutter sohn,' and defines it (l. c., p. 470) as follows: 'Der bruder der vor seinem ältern geheiratet hat, oder (so the text) der ältere, der den jüngern früher hat heiraten lassen, hat dadurch trockenheit verursacht. Er wird gebunden, seine frau, sein kind, bisz der regen ihn erlöst.' Support for this statement is wanting, and the author has not defined his motives. Grill treats both hymns rather too vaguely under the caption 'krankheit' (p. 8 ff.). The *Anukramanī* defines VI, 112 as āgneyam; VI, 113 as paushṇam.

#### Stanza 1.

a, b. Our reference of the pronoun ayām to the delinquent younger brother, the parivividāna or parivettar, while

not altogether certain, seems better than Grill's to some disease, a conception which leads him to emend the word to *iyám* (sc. *grāhi*). Both Ludwig and Grill, moreover, refer *gyesh/hám* to 'the father,' who, to be sure, is mentioned in st. 2 in a general way, along with the mother and the sons, 'release them all, father, sons, and mother.' This is simply another way of saying, 'release the entire family from the consequences of the sin committed by a single member.' The point of the hymn is stated in the first Páda, and their rendering of *gyesh/hám* causes them to miss it<sup>1</sup>.

I do not know whether the selection of Agni as the helping agent is of the general sort, or whether it refers to the legends reported above, in all of which Agni plays a part. In the versions of the Maitr. S. and Tait. Br. Agni helps the gods to free themselves from their pollution, and he is introduced also in the narrative of the Sat. Br. But in general Agni chases away evil demons, protects against poverty, straits, and enmities (RV. IV, 11, 5); especially does he remove the consequences of sin, *vy énâmsi sîsratho víshvag agne* (RV. IV, 12, 5).

c. *Grāhi* is the attack of disease personified as a female demon. Since the word is derived from the root *grah*, 'seize,' she is supposed to fetter the sick person (cf. the second stanza), and the medicine man's practices take the turn of freeing him from them symbolically; see the *Kausika* above, and cf. RV. X, 161, 1; AV. II, 9, 1.

d. 'May all the gods give thee leave,' i.e. may they support thee in thy undertaking, as e.g. Agni is supported by a train of gods when he drives out fever in AV. V, 22, 1.

---

<sup>1</sup> The entire hemistich, however, may have been secondarily adapted to the present situation: *gyesh/hám vadhî* reminds us of *gyesh/haghnî*, the designation of a certain constellation (VI, 110, 2), and Páda b repeats formulaically VI, 110, 2 b, which obviously alludes to the constellation *mûla*. Cf. the introduction to that hymn and the note on its second stanza.

**Stanza 2.**

b. The use of the number three is formulary and solemn. I see no possibility of pointing out any three persons of the family, especially subject to the consequences of the illegal marriage, since primarily only the parivitta and the parivividāna are involved. The cataloguing of father, sons, and mother in Pāda d simply expands the notion contained in the solemn number three.

**Stanza 3.**

a. For párivitta the Kausika (46, 26) substitutes the synonymous parivitti. Ludwig's suggested emendation to parivettā, 'the younger brother who marries before the older' (=parivividāna in the Kaus., l. c.), is unnecessary, since both brothers alike are affected by the sin, wherever these conceptions crop out, and the mention of the older is as appropriate as that of the younger; cf. the monograph of Prof. Delbrück cited above, p. 578 ff. (200 ff.).

c. vimúko hí sánti is difficult to translate; literally, 'they are loosening,' i.e. the fetters are subject in their very nature to the charm instituted to loosen them. Grill, in his note, paraphrases prettily, but not quite in accordance with the situation, 'denn sie sind Stricke der Ausspannung.' Ludwig, rather vaguely, 'denn es sind die befreier da (oder: denn es ist regen gekommen).' Possibly vimúko is genitive singular, and the expression is to be rendered 'for they belong to release,' i.e. are subject to release. The poet sacrifices rigorous logic to the pun which is secured by introducing vimúko after ví mukantam. The word vimúko, moreover, foreshadows the statement about Pûshan in Pāda d, since he is designated in RV. I, 42, 1; VI, 55, 1 as vimúko nâpât, 'the son of release,' i.e. 'the releaser' par excellence (cf. sâhaso nâpât, and the like), and in RV. VIII, as vimókana, 'the liberator.'

d. The Pāda is very characteristic in that it assigns quite definitely the conceptions at the base of the hymn to the cycle of ideas which are worked up in the legends reported

in the introduction. Pûshan is asked to wipe off (*mṛīkshva*, from root *marg*, the technical verb in those legends) the sin upon the abortionist (*bhrûṇahán*), his sin being greatest: 'beyond him that has committed an abortion the sin does not pass;' see Maitr. S. IV, 1, 9, and the corresponding passages of the *Kâṭhaka* and *Kapishṭhala Samhitâs*, as quoted by Prof. Delbrück, l. c., pp. 579 (201) ff. Cf. also VI, 113, 2 d.

### VI, 113. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 165.

For the conceptions at the base of this hymn, see the introduction to VI, 112. The statements here are more general than in the preceding, but the sins consequent upon the precedence of the younger brother are especially in the mind of the poet, at least if we trust the tradition of the ritual; cf. the discussion of this point, above.

#### Stanza 1.

b. It is not absolutely necessary to emend *enam* to *enan* (i.e. *enad*) with the Pet. Lex., s. v., trita b), and Grill<sup>2</sup>, p. 171, since the masculine *enam* may refer to *pâpmânam*, abstracted from *pâpman* in 2 a. Read *mamṛige*, and cf. Kühnau, *Die Trishtubh-Jagatî-Familie*, pp. 69-71, and Oldenberg, *Die Hymnen des Rig-veda*, p. 477.

c, d. Read *tuâ graāhir*, in order to obtain a *gagatî-pâda* in the midst of a *trishtubh* stanza, and cf. Oldenberg, l. c., p. 115 ff. Note the pun between *ânasé* and *nâsayantu*; cf. III, 7, 6. Both *Pâdas* are repeated in st. 3.

#### Stanza 2.

For the first hemistich, cf. Tait. Br. II, 2, 9, 2.

c. Cf. I, 8, 1; VI, 14, 3; X, 1, 10; 4, 20; RV. X, 155, 3.

d. The identity of *Pâda d* with VI, 112, 3 d elicits certain text-critical remarks from Dr. Grill, which are, to say the least, premature. The repetition of the *Pâda* does not suffice for the basis of textual manipulations, and the

appearance of Pūshan, in addition to Agni, upon the scene is sufficiently accounted for by the suggestion of the root *vi muk*; cf. our note on VI, 112, 3 c.

### Stanza 3.

a. The expression, 'deposited in twelve places is that which has been wiped off *Trīta*,' contains a distinct reference in round number to the list of delinquencies, stated variously as being from nine to eleven, through which *Trīta*'s sin passes as it is transferred among men, from one sin to another; see the introduction above. *Sâyana* makes out the count by counting the gods as one, the three *Āptyas* as three, and eight human sinners: he who is caught asleep by the rising sun, and seven others.

b. Read *manushyaēnasāni* in accordance with the division of the *Padapāṭha*, or *manushiyaīnasāni*.

c, d. Identical with 1 c, d.

### VI, 114. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 164.

In accordance with the general character of its contents this hymn is employed, in connection with one or more of those following, on a considerable number of occasions. At Kaus. 46, 30-32 the entire *anuvāka* beginning with our hymn is employed in expiatory rite at the death of one's teacher; at 46, 33-35 in connection with an expiatory offering from one's store of grain and provisions; at 46, 36-40 in connection with the discharge of one's debts on the death of the creditor<sup>1</sup>. Still more secondary is the use of these hymns at Kaus. 60, 7; 67, 19 (here only VI, 114, 115, 117), in connection with the *sava* or *brahmaudana*, the solemn presentation of the priest's rewards; and at Vait. Sū. 22, 15; 23, 12; 30, 22; *Sāntikalpa* 17, 18; *Ath. Paris.* 22, 4; 39, 11. Similar formulas to those contained

<sup>1</sup> So according to *Dārila*: *Kesava* and *Sâyana* with better reason perhaps restrict the recitation to VI, 117-119, three hymns that deal with debt (*rinā*) explicitly.

in this and the next hymn occur in RV. X, 37, 12; Maitr. S. III, 11, 10; IV, 14, 7; Vāg. S. XX, 14-20; Tait. Br. II, 4, 4, 8; 6, 6, 1; Tait. Ār. II, 3, 1; 7, 3.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 443; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 45, 172. The *Anukramanī*, *vaiśvadevam*.

### Stanza 1.

For the designation of the Brahmins as gods, see the note on XII, 3, 38.

### Stanza 3.

a. *médasvatā* (sc. *pasunā*); cf. Tait. S. VI, 3, 11, 5. The point is felt by Śāyana who supplies *pasunā*. Not so Dārila at Kaus. 46, 30, note, *medasvatā srukā-gyam guhoti*. According to this construction it would be proper to emend to *médasvatyā*.

## VI, 115. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 164.

In general the employment of this hymn coincides with that of the preceding, as far as the Kausika and Vaitāna-sūtra are concerned; see the introduction there. The additional employment in Vait. Sū. 8, 7, and (of st. 3) in 30, 23 is without special significance. See also Ath. Paris. 39, 11. For parallel passages in other texts, see the introduction to the preceding hymn. Previous translations by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 443; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 46, 172 ff.; cf. also Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 182. The *Anukramanī*, *vaiśvadevam*.

### Stanza 2.

Śāyana, on the strength of Tait. Br. III, 8, 18, 5, suggests that *bhūtām* and *bhāvya* may refer to this and the next world. Cf. VI, 12, 2; XI, 4, 20, and II, 28, 3.

## VI, 120. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 165.

The employment of this hymn in the ritual takes place on the same occasions as VI, 114; see the introduction to that hymn, and cf. Dārila's corrupt gloss on Kaus. 46, 30

(note 5). Previous translations by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 442; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 72, 173; cf. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V, pp. 299, 41, 306. The *Anukramanî*, *mantrokta-devatyam*.

**Stanza 1.**

Cf. Maitr. S. I, 10, 3; IV, 14, 17; Tait. S. I, 8, 5, 3; Tait. Br. III, 7, 12, 4; Tait. Âr. II, 6, 8.

**Stanza 2.**

b. The Paippalâda has *trâtâ* for *bhrâtâ*, hardly an improvement in the light of the connection.

**Stanza 3.**

The first hemistich recurs at III, 25, 8 a, b; cf. Muir, l. c., I<sup>3</sup>, 385, note.

**VI, 127. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 40.**

The hymn is rubricated at Kaus. 26, 33 along with five others (II, 7; 25; VI, 85; 109; VIII, 7) in a series which the *Ganamâlâ*, *Ath. Paris.* 32, 24, designates as *ganakarmâ-gana*. In the sequel the Kausika prescribes its employment twice: at 26, 34 it is recited while the patient is being anointed (with the powder obtained by pulverizing a chip of) *palâsa*-wood of the width of four fingers<sup>1</sup>; at 26, 39 it is employed while dregs of ghee are being poured upon the head of one afflicted with dropsy. *Dârila* regards both treatments as cures for dropsy; *Kesava* and *Sâyana* construct them more broadly as universal remedies<sup>2</sup>. It would seem as though the chip of *palâsa*-wood (*butea frondosa*) is intended to reflect the *kipûdru* in st. 2 of the hymn. A previous translation by Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 386.

<sup>1</sup> *Sâyana*, *kturaṅgulam palâsarakalam pishṭvâ abhimantrya vyâdhitasarîram* limpet.

<sup>2</sup> *Sâyana*, *galodaravisarpâdisarvarogabhaishagyârtham*.

**Stanza 1.**

For vidradhā, see Grohmann, Indische Studien, IX, 397; Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 386; and Wise, Hindu System of Medicine, pp. 210, 284, 288, 362. Sāyana, vidaranasīlasya vranavīśhasya. For balāsa, see the note on V, 22, 11. Not at all clear is lōhita: it is either 'flow of blood,' or 'inflammation.' Sāyana suggests both (visarpakavīśhasya nāma, yad vā . . . rudhīrasrāvātmaśasya rogasya). Cf. vilohitām IX, 8, 1; XII, 4, 4. Shankar Pandit and Sāyana read visālpakasya<sup>1</sup>; cf. their readings at XIX, 44, 2 (in the note on IX, 8, 2). Finally, the sense of pīṣitām, ordinarily 'flesh,' is by no means clear in this connection: we have taken it in the attenuated meaning 'piece, bit, speck.' The Pet. Lex. suggests that it is for \*pīṣitam = pīṣṭam, but that would be equally problematic in any such sense as is demanded by the connection. Sāyana, literally, nidānabhūtam duṣṭam māṁsam, i.e. (with a change of construction: accusative for genitive), 'the plant shall not leave the diseased flesh which is the root of the afore-mentioned diseases.' Very unlikely.

**Stanza 2.**

The mushkaú are likely to be bag-like swellings. According to Grohmann, l. c., p. 399, Susruta designates certain swellings on the neck as mushkavat, 'similar to testicles.' Cf. also VI, 14, 2. In Pāda d śīpúdrur of the vulgata is faulty: the MSS. and Shankar Pandit read kīpúdrur; Sāyana, kīpadrur (etatsamgñō drumavīśhasḥ). The word occurs nowhere else; cf. the introduction.

**Stanza 3.**

The last two Pādas may be an afterthought. For āgñātām yākṣhamam the compound āgñātayakṣhmā occurs III, 11, 1 = RV. X, 161, 1. Cf. Zimmer, l. c., p. 377, who tries

<sup>1</sup> Sāyana, vividham sarpati nādīmukhena sarīrasya antaryvāpnōti  
\*ti visarpakaḥ.



to define it—though by its very terms it is undefinable—as the name of a certain disease.

#### VI, 128. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 160.

The present hymn, and the custom which it harbours, have been treated by the writer in 'Seven Hymns of the Atharva-veda,' Amer. Journ. Phil. VII, 484 ff. According to the indications of the ritual the hymn is in praise of *sakadhūma*, which, as a possessive compound, means 'he of the dung-smoke,' i.e. 'he that prophesies from the smoke of cow-dung.' The *sakadhūma* predicts the weather for a person about to start on a journey; see below. As weather-prophet he very naturally comes, like our 'Old Probabilities,' or 'weather-clerk,' to be regarded at the same time as controlling the weather for good or bad—in short, as a weather-maker. Control of the weather, as a delegated power, comes most naturally from the stars: hence these are said, in st. 1, to have made him their king.

In the *Paribhāṣā-sūtra*, Kaus. 8, 17, we have the clear statement that the *sakadhūma* is an old Brahman. According to the *Dasa Karmāṇi*, and the *Atharvaṇiya-pad-dhati*, at Kaus. 76, 19, one (or four) *sakadhūmas* recite at a certain stage of the wedding-practices the *sūryā-hymn* (RV. X, 85)<sup>1</sup>. In Kaus. 50, 15. 16, in the course of the practices of a merchant about to start on an expedition, the merchant, while reciting this hymn, places lumps of dung (*sakṛtṭpindān*) upon the joints of a Brahman friend, and asks the *sakadhūma*: 'What sort of a day shall we have to-day?' He answers: 'A fair day, a very auspicious one'<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *sūryāpā/ham* kurvanti. The sense of this expression is not altogether certain. It may mean simply, 'they read the sun,' i.e. for indications of weather. *Kesava* in the same place has *vrishākapibrāhmanāḥ sūryam pa/hanti*, a most curious statement. Does *vrishākapibrāhmana* mean 'sun-Brāhmana, astrologer,' and does *sūryam* refer to the *vrishākapi-hymn*, RV. X, 86?

<sup>2</sup> *Sāyana*, *sīghram kartukāmaḥ . . . brāhmanasya samdhishu gomayapindān nidhāya agnitvena samkalpya abhimantrya sūtrokt-aprakāreṇa prasnapratiṭāṇe kuryāt*.

Once more the hymn is prescribed, Kaus. 100, 3, in a *prâyaskitti* for an eclipse of the moon, probably on account of the prayer in the third stanza; cf. also *Sântikalpa* 15. For st. 3, see Kaus. 138, 8.

The hymn, with the addition of sundry other stanzas, is repeated in an appendix to the *Nakshatrakalpa*, and has been presented in our afore-mentioned article, p. 485 ff.; cf. Weber's translation of it in his *Omina und Portenta*, p. 353. The vulgata form of the hymn has been rendered by Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 353; cf. also Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 187.

#### Stanza 1.

*Sâyana* also defines *sakadhûma* as *brâhmana*, but in a roundabout way. Primarily, according to his view, it is the fire in which lumps of dung have been placed, and from which the smoke rises (*sakritah sambandhi dhûmo yasminn agnau sa sakadhûmah agnih*). But *agni* (e.g. according to Tait. S. V, 2, 8, 2) is identical with *brâhmana*; cf. his words, *agnitvena samkalpya*, in the note above<sup>1</sup>. In the *brahmodya*-stanza, RV. I, 164, 43 = AV. IX, 10, 25, occurs the expression *sakamâyam dhûmâm*; this is paraphrased in *Kâtyâyana's Sarvânukramanî* and in *Shadgurusishya's* comment (pp. 11, 97 of Macdonell's edition) by *sakadhûma*, 'dung-smoke.' Possibly 'the fire that gives forth dung-smoke' (cf. Haug in the *Proceedings of the Bavarian Academy*, 1875, II, p. 506) forms the true mythic background of these conceptions; the Brahman interpreter may be secondarily called *sakadhûma*. Weber, l. c., surmises that it may be the first morning fire, kindled while the stars are still shining, and indicating by its rising or falling smoke the weather of the breaking day; cf. also the same author, *Indische Studien*, V, 257; X, 65; *Nakshatra*, II, 272, note; 393.

<sup>1</sup> *Sâyana* continues, *tam sakadhûmam brâhmanam purâ nakshatrâni târakâh râgânam kandramasam akurvata*. According to this the moon (fire) is the *sakadhûma*, the controller of the weather. This is good folk-lore: the *Brâhmana* may be the moon's representative on earth.

## VI, 130. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 104.

This and the following two hymns<sup>1</sup> are accompanied at Kaus. 36, 13-14 by the following practices: 'Bean-loves' (mâshasmarân; Kerava and Sâyana simply 'beans,' mâshân) are thrown (upon the head of the person whose love is desired<sup>2</sup>). Then the points of arrows (sara) are kindled and are cast in every direction about the effigy (of the desired person), its face fronting towards the performer. The bean (mâsha) is doubtless regarded as inflammatory food (cf. the Pythagorean prohibition), since it is forbidden at the fasts preliminary to holy practices, along with honey, salt, meat, and brandy; see Kaus. I, 32, and note (and frequently elsewhere): its fitness in a love-charm seems derivable from this notion. A similar practice with the effigy occurs at Kaus. 35, 28 (see the introduction to III, 25).

The hymn has been interpreted by Weber, *Indische Studien*, V, 244 ff.; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 515; Grill<sup>3</sup>, pp. 58, 174 ff.

## Stanza 1.

The pada-MSS. read *râtha-gite yînâm*; Sâyana substitutes *dhînâm* for this *yînâm*. But the text of the *Samhitâ*-MSS. justifies *râthagiteyînâm*<sup>3</sup>. Weber, l. c., p. 345, note, refers by way of illustration of the present epithets of the Apsaras to the names *samgâyantî* (IV, 38, 1), *ugragît*, *ugramparyâ*, and *râshṭrabhrîṭ* (VI, 118, 1. 2), and to the frequent warlike epithets of the Gandharvas, with whom they are associated closely (cf. e.g. Tait. S. III, 4, 7, 3). Grill, too daringly, emends to *arthagitâm ârthagitînâm*, supporting his theory by a reference to IV, 38, where the

<sup>1</sup> Thus according to the commentators: 131 and 132 are not otherwise rubricated.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Dârila; according to Kerava, upon his couch, house, or bed; according to Sâyana, on the ground which he walks.

<sup>3</sup> The hymn is wanting in the Paippalâda.

Apsaras are implored for help in gambling. He supposes that they 'gain their object' both in play and in love.

#### VI, 131. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 104.

For the practices connected with this hymn, see the introduction to the preceding. Previous translations by Weber, *Indische Studien*, V, 244 ff.; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 58, 175 ff.

#### Stanza 2.

Anumati is the goddess of favour and consent; cf. the play of words in *ānu manyasva* (as in VII, 20). *Ākūti* is the goddess of schemes. In XIX, 4, 2 she is called *kittāsya mātā*, 'mother of thought' ('the wish is father to the thought'). Cf. III, 8, 5; V, 8, 2, &c.

#### VI, 132. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 104.

For the practices connected with this hymn, see the introduction to VI, 130. It has been translated by Weber, *Indische Studien*, V, 245, who supposes that it is the text of a brewing-charm (*sudzauber*), in which the person desirous of love boils some concoction that attracts irresistibly the coy beloved. But the absence of any such practice in connection with the hymn casts much doubt upon this interpretation. It seems rather to allude to some mythic touch (*ākhyāyikā*). *Sāyana* suggests that the gods either poured love into the water, to quench him, or that they placed him into the atmospheric waters as ruler of all lovers. *Varuṇa* in the refrain is, of course, in the position of lord or controller of those waters, and *vāruṇasya dhārmanā* is not remote from the meaning 'by the permission or order of *Varuṇa*.' The whole savours of the conception that the gods poured *smarā* into the waters either by way of punishing him for his attacks upon themselves<sup>1</sup>, or in order

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the stories of their burning *Kāma*, 'love,' e.g. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, I<sup>2</sup>, 112; IV<sup>2</sup>, 364. Or is there still a different notion, namely that the fruitful waters are the natural seat of love?

to quench him, and that the person practising the charm kindles him anew with the permission of Varuṇa.

**Stanza 1.**

b. In Tait. S. III, 4, 7, 3, the Ādhis, 'yearnings,' are personified as the Apsaras, the wives of Kāma, 'love,' the Gandharva.

**Stanza 3.**

Indrāṇī is the goddess of successful and happy conjugal love; see our Contributions, Sixth Series, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, XLVIII, 551 ff.

VI, 136. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 31.

The plant nitatnī, 'she that takes root' (cf. the note on III, 12, 4 d, and Ait. Br. VII, 31, 3), is not mentioned elsewhere. In Tait. S. IV, 4, 5, 1; Kātṛ. S. XL, 4; Vishṇu, LXVII, 7, the word designates a personification of one of the bricks of the fire-altar (ishṭakā); in Tait. Br. III, 1, 4, 1, one of the stars of the constellation kṛttikā. This and the next hymn are supplied with practices at Kaus. 31, 28, to wit: The fruit of (the plant) mentioned in the mantra (i. e. the nitatnī<sup>1</sup>), together with the plants gīvī and ālākā<sup>2</sup>, (are concocted into a solution) and poured (by the medicine-man) who is clothed in black and has eaten black food<sup>3</sup>, in the early morning before the rise of the crows (upon the head of the person for whom the hair cure is undertaken). The exact virtue of these plants escapes

<sup>1</sup> The scholiasts agree in defining this by kākamāṭī. The word is not elsewhere quotable as the name of a plant, but is mentioned in Böhlingk's Lexicon as a kind of spirituous liquor.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kausika, Introduction, pp. xlv and l. Sāyana has gīvantī for gīvī, and bhr̥ṅgarāga for ālākā. On p. xlv we have written ālākā, but Dārila has ālākā. On the other hand Böhlingk's Lexicon, vol. i, p. 294, mentions ālāka = alarka, 'calotropis gigantea.'

<sup>3</sup> That is sesame, beans, and the like; cf. Kausika, Introduction, p. xlix.

our knowledge; the black colour symbolises, perhaps, the (black) hair.

The hymn has been translated by Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 68 (cf. also p. 264); Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 50, 176. The *Anukramanī*, *vānaspatyam*, by *keśavardhanakāma Vīṭahavya* (VI, 137, 1).

### Stanza 3.

b. For *vriskāte* the Pet. Lex. suggests *vriskyāte*. So also *Sāyana*, *khidyate*. Cf. the note on XII, 4, 12.

### VI, 137. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 31.

For the employment in the ritual see the introduction to the preceding hymn. Previous translations by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 512; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 68 (cf. also p. 264); Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 50, 176. The *Anukramanī*, as in the preceding.

### Stanza 1.

No further trace of this curious, probably ad hoc, legend (*ākhyāyikā*) has been found. *Sāyana* cites no parallels. *Gamadagni* is mentioned in connection with helpful charms at II, 32, 3; V, 28, 7; for *Asita*, cf. the note on I, 14, 4.

### Stanza 2.

Zimmer renders *abhīsunā*, 'with the finger;' so also *Sāyana* with the *Naighaṇṭuka* II, 4. 5, *aṅgulibhiḥ*. I do not feel altogether convinced that the Pet. Lex. (s. v. *abhīsu*) is right in denying this meaning.

### VI, 138. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 108.

Unsavoury and obscure is the performance associated with the recital of this hymn at *Kaus.* 48, 32-34. Urine and dung are put into the skin-bag that covers the tail of a calf, they are covered up with *kakuḷa*-fruits<sup>1</sup>, the entire

<sup>1</sup> For *sepyā*, 'skin of the tail,' see *Kausika*, Introduction, p. liv; for *kakuḷa*, *ibid.* xlviii. The latter word, however, is explained by

mess is crushed and dug into the ground<sup>1</sup>. Next (Sûtra 33) the (same) skin-bag and a reed (are crushed and dug into the ground?). Finally (Sûtra 34) the reed is stuck into the skin-bag and again dug into the ground (?). The Sûtras are extremely brief, and the scholiasts do not make clear these performances which reach the lowest plane even of Atharvanic doings.

The hymn has been rendered by Weber, *Indische Studien*, V, 246; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 470; cf. also Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, I, 131; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Index, p. 455 a.

### Stanza 1.

d. The exact meaning of *opasnam* escapes us, owing to the complete absence of graphic representations. The lexicons, Weber and Zimmer, 'geloct'; Ludwig, 'bezopft.' Sâyana, as the scholiasts in general, derives *opasâ* from the verb *upasete*, and arrives at the meaning 'one with female organs' (*strîvyañganam*). Geldner, l.c., has gone peculiarly astray in comparing the cuckold and translating 'with horns,' since in *Maitr. S.* II, 7, 5 = *Tait. S.* IV, 1, 5, 3 = *Vâg. S.* XI, 56 the goddess *Sinîvâlî* is described as *sukapardâ sukurîrâ svopasâ*. All three epithets obviously refer to female methods of dressing the hair and the head. The notion here is that the eunuch shall develop hermaphroditic characteristics, and hence assume the head-gear of a woman. See stanzas 2 and 3, and cf. in addition *AV.* VIII, 6, 7<sup>2</sup>; IX, 3, 8; *Âpast. Sr.* X, 9, 5-7; *Sat. Br.* V, 1, 2, 14; 4, 1, 1; *Kâty. Sr.* XIV, 1, 14; XV, 5, 22. The *opasâ*

---

*Kesava* in a very different way, namely, *tasya* (sc. *vatsasya*) *vṛishanaiḥ*, i.e., the skin containing the *mûtrapurîṣham* is covered up with the testicles of the calf.

<sup>1</sup> The scholiasts say, *marmazî nikhanati* (cf. *Kaus.* 47, 51; 48, 4). The digging is supposed to take place, symbolically, in the vital spot of the rival.

<sup>2</sup> The *ḍṇ. λγγ. tirîṣn* in this passage is doubtless identical with the later *kirîṣn*, and again refers to some feminine mode of dressing the head.

seems to be some form of coiffure which has become at this stage of the literature a characteristic ornamentation of women; its primary meaning may have been 'horn,' but this is by no means rendered certain by *Pañk. Br. XIII, 4, 3* (upon which Geldner relies), since it may be figurative in that sense.

### Stanzas 2, 3.

The exact meaning of *kurīra* (*Sâyana*, *kesagālam*), *kurirān* (*Sâyana*, *kurirāḥ kesāḥ tadvantam kuru*), and *kúmba* (*Sâyana*, *ābharanam strīṇām*) is again uncertain, but they all refer to female head-gear.

### VI, 139. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 102.

The present charm is apparently addressed to a plant which is, however, not mentioned by name, unless *nyastikā* be a proper noun. The hymn is rubricated, along with VI, 129 and VII, 38, at *Kaus. 36, 12*: the person practising the charm digs up a *suvarṅkalā*-plant<sup>1</sup>, with the ceremonies pertaining to the digging up of plants (cf. *Kaus. 33, 9, 16*), fastens (its) white blossoms upon his head, and thus enters the village. Neither of the two other hymns (VI, 129 and VII, 38) defines the plant more specifically<sup>2</sup>: the exactitude of the *Sūtra* does not inspire confidence.

The hymn has been rendered by Weber, *Indische Studien*, V, 247; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 515.

### Stanza 1.

For the formulaic numbers see the analogical parallels mentioned by A. Kuhn in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, XIII, 133. The *ἄπ. λεγ.* *nyastikā* is

<sup>1</sup> *Dārila*, *suvarṅkalā prasiddhā trisaṃdhyāsādrisī* (cf. the introduction to IV, 20); *Kesava* has *saṅkhaushpī* and *sūryavelā* (cf. *sūryavallī*); *Sâyana*, *saṅkhaushpikā*, 'andropogon aciculatus.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. however the epithet *māmpasyā*, VII, 38, 1, with the description in IV, 20, 1. This again points to the plant *trisaṃdhyā*.



obscure: Kuhn and Ludwig incline to its construction as a proper noun, and that may be correct. *Sâyana*, ('the plant) that suppresses the characteristics of ill-luck.' Our rendering is etymological, and equally guess-work.

### Stanza 3.

a. Most of Shankar Pandit's MSS. read *samushpalâ* for *samushyalâ*. *Sâyana* also, *samushpalâ samyak uptaphalâ satî*. The Pet. Lexs. derive the word (α δπ. λεγ.) from a root *ush*=*us*, the weak form of *vas*, 'arousing love ;' Ludwig, doubtfully, 'procuress.' We, with Weber ('*zusammen uns brennend*'), derive the word from *ush*, 'burn.' Everything is uncertain.

### Stanza 5.

The hostility of the ichneumon and the serpent is known in Hindu literature from earliest to latest times<sup>1</sup>. The putting together of the serpent by the ichneumon refers perhaps to the cat-like antics of the animal over his prey. It is a lame comparison at the best.

### VI, 140. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 110.

'When the upper two teeth come before the lower, then there is danger of death to the parents, and the following expiatory rite is prescribed,' says Kesava at Kaus. 46, 43-46. The performance consists in scattering or offering (rice, barley, or sesame: cf. Kaus. 7, 5); in making the child bite some of the kinds of grain indicated in the mantra (st. 2); in giving him some of the same grain cooked in 'holy water' (Kaus. 9, 8 ff.) to eat; finally, in making the parents eat of the same dish.

The hymn has been rendered by Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 321; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 49, 176 ff. (cf. also Weber, *Indische Studien*, V, 224; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 343). These interpreters construe the hymn as a charm for avert-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Vâg. S.* XXIV, 26, 32; *Tait. S. V.* 5, 12, 21.

ing danger from the first pair of teeth in general, without reference to any irregularity in their appearance. Possibly this broader construction is the more original, Kausika's being a later refinement.

### Stanza 1.

For vyâghraú, cf. the note on VI, 110, 3; for the combination Brahmanaspati (*Br̥haspati*) *Gâtavedas* (Agni), the note on VII, 53, 1.

### VI, 142. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 141.

At Kaus. 24, 1, this hymn is recited while barley (or grain in general, *yáva*), mixed with ghee, is swept into a furrow in the grain-field by means of the plough; then (three) handfuls of seed are poured (into the furrow)<sup>1</sup>, one with each stanza of the hymn, and these finally are covered (with earth). Stanza 3 is recited at Kaus. 19, 27, while an amulet of barley is being fastened on a person to ensure him prosperity (cf. Kaus. 28, 20 in the introduction to VI, 91). The hymn is one of the class designated by the *Atharvanyia-paddhati* (at Kaus. 19, 11) as *pushíkâ man-trâh*, 'stanzas that ensure prosperity.'

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 463; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 237; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 66, 177 ff. Cf. also Bergaigne et Henry, *Manuel Védique*, p. 156. The *Anukramani*, *yavyam*.

### Stanza 1.

c. Ludwig, and, independently, Aufrecht in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, XXVII, 218, read *pr̥nihi*, 'fill,' for *m̥r̥nihi*. *Sâyana*, *v̥r̥nihi*, which he also explains, 'with a change of a letter,' as *pr̥nihi p̥raya*. Sensible suggestions these, but they do not prove that the *Saunakiya*-poet did not make use of the bold yet natural figure of speech involved in *m̥r̥nihi* ('full unto bursting,' 'zum bersten voll'). Cf. the note on III, 1, 2.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. RV. VIII, 78, 10.

**Stanza 3.**

a. Sâyana, *upasadaḥ upasattâraḥ* (cf. III, 12, 6 c) *upagan-târaḥ karmakarâḥ*. This is essentially correct. The western translators take the word as an abstract noun, 'stores ;' Ludwig, 'ansätze' (? 'aufspeicherungen').

**VII, 9. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 159.**

The prayer is addressed to Pûshan, the sun that watches over the ways, and is accompanied by characteristic practices at Kaus. 52, 12-14: They who seek lost property have their hands and feet washed and anointed; their right hands are then scoured, and they are started upon the search. The same performance is undertaken with dregs of the ghee, and the right hands are again scoured off<sup>1</sup>. Then twenty-one pebbles are thrown scatteringly upon a cross-roads. The last practice is an interesting instance of *attractio similibus*: the scattering of the pebbles upon the cross-roads symbolises the lost objects, and at the same time counteracts their lost condition<sup>2</sup>. The second stanza is enlisted in the first *abhayagana*, a series designed to secure immunity from danger, in the *Ganamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 12 (cf. Kaus. 16, 8). See also Vait. Sû. 8, 13. Stanza 1 is repeated in RV. X, 17, 6 = Tait. Br. II, 8, 5, 3; st. 4 in RV. VI, 54, 9 = Vâg. S. XXXIV, 41 = Tait. Br. II, 5, 5, 5. Previously rendered by Henry, *Le livre VII de l'Atharva-veda*, pp. 4, 52.

**Stanza 4.**

Professor Henry cites the following interesting Alsatian charm:—

Hailcher antônus von pâtuâ  
Schick mer was i verlôre hâ  
Ter teifel wert's en sîne kloye hâ.

'Holy Antony of Padua, send to me what I have lost; the devil must have it in his claws.'

<sup>1</sup> The word *nimrigya* at the beginning of Sûtra 14 seems to belong to the end of Sûtra 13.

<sup>2</sup> For the cross-roads, see the note in the introduction to VI, 111.

## VII, 11. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 142.

The hymn is rubricated together with I, 13 at Kaus. 38, 8 in a somewhat obscure practice which concerns rather I, 13 than the present. It is employed once more at the upākarma, the initiation to the study of the Veda, Kaus. 139, 8. Cf. also Sântikalpa 15. Previous translations by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 463 ; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 66, 178 ; Henry, *Le livre VII de l'Atharva-vêda*, pp. 5, 54. The Anukramanî, sârasvatam.

## VII, 12. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 138.

For the general aspects of the subject of this hymn, see Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 253 ff. ; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 172 ff. Kesava prefaces his exposition of the short performance connected with this hymn at Kaus. 38, 27. 28 as follows, atha sabhâgayakarmâny ukyante, sabhâstambhanam karma gayakarma tadâ sabhâsadadharmâdhikarânâdi gâyate, 'here are told the performances which procure victory in the assembly ; it is a rite which lends stability to the assembly, procures victory, then promotes the judicial acts, and so forth, of those who sit in the assembly.' The practices are as follows : 38, 27. 'While reciting AV. VII, 12, the performer eats (a milk-porridge ; cf. Kaus. 7, 6). 28. He takes hold of the pillars of the assembly-hall, and pays his respects to (the assembly-hall).'

The hymn is translated in Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V, 438 ; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 253 ; Zimmer, l. c., 173 ; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 70, 178 ff. ; Henry, *Le livre VII de l'Atharva-vêda*, pp. 5, 55 ; cf. also Hillebrandt, *Vedachrestomathie*, p. 44. The Anukramanî designates the entire hymn as sabhyam ; st. 1 as dvidevatyo-ta pitryâ ; st. 2 as sabhyâ ; st. 3 as aindri ; st. 4 as mantroktadevatyâ.

## Stanza 1.

The metre of Pâdas a, b, d is irregular (Anukr., bhurik-trishubh) ; a is catalectic, b hypercatalectic ; but we may

read duhitraú (cf. Amer. Journ. Phil. V, p. 27). Similarly d may be perfected by reading pitra<sup>h</sup>.

d. For the appeal to the Fathers for help, cf. II, 12, 4.

### Stanza 2.

a. For vidmá of the Saunakiya school the Paippaláda reads véda vaí, and Grill and Hillebrandt adopt this version for metrical reasons. But the metre is not really improved by the change.

b. narísh<sup>h</sup>á, 'mirth' (cf. XI, 8, 24), refers to the social not the political side of the sabhâ, which, in addition to being the meeting of the council, is also the occasion and place for gaming (cf. AV. XII, 3, 46), and social intercourse (cf. RV. VI, 28, 6). The word, too, perhaps conveys a double entente, nar, 'man,' and sthâ, 'place,' or suggests a quasi-superlative, 'most favourable to men.' Thus the variant form narísh<sup>h</sup>á, Vâg. S. XXX, 6, presents the effect of this kind of folk-etymology upon the word. Sâyana (as if the word were a compound na-rísh<sup>h</sup>á), ahimsitâ parair anabhibhavyâ.

### VII, 13. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 93.

According to Kaus. 48, 35-36, the hymn is spoken against the enemies that are to be deprived of power, the second stanza while fixing one's regard upon them. Cf. also Sântikalpa 15<sup>1</sup>. The hymn has been rendered by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 241; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 23, 179; Henry, *Le livre VII de l'Atharva-véda*, pp. 5, 56. The Anukramanî, saumyam.

### Stanza 2.

Cf. Ludwig, l. c., p. 265. That the sun takes away the strength of those who are asleep while it rises or sets, is a notion abundantly elaborated in connection with all holy practices. Such persons are designated as sūryābhyudita, and sūryābhinimrukta (-mlukta, -mlupta), and they are

<sup>1</sup> Quoted erroneously by Sâyana as Nakshatrakalpa.

regarded as being guilty of one of the 'deadly' sins. See the writer in the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, 1894 (Journal, vol. xvi, p. cxix), and cf. Maitr. S. IV, 1, 9; Tait. Br. III, 2, 8, 11; Ait. Br. I, 3, 14; Gobh. Grih. III, 3, 34; Âpast. Dh. II, 5, 12, 13, 14, and elsewhere.

### VII, 35. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 98.

At Kaus. 36, 33-34 there is a composite charm for preventing a woman from begetting a son, or from begetting offspring at all. If it is intended that a certain woman shall not beget a male son the hymn VII, 34 is recited<sup>1</sup>; if she shall not beget a child at all the hymn VII, 35 is recited: in either case the urine of a she-mule is rubbed with two stone disks, and put into the food or the cosmetics of the woman. And the person practising the charm looks at the parting in the hair of the woman. The charm is full of symbolism. The she-mule is sterile: 'She-mules do not propagate' (Tait. S. VII, 1, 1, 3; Ait. Br. IV, 9, 1; cf. Adbhuta-brâhmaṇa 7). The rubbing between two stones is symbolic castration. The eyes are fixed with evil intent upon the woman's parting in the hair (śimanta): this seems to be the obverse of the śimantonnayana, the well-known ceremony during a woman's pregnancy, intended to ensure successful issue. Cf. also Ath. Paris. 7.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 477; and by Henry, Le livre VII de l'Atharvaveda, pp. 13, 67.

#### Stanza 1.

The stanza seems hardly in touch with the remaining two, or with the construction imparted to the whole by the Sûtra. Ludwig omits it in his rendering of the hymn. Its sense, taken by itself, is that of a battle-song. Pâda b is identical with VII, 34, 1 b.

<sup>1</sup> 'O Agni, drive away the rivals of mine that are already born; drive away, O Gâtavedas, those that are not yet born. Place under my feet those that fight against me. May we, exempt from guilt, live in thy freedom!'

**Stanza 2.**

The rendering of the words *hirāṅ* and *dhamāniḥ* is necessarily vague : see the note on I, 17, 3, and cf. VI, 90, 2. Ludwig, 'därme,' and 'adern.' Sâyana, very precisely, 'small veins,' and 'thick arteries.' That may be the correct philological interpretation of the words, but in that case the stanza must have been originally constructed as a charm to stop flow of blood from the body.

**VII, 36-37. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 96.**

Both stanzas are recited at the 'rites of the fourth day' (*katurthikarma*), the performances immediately preceding the consummation of marriage. At Kaus. 79, 2 bride and bridegroom anoint one another while reciting VII, 36; at 79, 7 the bride<sup>1</sup> envelops the bridegroom in her robe while reciting VII, 37.

Previous renditions by Weber, *Indische Studien*, V, 248; Grill, pp. 55, 179; Henry, *Le livre VII de l'Atharva-véda*, pp. 13, 67. The *Anukramani* (VII, 36), *mantroktākshidevatyam*; (VII, 37), *liṅgoktadevatyam*.

**Stanza 1.**

a, b. The sense is: 'May our eyes with their brightness, our faces with their freshness, inspire us with love for one another!'

**Stanza 2.**

For *mánugāta*, cf. XIV, 2, 41. The second hemistich is nearly identical with VII, 38, 4 c, d.

**VII, 38. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 103.**

For the practices associated with this hymn, see the introduction to VI, 139. The charm is there undertaken by a woman, here by a man. It has been translated by

<sup>1</sup> Not so the Paddhatis, *vastrenâ-khâdayati tau*, i. e. the priest envelops the two. But this is contrary to the context of the stanza.

Weber, *Indische Studien*, V, 249; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 515; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 59, 179; Henry, *Le livre VII de l'Atharva-vêda*, pp. 14, 68. The *Anukramanî, vânas-patyam*.

**Stanza 1.**

b. For *mâṃpasyám*, cf. IV, 20, 1, and note. The absolutely literal translation of the word is 'the plant that sees me<sup>1</sup>,' but the formation is so artificial that it may also mean 'the he-sees-me-plant,' i. e., in effect, the plant that draws his attention towards me. The epithet *abhirorudám* suggests that the plant may in reality be so strongly scented as to draw tears.

**Stanza 2.**

For legends of Indra's seduction by a female demon, see *Sâṅkh. Br.* XXIII, 4; *Kâṭh. S.* XIII, 5 (*Indische Studien*, III, 479; V, 249, 453); cf. the note on I, 24, 1.

**Stanza 4.**

The sense is: In this affair of our love my voice shall rule; thine shall rule in the assembly, where it is fitting that a man's voice shall be listened to. *Pâdas* c, d are nearly identical with VII, 37 c, d. Cf. *Maitr. S.* IV, 7, 4 (p. 97, l. 15).

VII, 45. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 107.

For the practices connected with this hymn, see the introduction to VI, 18. It has been translated previously by Weber, *Indische Studien*, V, 250; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 514; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 29, 180; Henry, *Le livre VII de l'Atharva-vêda*, pp. 16, 72 ff. The *Anukramanî, îrshyâpanayanam*.

**Stanza 1.**

There is no allusion in the ritual to any precious substances gotten from a distance. The description here

---

<sup>1</sup> In this spirit *Sâyana*, *mâm eva nârîm pasyat mamai-vâ-nukûlam*. But he offers also our rendering as an alternative, *mâm eva patye pradarsayat*.



given would suit either *saindhavam*, 'salt,' or *guggulu*, 'bdellium' (cf. XIX, 38, 2). Perhaps, however, it simply tries to magnify the cost and potency of some ordinary substance (Kaus. 36, 25) by deriving it fictitiously from an unknown country far away.

### Stanza 2.

Note the subtle symbolism of Kaus. 36, 27 : the jealous man drinks water which has actually cooled the heated axe.

## VII, 50. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 150.

For the practices associated with this hymn, see the introduction to the first part of IV, 38. Stanzas 1, 2, 5, 8, 9 seem to have been composed directly with reference to the situation<sup>1</sup>: st. 3 (=RV. V, 60, 1); st. 4 (=RV. I, 102, 4); and stanzas 6, 7 (=RV. X, 42, 9, 10) are adapted secondarily to the purpose in hand; see the notes below. Previous renderings by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 455; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 285; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 71, 180; Henry, *Le livre VII de l'Atharva-véda*, pp. 18, 75 ff. Cf. also Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V, 430. The *Anukramanî*, *aindram*, composed by *kitavabandhanakâmo-ñgirâh* (cf. st. 1).

### Stanza 1.

d. *badhyâsam* is ambiguous. *Sâyana* reads *vadhyâsam* (*hanishyâmi*); the *Anukramanî*, above, has in mind the root *bandh*, 'bind.' Of Western translators, Grill, 'fahn' (*fangen*); the rest, 'slay.'

### Stanza 3.

Adapted from a hymn to the Maruts, RV. V, 60, 1; Maitr. S. IV, 14, 11; Tait. Br. II, 7, 12. 4. Pâda b contains the words *vî kayat kṛitâm naḥ*, derived from the sphere of the gamester's speech. Note the word *kṛitâm* in the preceding stanza.

<sup>1</sup> In the case of the second stanza this is not altogether certain : it savours of the Maruts. One may imagine Indra as the speaker.

**Stanza 4.**

Adapted from an Indra-hymn ; cf. RV. I, 102, 4. The words *vayám gayema . . . bhāre-bhāre* render the stanza usable on the present occasion.

**Stanza 5.**

The words *sámlikhitam* and *samrúdhm* are hopelessly obscure. I have rendered *sámlikhitam* as though it meant 'scratched clean,' 'cleaned out.' The rendering of *samrúdhm* is purely etymological. *Sâyana*, *loke hi kitavâh asmin pade pratikitavam akshasalakâdibhih samrotsyâmi ti ankan kurvanti tatrai va ka samrundhanti. tâdrisah pratikitavo tra sambodhyate, he kitava samlikhitam padeshu samyag ankan likhitavantam api tvâm agaisham . . . samroddhâram api tvâm agaisham gayâmi. yadvâ samlikhitam samyag likhitam kihnitam padam abhilakshya tvâm gayâmi, uta api ka samrudham . . . tâdrisam sthânam abhilakshya tvâm gayâmi.* The *Pet. Lexs.* regard both words as obscure termini of the game. *Ludwig*, 'ich hab dir abgewonnen das zusammengekratzte, ich hab dir abgewonnen das zusammengescharrete.' *Grill*, 'was du einstreichst,' and, 'was du zurückbehieltst.' *Henry*, '(je t'ai) gratté de fond en comble (?), et j'ai gagné l'enjeu total (?).'

**Stanza 6.**

Adapted from an Indra-hymn, RV. X, 42, 9=AV. XX, 89, 9 (cf. also RV. X, 43, 5), where the gamester and the game appear by way of comparison. In *Pâda c*, *devâkâmo* is felt in our version to have the double sense 'loving play,' and 'loving the gods.' It may be questioned whether the same intention is present in the RV.

**Stanza 7.**

Adapted from RV. X, 42, 10, &c.=AV. XX, 17, 10, &c. Its juxtaposition in the RV. with the preceding stanza, and the occurrence of *gayema*, have brought it into the *Atharvan* compilation.

## VII, 52. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 136.

This hymn is catalogued in the *gana* or series called *sâṃmanasyâni* in Kaus. 12, 5, and is accompanied by the practices described at AV. III, 30. It is rubricated further at Kaus. 9, 2, in the series designated by the *Gaṇamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 26, as the great *sântigana*. The first stanza of the hymn is found, with variants, Maitr. S. II, 2, 6; Tait. Br. II, 4, 4, 6. The hymn has been translated by Ludwig. Der Rigveda, III, 428 (cf. also p. 344); Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 31, 181 ff.; Henry, Le livre VII de l'Atharva-vêda, pp. 19, 79. The *Anukramanî* designates it as *sâṃmanasyam âsvinam*.

**Stanza 1.**

The first stanza is described by the *Anukramanî* as *kakummaty anushṭubh*, but the irregularity vanishes, if we read *suébhiāḥ . . . áraṇebhiāḥ*. The Tait. Br.—but not the Maitr. S.—substitutes the classical forms *svaiḥ* and *áraiḥ*, thus disguising the metre still further.

**Stanza 2.**

a. Cf. the parallel Páda, RV. X, 30, 6 c.

b. The text as it stands<sup>1</sup> yields the following translation: 'may we not struggle with one another in fateful spirit.' But a suggestion of Grill seemed to me too fascinating to resist, he emends *mánasâ daivyena* to *mánasâ-daivyena* = *mánasâ ádaivyena*, and our translation presupposes this text. At RV. II, 23, 12 we have, *ádevena mánasâ yó rishanyáti . . . gíghâṃsati*, 'he who attacks in a spirit displeasing to the gods . . . (and) desires to murder.' Prof. Henry's rendering, 'ne point lutter contre l'esprit divin,' though possible grammatically, imposes upon *mánas*

<sup>1</sup> Shankar Pandit, with *Sâyana* and many MSS., reads *yushmahi* for *yutsmahi*. *Sâyana*, *mā viyuktā bhūma*. Another variant *yukḥ-mahi* is nothing but a misspelling of *yutsmahi*; cf. Kausika, Introduction, p. lxi, and variant forms like *kaputsala* and *kapukhala* (Böhtlingk's Lexicon).

the meaning of 'law, decree,' and the like, and has an un-Vedic flavour according to my judgment.

c, d. Literally, 'may the noises not arise when there is frequent (continuous) slaughter', &c.

It is not at all clear what the day of Indra has to do with the cessation of carnage. Is it that Indra by fighting his battle removes all need of fighting enemies? Or, is the day of Indra simply the battle-day? The latter seems more natural. The word *āhani* seems to harbour one of the inevitable puns, suggesting 'non-slaying,' i.e. perhaps 'the end of any need of fighting on the part of men.' See also Prof. Henry's careful discussion of the passage.

#### VII, 53. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 52.

The hymn belongs to the class of *āyushyāni*, 'hymns designed to prolong life;' cf. the *āyushyagāna*, Ath. Paris. 32, 4, at Kaus. 54, 11, note, and the *Anukramanī*, *āyushyam uta bārhaspatyam āsvinam*. The *āyushya*-hymns are very uniform in character; the present one exhibits especially noteworthy points of contact with VIII, 1. Kaus. 55, 17 prescribes its employment, along with many more of a similar character, at the ceremony of investiture (*upanayana*)<sup>2</sup>. The seventh stanza, familiar in the *Samhitās* and the ritual, is employed at Kaus. 24, 32 on rising from sleep during the *āgrahāyanī*, the spring-festival at the full-moon of the month *āgrahāyana*, or *mārgasīrsha*. At Vait. Sū. 24, 4 it is spoken in stepping out of the bath (symbolic application: as the sun rises from the celestial sea; cf. XI, 5, 26). Cf. also Kaus. 55, 15, note; 58, 18, note, and Ath. Paris. 43, 1.

The hymn has been translated by Muir, Original San-

<sup>1</sup> *Sāyana* reads *vinihrote*, and glosses, *kauṣīlye nimitte ghoshāḥ vaimanasyanibandhanāḥ sabdāḥ . . . utthitā mā bhūvan, yadvā bahulasabdena tamo vivakshyate . . . vireshena stānyādikaṣṭīlyanimitte bahule tamasi . . . ghoshāḥ mā bhūvan*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *Sāntikalpa* 17, 18, which is quoted by *Sāyana* erroneously as *Nakshatrakalpa*.

skrit Texts, V, 443; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 15, 182 ff.; Henry, Le livre VII de l'Atharva-véda, pp. 20, 80 ff. Cf. also Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 341.

#### Stanza 1.

Repeated with variants at Vâg. S. XXVII, 9; Maitr. S. II, 12, 5; Tait. S. IV, 1, 7, 4; Tait. Âr. X, 48 (Ândhra-version). *Bṛihaspati* and *Agni* are here one and the same divinity; see VI, 140, 1, and Bergaigne, La Religion Védique, I, 300; III, 84. 174. *Agni* figures prominently in the *âyushya*-hymns. See II, 28, 2; III, 11, 4; 31, 1. 6; VIII, 1, 11.

#### Stanza 3.

Cf. VIII, 1, 1. 3. *Pâda* b is a *gagatî* in the midst of *trishṭubh* *Pâdas*, as frequently elsewhere. Read *taāv*. The *Anukramanî*, *bhurig*.

#### Stanza 4.

a, b. The *Paippalâda* reads, *mâ tvâ prâṇo hâsid yas tve pravishṭo mâ-pâno-vahâya parâ gât*. For *Pâda* b, cf. Maitr. S. I, 6, 1 (p. 86, l. 1): Tait. S. V, 7, 9, 1. *Pâda* a is a *trishṭubh*; b a catalectic *anushṭubh*. The *Anukramanî*, *ushṇikgarbhâ-rshî paṅktiḥ*. Problematic attempts at correction are made by Grill and Henry.

#### Stanza 7.

Cf. RV. I, 150, 10, &c. See the index to v. Schroeder's edition of the Maitr. S., and the introduction to the present hymn.

#### VII, 56. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 29.

A series of shallow therapeutical practices are prescribed by Kaus. 32, 5-7, to wit: 5. 'While reciting the hymn (the patient is given to eat the sweetwood) mentioned in the mantra<sup>1</sup>. 6. Natural mud, and mud from an ant-hill are

<sup>1</sup> Cf. st. 2. Thus *Kerava*, *gyesh/hîmadhu* = *yashîmadhu* (cf. the introduction to I, 34, and Kaus. 38, 17). *Dârila*, *mâdhûdvâpa*, 'earth from a bee-hive' (cf. Kaus. 29, 10 in the note on V, 13, 7).

pulverised, (sewed up in the skin of a living animal [freshly slain] and fastened as an amulet upon the patient)<sup>1</sup>.  
7. He is given to drink (yellow curcuma in ghee)<sup>2</sup>.

Stanza 5 is rubricated, along with sundry mantras against serpents and other disturbing forces, at Kaus. 139, 8, in the course of practices, preparatory to the study of the Vedas.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 502; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 5, 183 ff.; Henry, *Le livre VII de l'Atharva-véda*, pp. 21, 82 ff. The *Anukramanī*, *man-troktavriskikadevatākam*.

### Stanza 1.

For *tīraskirāgi* and *āsita*, see the note on VI, 56, 2; for *prīdāku*<sup>3</sup> (cf. *πάρδαλις*, *πόρδαλις*, and *πάρδος*), see Zimmer, p. 94. Grill's sturdy attempt to determine the specific character of the *prīdāku* yields no acceptable result. The meaning of *kañkāparvan*, 'Scorpion' (? *Sāyana*, *daṃsaka-vireshāt*), can merely be conjectured. Kesava and the *Anukramanī* describe the entire charm as a cure for the bite of scorpions, *vriskikabhaishagyam*. The *Paippalāda* has *aṅgaparvaṇo*. See *kañkata*, *satīnākañkata*, and *pra-kañkatā*, RV. I, 191, 1. 7.

### Stanza 2.

Cf. I, 34, 1; VIII, 7, 12; RV. I, 191, 10. 13. *madhūh*, ἀπ. λεγ., is apparently made for the occasion (type *vadhū*), to ensure completer assonance with the preceding *mādhu*; the ordinary *madhvī* would be less agreeable. But the Atharvan presents quite a list of such feminines; see Lanman, *Noun-Inflection*, pp. 402, 406.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kaus. 26, 43, in the introduction to II, 8. Ants especially are a famous antidote against poison; see the introduction to VI, 100, and cf. st. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Thus according to Dārila who refers to Kaus. 28, 4 (see the introduction to IV, 6, also a charm against serpents).

<sup>3</sup> *Sāyana*, *pardayati kutsitam sabdayati*.

**Stanza 3.**

a. For *yáto dashṭám*, cf. the formulaic *yato dashṭaḥ*, Kaus. 28, 7 ; 32, 5 (see the note on V, 13, 4). The expression *trīpradamsín* suggests *asutrīp*, RV. X, 14, 12, &c. ; Ludwig, 'bitter-zanig.'

**Stanza 4.**

Ludwig suggests *krinoti* for *krinoshi*, but this sort of anacoluthon is common in the Atharvan. The appeal to *Bṛhaspati* is natural as soon as we substitute *Brahmanaspati*, and remember that *bráhma* is the ordinary Atharvanic word for 'hymn.' Or, again, *Bṛhaspati*, as the companion and double of Indra and Agni, represents their constant hostility towards all vicious forces. *Sāyana* refers the stanza to the victim of the serpent: the contortions of his body and face are supposed to be described in the first hemistich, the cure in the second. Very plausible, but we are cautioned by such an expression as *vritráṁ víparvam*, RV. I, 187, 1, which is favourable to the construction of *víparur* as an epithet of the serpent.

**Stanza 5.**

In the *Paippalāda* these stanzas are wanting ; they have the character of a production somewhat independent of the preceding stanzas. To such a view also points the separate quotation of this stanza (and the rest?) in the late (*parishīṭa*) chapter Kaus. 139 (see above, and cf. Kausika, Introduction, p. xxv ff.).

a. The *Pet. Lexs.* and Zimmer, p. 95, deal with *sarkóṭa* as a serpent, Grill and Henry as 'scorpion.' The former compares *karkaṭa* and *karkaṭaka*, 'crab,' but more significant seem to me to be *karkoṭa* and *karkoṭaká*, both of which are mentioned as names of serpents. There is, however, in the mind of the Atharvan writer but little difference between both kinds of vermin (cf. AV. XII, 1, 46 ; 4, 9, 15), and the description in the sequel favours the scorpion. Cf. for the interchange of *s* and *k*, Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, XXV,

125, Proc. Amer. Or. Soc., May, 1886 (Journal, vol. xiii, p. cxxi); see also Kuhn's Zeitschrift, XXIII, 94.

### Stanza 6.

d. arbhaká (cf. *puṭhādhi* in st. 8) suggests forcibly the kushumbha of II, 32, 6; RV. I, 191, 15, and kumbha of the Sâma-veda Mantra-brâhmana II, 7, 3. See the notes on II, 32, 5. 6. Ludwig, simply 'kleines;' Grill, 'winziges ding;' Henry 'menu (dard).'

### Stanza 7.

For the ants, cf. the introduction, and VI, 100; for mayûryâh, RV. I, 191, 14, and Zimmer, p. 90.

## VII, 64. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 167.

At Kaus. 46, 47. 48 this hymn is recited while washing off a person who has been struck by something dropped by a black bird (crow, or the like). If he has been defiled<sup>1</sup> (by the mouth of the bird) a fire-brand is carried around him. The two performances refer respectively to the two stanzas of the hymn. Previous translations by Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 41, 186; Henry, Le livre VII de l'Atharva-vêda, pp. 25, 88; cf. Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 88. The Anukramâṇi, mantroktadevatyam uta nairrîtam.

### Stanza 1.

The Paippalâda in much the same sense, yad asmât *krîṣṇasakuner* nishpatato na ânase. Henry's criticism of the reading abhinishpâtan of the text is over severe: Sâyana, quite correctly, abhimukham . . . âkâsamârgâd avapatan. The Pâda is hyper-catalectic.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. upamrîṣh/am and apamrîṣh/am. Kesava, apamrîṣh/am. Sâyana, avamrîṣh/am; cf. avâmrîkshat of the text. But Sâyana in the quotation of Kausika's text, apamrîṣh/am.



**Stanza 2.**

b. The Paippalâda, mukhena nirrîte tava. The bird of misfortune is identified with the goddess of misfortune herself.

**VII, 65. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 72.**

Employed at Kaus. 46, 49 as a purificatory charm for cleansing one's self from evil deeds and defiling contact. Fagots derived from the apâmârga-tree are placed into a fire built of wood from the same tree. For the apâmârga, see in general the introduction to IV, 17. Stanzas 1, 2 are rubricated in the *krityâgana* of the *Ganamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 2 (see Kaus. 39, 7, note). Cf. also Ath. Paris. 19, 4. Previous translations by Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 38, 186; Henry, *Le livre VII de l'Atharva-vêda*, pp. 25, 89. The *Anukramanî*, apâmârgavîruddaivatam.

**Stanza 1.**

For *pratikîṇaphala*, see IV, 19, 7, and the note on IV, 17, 2. *Sâyana*, agrâd ârabhya phalasya mûlaparyantam âtmâbhimukham sparsane kantakarâhityadarsanât pratikîṇaphalatvam. The second hemistich is nearly identical with IV, 19, 7, c, d.

**Stanza 2.**

c. *Sâyana*, visvatomukha sarvataḥ prasrîtasâkhâyukta. Perhaps, however, 'looking in every direction,' because the fruit turns one way, the branches another. The epithet is, too, of more general scope (fire and sun), and may refer to watchfulness against hostile influences.

**Stanza 3.**

Befouling contact with deformed persons is a standard subject in Vedic texts, and in the law-books: see Maitr. S. IV, 1, 9 (cf. the corresponding passages from the *Kâth.* S. and the *Kapishth.* S.); Tait. Br. III, 2, 8, 11; Âpast. Sr. IX, 12, 11; Âpast. Dh. II, 5, 12, 22; Gaut. XV, 16; Vas. I, 18; cf. the introductions to VI, 112 and 113, and

Delbrück, *Die Indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen*, p. 201 ff.

VII, 70. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 90.

The following sorcery-practice (*abhiṣāra*) is associated with the present hymn (together with VI, 54) at Kaus. 48, 27-28. A counter-offering is made, hostile to the person who has built a fire (for offering)<sup>1</sup>. Chaff is offered by means of a leaf of middling size<sup>2</sup>. The offering of chaff is the typical hostile sacrifice (Kaus. 14, 15; 63, 7); the sacrifice to the gods is thus frustrated by a sacrifice to the Rakshas (see Ait. Br. II, 7, 1), who destroy the enemy (cf. st. 2, and Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 295).

The hymn has been rendered by Ludwig, *ibid.*, p. 374; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 46, 187; Henry, *Le livre VII de l'Atharva-véda*, pp. 26, 91. The *Anukramanī*, *mantroktadevatyam uta syenadevatākam* (cf. st. 3). The hymn is largely identical with the passage Tait. Br. II, 4, 2, 1 ff.

**Stanza 3.**

a. *Sâyana*, *mrityudûtau*; the Pet. Lex., *Mrityu* and *Nirriti*. Possibly, *Mitra* and *Varuṇa*, the typical heavenly rulers.

VII, 74. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 18.

The hymn is tripartite, but no reason for the juxtaposition of sts. 3 and 4 with 1 and 2 can be found. Professor Henry's suggestions regarding this matter (*Le livre VII de l'Atharva-véda*, pp. 29, 95 ff.) are interesting. The norm of the seventh book is a single stanza for each hymn (cf. the quotations regarding this matter in the introductions to I, 12 and IV, 38), but, after all, some diaskeuastic convenience must be at the bottom of the grouping.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tait. S. II, 2, 9, 4; Tait. Br. I, 7, 3, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *madhyamaparnena*, Maitr. S. I, 10, 20. The meaning of the expression is uncertain.

## A.

For the history of the interpretation of the *apaṅkita*-hymns, see the introduction to VI, 83 (cf. also VI, 25 and VII, 76). The practice connected with this part of the hymn is described at Kaus. 32, 8-10, to wit: 8. 'With a bow made of bamboo, which is *dārbhyūsha*<sup>1</sup> (? cf. Kaus. 35, 28 in the introduction to III, 25, and Kausika, Introduction, p. li), and has a bowstring made of black wool, with black arrows that have bunches of wool (tied?) to their points (the pustules are hit), while the (two first stanzas of) the hymn are being recited. 9. With the fourth stanza (?)<sup>2</sup> the bow is brought near (the pustules) and they are hit (with the arrows). 10. (The patient is then washed off at the time when the stars fade away [at dawn] with water) which has been warmed by quenching in it a burning bunch of wool<sup>3</sup>.' The arrow of bamboo in the practice symbolises the root (found by) the divine sage in st. 1; the flake of black wool embodies the statement in st. 2 d.

## Stanza 1.

Cf. for the colours mentioned here, VI, 83, 2. 3, and more generally I, 23 and 24.

<sup>1</sup> *Sâyana*, *dārbhūsha*.

<sup>2</sup> This can hardly be the fourth stanza of the present hymn, which belongs to a totally different sphere. *Kesava* fuses VII, 74, 1. 2 with VII, 76, 1. 2, and thus obtains a hymn of four stanzas. As extraordinary as this seems it may yet be true, and we may note that VII, 76, 1. 2 are also endowed with independent individuality, being separated in the ritual from the remainder of the hymn. See the introduction to VII, 76. But the matter is rendered uncertain on account of Kaus. 31, 16, where we have *apaṅkita ā susrasa iti*, i.e. the *pratīkas* of VI, 83, and VII, 76, rubricated together. *Kesava*'s hypothesis may be based upon a confusion of the two *pratīkas* *apaṅkita* (VI, 83), and *apaṅkitām* (VII, 74). *Sâyana* in his introduction to VII, 76 makes this very blunder, reading, *apaṅkitām ā susrasa* for Kausika's (31, 16) *apaṅkita ā susrasa*.

<sup>3</sup> For the rendering of this *Sūtra*, see Kaus. 27, 29 in the introduction to III, 7.

## B.

Stanza 3 is rubricated at Kaus. 36, 25 along with VI, 18 and VII, 45; see the introduction to VI, 18 for the practices against jealousy.

## C.

Stanza 4 is rubricated at Kaus. 1, 34; Vait. 1, 13. He who enters upon the performance of the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices recites the stanza while placing fagots upon the fire. Cf. also Ath. Paris. 10.

## VII, 76. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 17.

The hymn is tripartite, the first two parts being closely related in subject matter. The third part (st. 6) appears in this connection for reasons — perhaps diaskeuastic — altogether obscure. The entire hymn has been rendered by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 500; Henry, *Le livre VII de l'Atharva-véda*, pp. 30, 97 ff.

## A.

For the history of the interpretation of the *apañit*-hymns, see the introduction to VI, 83 (cf. also VI, 25 and VII, 74). The practices connected with the first part of the hymn are described at Kaus. 31, 16–17, where it is rubricated along with VI, 83: see the introduction to that hymn. *Sâyana* blunderingly quotes the *pratika* at Kaus. 31, 16 as *apañitâm* (! for *apañita*: VII, 74 for VI, 83); see the note to the introduction to VII, 74, p. 558.

**Stanza 1.**

a. Our purely verbal translation savours of mere verbiage. In *Contributions*, Second Series, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* XI, 324, we suggested, with a view to both metre and sense, *ā susrásō susrastarâh*, 'they fall off more easily than the easily falling one' (i.e. they fall off most easily)<sup>1</sup>. Professor

<sup>1</sup> Ludwig, 'leichter stürzend als das leicht stürzende.'

Henry, l. c., p. 97, very justly points out that this leaves *á* in the air, and himself suggests, very ingeniously, *á susrásō* = *sisraso*, 'thou hast made fall those who fall easily.' This makes good sense, and fills out the metre. Yet I am not convinced: the first person *asisrasam*, or the third, *asisrasat*, rather than the second person, *asisrasah*, would be in accordance with the ordinary tone of such incantations, and, after all, the parallelism of each of the remaining three *Pādas* seems to demand an ablative dependent upon a comparative. *Sāyana* reads *āsusrasah*, and glosses, *susrasah atyartham sravantyah sarvadā pūyādisravanasilāh* . . . *āsusrasah ā samantād niravasesham sravanasilā bhavantu*. The *Paipalāda*, *nāmannasam svayamsrasann asatibhyo vasattarā*! For the sense in general, cf. *Bhagavadgītā* I, 30, *gandīva sramsate hastāt*.

c. The word *sēhu* is quotable in addition only *Kāth. S.* XXXIV, 12 (*sehus ka plihā ka*), where it obviously designates some part of the body. The *Pet. Lexs.*, 'a certain dry substance;' Ludwig, 'rosin.' Professor Henry makes the *Pāda* over into *arasād arasatarā*, but I cannot believe that our *lectio difficillima* is at fault. The Hindus must have associated dryness with this organ. *Sāyana*, *sehoḥ sehur nāma viprakīrṇāvayavaḥ atyantam nīśāras tūla-dirūpaḥ*, apparently, 'a substance whose parts are scattered exceedingly dry, having the form of cotton-wool, or the like.'

#### Stanza 2.

a. *viḡāman*, 'a part of the body.' *Sāyana*, 'genital organs:' *viseshena gāyate apatyam atre-ti viḡāmā guhya-pradesah*<sup>1</sup>. The *Pet. Lexs.*, 'members of the body which are in pairs:' this seems to be the meaning at *Sat. Br.* III, 6, 2, 1. Ludwig, 'ankle.'

#### B.

For the nature of the disease *gāyānya*, and the general character of this charm, see *Contributions*, Second Series,

<sup>1</sup> *Sāyana* at *RV.* VII, 50, 2, (*viḡāman pārushi*), *vividhaganmani pārushi*.

Amer. Journ. Phil. XI, 320 ff. Kesava and Sâyana define the disease as *râgayakshma*, identifying it with the *gâyánya* in the story told at Tait. S. II, 3, 5, 1-3. The practice associated with this part of the hymn at Kaus. 32, 11 is very obscure; it seems to consist in tying on the patient an amulet consisting of the string of a lute; in tying on with (this) string some other part of a lute (?); and tying on three fragments of the *virîva*-plant (*andropogon muricatus*) that have fallen down of themselves<sup>1</sup>. I am tempted to regard the *gâyánya* as syphilis, etymologically either congenital disease (root *gan*), or venereal disease (*gâyâ*, 'woman')<sup>2</sup>: in that case the musical instruments may refer to the nautch-girls, and the disease is cured homoeopathically (*attractio similia*) and symbolically by the realisation of their presence by means of the amulets. Cf. in addition to the renderings mentioned above, Kuhn in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, XIII, 155, and Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 377.

### Stanza 8.

Cf. Contributions, Second Series, l. c., XI, 328 ff.; Fourth Series, l. c., XII, 438 ff.; Johansson, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, II, 22; *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, XXXII, 435 ff. Sâyana explains *talidyâ* as follows, *talid itī antikanâma, antike bhavam talidyam . . . asthisamipagatam mâmsam*. For *nîr âstam* (*Padapâṭha*, *nîh âstam*), which we correct to *nîr âstham*<sup>3</sup>, Sâyana reads *nirhâh tam* (*nirharatu*). Shankar Pandit accepts this read-

<sup>1</sup> Sâyana condenses the performance as follows, *vinâtantrîkhandam vâdyakhandam saṅkhakhandam vâ sampâtya abhimantrya badhniyât*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Henry, l. c., p. 98. *virîna* seems to allude to manhood.

<sup>3</sup> Instances of the stem *astha-*, in addition to those quoted in Amer. Journ. Phil. XII, 438, are, *sa te mâsthât*, for *sa te mâ sthât* in Maitr. S. I, 1, 2 (von Schroeder's edition). The expression means 'he shall not hurl at thee.' The same expression at Tait. Br. III, 2, 2, 8, and Âpast. Sr. I, 4, 14. At Tait. Br. the formula is pronounced *ahimsâyai*, 'in order to be exempt from injury.' This favours the connection of *astha-* with the root *as*, 'throw.'

ing because Sāyana 'has doubtless preserved the genuine reading.' We can see nothing in this but an unusually clever emendation, which, however, leaves in tam an awkward remnant.

#### Stanza 4.

For the conception of the flight of disease to and from the body, cf. RV. X, 97, 13; AV. VI, 83, 1. 2, and Amer. Journ. Phil. XI, 322-3. In the second hemistich we have emended *ákshitasya* to *ákshatasya* on the strength of the Sûtra and its commentators (e.g. Kaus. 31, 11). Sāyana, on the other hand, reads *sukshitasya* for *sukshatasya* (*akshitasya kirakâlāvasthânarahitasya* . . . *sukshitasya kirakâlam avasthitasya*). There can be no doubt that the indication of the Sûtra is to be preferred.

#### Stanza 5.

The *gâyānya* is here personified as an evil being, the knowledge of whose nature or origin (perhaps with reference to the story in Tait. S. II, 3, 5, 2) confers exemption from his attacks. See the note on I, 2, 1. Note the fourfold alliteration in the first hemistich: it cannot be reproduced in translation.

#### C.

For the ritual application of st. 6 (=RV. VI, 47, 6), see Vait. Sû. 16, 14. In Pâda c, *ā vrishasva* with double entente, 'manifest thy lusty strength;' cf. the common formula, *atra pitaro mâdayadhvam yathâbhâgam âvrishâyadhvam* (Kausika, Index C), with the same double meaning starting from the opposite point of view.

#### VII, 83. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 12.

At Kaus. 32, 14-15 a hut is built at a point of land between two rivers that flow into one another<sup>1</sup>, and in it the dropsical patient is washed by means of bunches of grass, and then rinsed off. For the meaning of the practice see the introduction to I, 10. At Kaus. 127, 4 the hymn is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kaus. 18, 22.

recited, more secondarily, while an offering is made from an animal devoted to Varuṇa (cf. Sû. 2): the offering is part of a performance for obviating the evil consequences of the obscuration of the constellation, 'the seven *Rîshis*' (ursus major), by a comet. Cf. also Vait. Sû. 10, 22; Nakshatrakalpa 14; Ath. Paris. 13, 3. The hymn is a mixtum compositum; st. 2 seems to belong originally to a different sphere (see the note), and its bearing here is not at all clear. The hymn has been rendered by Henry, *Le livre VII de l'Atharva-vêda*, pp. 35, 104.

### Stanza 2.

See Vâg. S. VI, 22; Kâty. Sr. VI, 10, 5; Tait. S. I, 3, 11, 1; Tait. Br. II, 6, 6, 2; Maitr. S. III, 11, 10; Âsv. Sr. III, 6, 24; Sâṅkh. Sr. VIII, 12, 11. The vulgate's emendation of dhâmno-dhâmno to dâmno-dâmno, as suitable as it is to the sense, is not supported by any of the parallel passages. Mahîdhara at Vâg. S. VI, 22 has much the same thing in mind, when he says, yasmâd-yasmât tvadiyapâsasamanvitât sthânât<sup>1</sup>. All the parallel texts read sâpâmahe for ûkimâ, and in some iti is wanting after aghnyâ. Pâda c seems to contain the expression of an oath, or curse, which is regarded as sinful. According as iti after aghnyâ is read or omitted, it contains two oaths, or one oath. The passage savours of the notion that it is impious to take in vain the holy name of Varuṇa, or his waters. Sâyana, he âpaḥ he aghnyâḥ iti he varuṇa iti yad ûkima yak khâpavâkyam avokâma, yak khâpavâkyavakanena pâpam ârgitam tasmâd api muñke-ti sambandhaḥ . . . ato devatânâmadheyakirtanarûpasapathakaranaganitapâpâd asmân mokaya. Cf. also the glosses to Vâg. S. and Tait. Br.

### Stanza 3.

The stanza is repeated at RV. I, 24, 5; AV. XVIII, 4, 69; Maitr. S. I, 2, 18, &c. (see the index to the Maitr. S.). Cf. also Vait. Sû. 28, 17; Ath. Paris. 17, 2.

<sup>1</sup> Sâyana here, sarvasmâd rogasthânât.



## Stanza 4.

b. *vârunā* represents an awkward attempt to vary the diction: it might be designated as a rhetorical *ûha* or *vikâra*. The true completion of the expression requires *madhyamā*.

## VII, 115. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 168.

The symbolic rites which attach themselves to this hymn are described in Kaus. 18, 16–18, to wit: 16. 'Having fastened a hook to the left leg of a raven, and a rice-cake to the hook (the performing priest), while reciting AV. VII, 115, 1, lets (the crow go) so that he does not return<sup>1</sup>. 17. Having put on a blue garment, having covered that with a red one<sup>2</sup>, having wound about a white cloth (as a turban), while reciting the second stanza of the hymn, he sets down the turban by means of a hook, and with his left hand casts it, together with the hook, into the water. 18. While reciting the third stanza of the hymn (he throws) the covering<sup>3</sup> (red) garment (into the water); while reciting the fourth stanza the (under, blue) garment.' Cf. also *Sântikalpa* 4; *Ath. Paris.* 33, 3.

The hymn, which is related to I, 18, has been translated

<sup>1</sup> This part of the performance executes in practice the statement in RV. X, 95, 14 where Purûravas threatens to fly away without returning, throwing himself into the lap of Nirriti, the goddess of misfortune; cf. *nirrityabhimukho* in Kesava's comment, and *anâvṛtam iti prapâtanavisheshanam* in Dârila's, with the diction of the RV. stanza. The black bird is fit to shoulder the evil (attraction similitum), as in AV. I, 22, 1. 4; Kaus. 26, 18.

<sup>2</sup> For the colours blue and red, cf. the introduction to VII, 116; the notes on IV, 17, 4; VIII, 8, 24; and Kaus. 32, 17; 40, 4; 48, 40. Cf. also *nîlalohita* in the *Pet. Lex.*, and Winternitz, *Das Altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, pp. 6, 12, 23, 67.

<sup>3</sup> I now propose to read *trîṣṭayâkṣannam*, i. e. *trîṣṭayâ âkṣannam*, instead of *trîṣṭayâ kṣannam*, in deference to *âkṣâdya* in Sû. 17. Even then the translation 'covering garment' for *âkṣannam* is problematic, and based upon our interpretation of Kesava's comment. It means naturally 'the covered (blue garment).'

by Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V, 348; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 499 (cf. also 338); Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 41, 187 ff.; Henry, *Le livre VII de l'Atharva-véda*, pp. 45, 124. The *Anukramanî*, *sâvitram gâtavedasam*.

### Stanza 2.

a. *patayâlûr* is ἀπ. λεγ. Ludwig, 'die zum fall bringende (Lakshmi);' but note the short a in the first syllable: *pâtáyâmi* in the RV. is the causative of *pat*, not *patáyâmi*, which is a simple present.

### Stanza 3.

Rubricated at Ath. Paris. 7.

a. The number 101 is regularly inauspicious, occurring in connection with diseases, varieties of death, &c.; cf. AV. III, 9, 6; V, 18, 12; VIII, 2, 27; XI, 6, 16; XIX, 46, 5.

## VII, 116. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 4.

The chief interest of this charm against *takmán* is its reference to the ancient Hindu custom of quenching fire—here its representative the fever—by a frog. I have elsewhere assembled from the Vedic writings a considerable number of passages which become intelligible in the light of this custom; see my article entitled, 'On a Vedic group of charms for extinguishing fire by means of water-plants and a frog,' *Contributions*, Second Series, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* XI, 342 (24 of the reprint) ff.<sup>1</sup> The rôle of the frog here is distinctly the same, and is especially significant for the identification of fire and fever which is indeed superficially obvious in all the hymns and practices connected with the *takmán*. The quaint performance of the *Kausika-sûtra*, 32, 17, is as follows: *namo rûraye=ti sakunîn ive=shikâñgi-mandûkam nilalohitâbhyâm sûtrâbhyâm sakaksham bad-dhvâ*<sup>2</sup>, 'while reciting AV. VII, 116, he does as in the case

<sup>1</sup> See also the introduction to VI, 106.

<sup>2</sup> Shankar Pandit's reproduction of this *Sûtra*, in the introduction to the hymn in *Sâyana's* commentary, is decidedly free.

of the birds, i. e. he ties a frog that has stripes like reeds (upon his body) by means of a blue and a red thread by the arm-pits (to a low couch upon which the patient is made to recline, and besprinkles him).’ In order to understand this difficult Sûtra we must follow the commentaries. Dârila says, *sakunîn ive karoti, mantroktân*<sup>1</sup> *adhastalpe haritasûtrenā savyagaṅghāsu baddhve·ty ādivat*, ‘He does as in the case of the birds, i. e., as in the performance indicated in Kaus. 26, 18 with the words *mantroktân adhas-talpe*, &c.’ The practice in question centres about AV. I, 22, a charm directed against jaundice. In the course of it the patient is seated upon a couch beneath which the yellow birds are tied with a yellow thread by their left legs; then the patient is washed off, and his jaundice is supposed to settle upon the yellow birds where, as it were, it is naturally at home; see the introduction to I, 22. In accordance with that performance, Dârila continues to expand and explain the suggestion of the practice in Sûtra 32, 18, which is connected with the present hymn: *ishike·va rekhâ yasya sa ishikâṅgiḥ, tam nīlasûtrenā*<sup>2</sup> *lohitenā ka sûtrenā saha kakshâbhyām baddhvâ sakunîn iva karoti*, ‘he who has a line like a reed he is a reed-marked (frog); him he ties with a blue and a red thread by the arm-pits and treats as he does the birds.’ See also Kṛṣṇa on the passage, and cf. Kaus. 40, 4; 48, 40.

From all these statements it becomes clear that the fever (Dârila, *gvarabhaishagyam*) is washed from the patient down upon the frog, but apparently with this difference, that the birds—homoeopathically as it were—take up the jaundice because they are themselves yellow, while the frog, allopathically, quenches the fever (fire) of the patient,

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. of Dârila read *mantroktân*; this appears in the edition as *mantroktam*, because I did not know at the time that the passage is a quotation of part of Kaus. 26, 18, which see.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. somewhat indistinctly *tâtrīlasûtrenā*, obviously for *tân nīlasûtrenā*, and that again for *tam* (sc. *mandūkam*) *nīlasûtrenā*, the plural *tân* being a corruption derived from the plural *mantroktân* in 26, 18.

being himself cold and moist. I would also draw attention to RV. X, 166, 5, where in the course of a hostile charm occurs the expression, *ā vo mûrdhānam akramīm, adhas-padān ma úd vadata mandūkā ivo-dakāt*, 'I have stepped upon your head; from under my feet do ye speak up to me like frogs from the water<sup>1</sup>.' A touch of this idea also is perhaps worked up symbolically in the present practice, and even more clearly in the related performance at Kaus. 48, 40.

The combination of the colours blue and red is associated everywhere with hostile witchcraft. In RV. X, 85, 28 = AV. XIV, 1, 26 (cf. *Sāṅkh. Gr̥ih. I, 12, 8*; *Āpast. Gr̥ih. I, 5, 23*) the bridal garment polluted during the consummation is spoken of as, *nilalohitām bhavati kr̥ityā-saktīr vy āgyate*, 'blue and black it is; the sorcery, the inherent (evil)<sup>2</sup>, is driven out.' In AV. IV, 17, 4 (see our note on that stanza) a hostile charm is made in a blue-red vessel, and red and blue threads are spread out against enemies in AV. VIII, 8, 24 (cf. Kaus. 16, 20). This sinister employment of red and blue renders it unlikely that the use of the same colours in German wedding-practices is in any way to be connected with the Hindu conception; see Weber, *Indische Studien*, V, 308, note 4; Winternitz, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell nach dem Āpastambiya-Gr̥ihyasūtra* (Imperial Academy of Vienna, vol. xl), p. 67; Hillebrandt, *Mitteilungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde* (1894-95), I, 39 ff. Why, now, is blue and red fit for Hindu sorcery practices? Is *nilalohita* night and day?

On the other hand it seems difficult to dissociate from the present practice the Bohemian frog-charm which Grohmann, l. c., reports as a cure against fever: 'In Bohemia the practice is to cure chills and fever (*kaltes fieber*) by catching a green frog at the time of the morning dews on the day preceding that of St. George. This is sewn into a bag which is hung about the neck of the patient without his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *Sūtra* 26, 20 in connection with the jaundice cure, *vadata* (sc. *sakunīn*) *upasthāpayati*, and Kerava's comment thereon.

<sup>2</sup> For *āsaktī*, see Ludwig's excellent remark, *Der Rigveda*, vol. v, p. 398.

knowing its contents. Then the patient must pronounce the lord's prayer nine times on nine days before sunrise. On the ninth day he must go with prayer to the river, cast the bag into the water, and return home praying and without turning his face.'

The hymn has been translated and expounded by Grohmann, l. c., pp. 386, 414; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 381; and Victor Henry, *Le livre VII de l'Atharva-véda*, pp. 45, 124. The hymn is quoted also as one of the *takmanâ-sanagana* in the *Gaṇamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 7 (Kaus. 26, 1, note).

### Stanza 1.

As the verse stands the first half is hopeless prose, and yet the second half is a good *gagatî-pâda*. Henry, l. c., p. 125, makes the exceedingly ingenious and plausible suggestion that the first half consisted originally also of two *gagatî-pâdas*, and stood,

nâmo rûrâya *kyâvanâya* dhrishnâve,  
nâmo rûrâya *kôdanâya* dhrishnâve.

These were then by a species of haplology<sup>1</sup> fused, so as to yield *nâmo rûrâya kyâvanâya kôdanâya dhrishnâve*. Still we would not go as far as Henry himself does, and make this reconstruction the basis of a translation, especially as either the word *kyâvanâya*, or *kôdanâya* (more probably the latter), might have entered the text as a gloss. The expulsion of either yields a good *gagatî-pâda*, and the tradition may at any rate be respected as long as it does not interfere with good sense.

a. For *rûrâya*, see the note to V, 22, 10 a, and cf. I, 25, 4; for *kôdanâya*, Shankar Pandit with *Sâyana* and some MSS. reads *nôdanâya*.

b. *pûrvakâmakṛtvane* is obscure. The *Pet. Lexs.* translate it, 'alte wünsche erfüllend;' Grohmann and Zimmer, 'nach altem triebe thätig.' Grohmann supposes that the

---

<sup>1</sup> For haplology in Vedic Sanskrit, see the author in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society for 1893* (Journal, vol. xvi, p. xxxiv).

word refers to the periodicity of the attacks of fever. Henry thinks that the word is to be divided as a compound into *pūrva-kāmakṛtvān* rather than *pūrvakāma-kṛtvān*, and accordingly translates, 'qui, des temps immémorial, agit à sa guise.' *Sâyana*, *pūrveshām abhilāshānām kartitre kḥettre*, as if *-kṛtvāne* were derived from root *kṛit*, 'cut.' The combination *kāmam kar* occurs RV. X, 61, 6, *kāmam kṛinvāné pitāri yuvatyām*, 'when the father was satisfying his desire on the young daughter' (cf. stanza 7), and this, when strictly applied to the compound, might yield the result 'having formerly satisfied his (sexual) love,' i.e. 'the *takmán* due to (excessive) sexual intercourse.' According to *Susruta* sexual love (*kāma*) is one of the causes of fever (cf. *Grohmann*, p. 386, note). But we must not omit the comparison of the (itself doubtful) word *pūrvakṛtvāri*, XII, 1, 14 c, which seems to mean 'anticipating (wishes) by deeds.' The present epithet may aim to conciliate the *takmán* by extravagant praise of this sort. I have, however, adopted the rather non-committal rendering, 'he who in the past fulfilled desires.' This may refer to excesses, or to willingness.

#### Stanza 2.

For *anyedyúh* and *ubhayadyúh*, see the notes on I, 25, 4 a ; for *avratáh*, the note on VI, 20, 1 c.

#### VIII, I. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 53.

This is an almost impassioned prayer for long life : the heavenly powers, the vital principles, and the human being for whom the prayer is made are implored alike to co-operate in bringing about the result. In the ritual the hymn figures therefore as an *âyushyam* (sc. *sūktam*), 'a hymn that bestows long life ;' accordingly it holds membership in the *âyushyagana* of the *Ganamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 4 (*Kaus.* 54, 11, note ; cf. also 139, 7). At *Kaus.* 55, 17 it is employed in the course of the investiture of the young Brahman with the holy cord ; at *Kaus.* 58, 3. 11 in certain special ceremonies (*brāhmaṇoktam*, and *ṛishihastak*, *Sû.* 4)

calculated to ensure longevity. Cf. also *Sântikalpa* 23<sup>1</sup>; *Ath. Paris.* 37, 2.

The hymn has been rendered by Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V, 443 ff.; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 495 ff.; Henry, *Les livres VIII et IX de l'Atharva-véda*, pp. 1, 35 ff.

#### Stanza 1.

The obeisance to death is in the nature of indemnification for the loss of his victim. For Pâda b, cf. *AV. VII*, 53, 2-6; for Pâda d, *RV. X*, 66, 2.

#### Stanza 2.

The expression *sómo amsumán* has a double meaning that cannot be reproduced in translation. Soma (the moon) with his rays, or soma (the plant) with its shoots. The former meaning is likely to have been uppermost in the mind of the writer who is here dealing with personified gods. Cf. Hillebrandt, *Soma*, p. 300, note 3.

#### Stanza 6.

M. Henry points out very properly that Pâdas a and c allude to the sun: as the sun ascends, so shall the young Brahman ascend to life, and mount the very chariot of the sun, in order to reach the zenith of his life. *Sâyana* suggests the senses and the body. In Pâda d *Sâyana* has *agirviḥ* for *g'lrviḥ* in Shankar Pandit's MSS. (the same MSS. at XIV, 1, 21 also read *g'lrvir* for *g'lvir*). The sense with this reading is quite as good as that in the text: 'then without decaying thou shalt hold converse, &c.' The passage is formulaic; cf. *AV. XIV*, 1, 21; *RV. X*, 85, 27. For *vidátham*, cf. the note on V, 20, 12.

#### Stanza 8.

The word *éhi* at the end of Pâda c is metrically superfluous. *Sâyana* seems to follow a redaction which does not exhibit it, since he neglects to comment upon it.

<sup>1</sup> Cited erroneously, as usual, by *Sâyana* as *Nakshatrakalpa*.

**Stanza 9.**

a. *Sâyana* does not comment upon *préshitau*, but supplies (*iti seshat*) the verb *bâdhatâm*. The word is at any rate suspicious, being readily derivable from the language that belongs to the myth of the two dogs (cf. RV. X, 14, 11 b, 12 b). Henry, after stating the difficulty very clearly, changes it to *pishatâm*, fairly similar in sound, but quotable only at AV. IV, 6, 7, and not very suitable in meaning. We have retained *préshitau*, and have supplied 'go after' (*ānu kar*, RV. X, 14, 12 b) from sheer conservatism<sup>1</sup>, recognising, however, quite clearly that the original text is disfigured by reminiscences from the RV., and that some other word is very likely to have been thrown out by the glossarial *préshitau*.

**Stanza 10.**

Cf. the *abhayagana* of the *Ganamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 12, excerpted in Kaus. 16, 8, note.

**Stanza 11.**

Frequently rubricated in the Ath. Parisishās: 13, 1; 15; 17, 1; 18<sup>2</sup>, 1. 13. The fires in the waters are the lightning in the clouds; cf. RV. VIII, 43, 9, and the parallel versions.

**Stanza 13.**

The adjectives and participles are momentarily personified in the manner of Roman divinities like *Fabulinus*, *Edusa*, *Potina*, and the like. *Bodha* and *Pratibodha*, *Asvapna* and *Gâgrivi* are said to be *Rishis* at AV. V, 30, 10, and *Sâyana* here speaks of all six personifications as *Rishis*.

**Stanza 15.**

*Böhtlingk's* lexicon, *Whitney* in the *Index Verborum*, and *Sâyana* (glossing the word by *sammodāya*) propose *sam-mûde* for *samûde*. As natural as this correction seems, it is nevertheless not unavoidable: *samûd* in the sense of

<sup>1</sup> The *Paippalâda* has the same word, *préshitau*.



'conversation' makes excellent sense in the light of st. 6 d and VIII, 2, 3 d. The word in either form is  $\tilde{a}\pi. \lambda\epsilon\gamma$ .

#### Stanza 18.

a. *Sâyana* renders *gambháḥ sámhanur* by 'the Asura Gambha with shut teeth<sup>1</sup>,' and it may be that nothing more specific than some such folk-lore notion is contained in the word. See, however, our full discussion of the word at AV. II, 4, 2. Ludwig, 'der zahn mit den kiefern.'

b. The rendering of the expression *má gihvá* (*Padapáṭha*, *gihvá á*) *barhíḥ* is mere guess-work. It would seem as though the words at any rate depicted some evil influence, parallel with *gambhá* and *támas* in *Páda* a. *Sâyana*, *barhir iva áyânavistâropetâ uhyamânâ gihvâ rakshaḥprabhríteḥ sambandhinî*, 'the tongue of the Rakshas, or the like, spread wide as the sacrificial straw.' Ludwig suggests, *gihvâ âbarhíḥ*, 'nicht (soll) die zunge an sich reißen.' Henry, 'the tongue (of the fire) shall not gain hold of the barhis (but only of the libation)'—an unexpected ritual statement, unlikely in this connection, aside from the difficulty of supplying a fitting verb with the preposition *á*. The verb that is required is *vidat* (*Páda* a). Our rendering is based upon a compound *gihvâ-âbarhíḥ*: see the root 1. *barh* with *â*. Non liquet.

#### Stanza 19.

For *Páda* b, cf. VIII, 2, 4; for c, d, Contributions, Second Series, Amer. Journ. Phil. XI, 336 ff.

#### Stanza 20.

The stanza recurs with variants at RV. X, 161, 5, and AV. XX, 96, 10.

#### Stanza 21.

*Sâyana* glosses *vy ávât* with *vyaukkhat*, thus obviously deriving the word from the root *vas*, 'shine.' An extraordinary instance of grammatical insight in the midst of

---

<sup>1</sup> He offers also alternately, *samhatahanur gambháḥ asthûladanto má vindatu . . . bhaksayitum*.

numberless inaptitudes. Whitney, in the *Index Verborum*, doubtfully suggests the same correct derivation.

### VIII, 2. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 55.

This hymn, like the preceding, is a prolonged prayer designed to ensure long life (*âyushyam*), and, accordingly, it is employed in the ritual on all occasions that demand the use of VIII, 1. But the last stanza (28) adds a special feature to the present hymn which it does not share with the preceding. From this it appears that the life-bestowing element which the poet has in mind is (an amulet of) the *pûtudru*-tree<sup>1</sup>, and, accordingly, the hymn is employed independently, at Kaus. 58, 14 ff., in the ceremony of giving a name to a child (*nâmakarana*): (the child is placed upon the lap of the mother) and an uninterrupted stream of water (*avikḥinnâm*; cf. *âkḥidyamânâm* in st. 1 b) is turned upon it. Then an amulet derived from the *pûtudru*-tree is fastened upon it, and it is given drink. Individual stanzas of the hymn are employed in other ceremonies connected with the sacramental moments (*samskāra*) in the child's life: they will be noted below. Cf. also *Sântikalpa* 17. 19. 23.

The hymn has been translated by Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V, 447 ff.; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 496 ff.; Henry, *Les livres VIII et IX de l'Atharva-vêda*, pp. 4, 39 ff.

#### Stanza 1.

a. Shankar Pandit's MSS., and *Sâyana*, read *snúshīm* for *srúshīm* of the vulgate (cf. the note on III, 30, 7). *Sâyana* glosses, *snushīm* *prasnutim* . . . *upakramasva* . . . *yadvâ kumârasya haste avikḥinnâm udakadhârâm* *ninayed* (cf. Kaus., above) . . . *tasya snushīm*. All this can only mean, insipidly, 'take hold of this heap of immortality

<sup>1</sup> The Atharvanists gloss the word with *devadâru* (*pinus deodora*); so also the gloss at *Âpast. Sr. VII, 5, 6*. The *Atharvaniya-paddhati* at Kaus. 58, 15, *sâla* (*vatica robusta*). Cf. also *pûtadru* and *pûtadâru* in the lexicons.

(*amṛta*);' but our own rendering (cf. VIII, 1, 7. 8) is problematic. The Pet. Lex. (s.v. *srúshā*), 'fasse vertrauen zum nichtsterben;' Muir, 'this boon of immortality;' Ludwig and Henry, 'this composition about immortality.' None of these renderings do justice to the meaning of *srúshā*.

#### Stanza 6.

For the character of the epithets in this stanza, see the notes on VIII, 7, 6; XIX, 39, 2.

#### Stanza 9.

The second hemistich occurs in a different connection at Kaus. 97, 6, in a practice destined to restore peace in a quarrelling family. For Páda d, cf. RV. X, 18, 4.

#### Stanza 11.

b. For *garām mrityúm* I read *garāmṛityum*; cf. II, 13, 2; 28, 2. 4.

#### Stanza 12.

This and the following stanza are again employed in a general way in course of the practices at Kaus. 97, 3; cf. the note on st. 9. See also *Sântikalpa* 15.

#### Stanza 14.

Employed variously in the practices connected with childhood and youth: at the *nirṇayana*, the ceremony of taking the child out of the house for the first time, Kaus. 58, 18; at the *kûdâkarana*, 'the making of the crest,' Kaus. 54, 17; cf. also the Paddhatis in the note on Kaus. 58, 17. For *abhisṛiyau*, cf. Bergaigne, *Études sur le lexique du Rig-véda*, p. 108 ff.; Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, I, 53 ff. *Sâyana* reads *adhisṛiyau* (*prâptasṛike sṛiprade stâm*).

#### Stanza 16.

Cf. Kaus. 58, 17; Vait. Sû. 10, 6; Ath. Paris. 33, 4.

#### Stanza 17.

See Kaus. 53, 19 (*godâna*); 55, 3 (*upanayana*); and also the Paddhatis at Kaus. 58, 17. Cf. AV. VI, 68.

**Stanza 18.**

Employed at the annaprâsana, the ceremony at which the child is given solid food for the first time, Kaus. 58, 19; cf. also 58, 17, note. For balâsa, see the note on V, 22, 11.

**Stanza 20.**

See Kaus. 58, 20, and cf. 58, 17, note. Also Ath. Paris. 4, 4. For imâm me, cf. AV. I, 10, 2 d; VIII, 2, 20 d.

**Stanza 22.**

See Kaus. 58, 21, and cf. 58, 19, note.

## VIII, 5. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 79.

The hymn is addressed to an amulet made of the sraktya-tree, defined by the commentators with great unanimity as the tilaka-tree (clerodendrum phlomoides). A briefer hymn, II, 11, is addressed to the same amulet. The application of both in the ritual is of the general sort, and does not cast light upon the special properties of the tree, that fitted it for such use. Some etymological allusion, or other, is likely to have been considered in its application, perhaps a punning derivation, more or less vague, from srakti, 'corner,' i. e. 'bristling.' Cf. for the sraktya-amulet in general, Seven Hymns of the Atharva-veda, Amer. Journ. Phil. VII, p. 477 ff.

The hymn is rubricated at Kaus. 19, 22 among the push/ikarmâni, 'rites which beget prosperity'<sup>1</sup>, along with a list of others devoted to amulets. Nothing is prescribed there except the orthodox tying on of the amulet in accordance with the general rule laid down in the Paribhâshâ-sûtra 7, 19. At Kaus. 39, 7 it is treated along with a list designed to repel witchcraft: see the introduction to IV, 17; cf. also Kesava at Kaus. 47, 9. Stanzas

<sup>1</sup> The Atharvânîya-paddhati at Kaus. 19, 1 mentions it in a long list of push/ikâ mantrâh.

18 and 19 are catalogued (Kaus. 25, 36, note) in the *svas-tyayanagana* ('stanzas productive of welfare') of the *Gana-mâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 11; st. 22 in the first of the two *abhayagana*, 'stanzas that procure freedom from danger,' Ath. Paris. 32, 12; see Kaus. 16, 8, note. Cf. also *Sântikalpa* 19<sup>1</sup>; Ath. Paris. 6, 1.

The hymn has been rendered by Henry, *Les livres VIII et IX de l'Atharva-véda*, pp. 14, 50 ff.

### Stanza 1.

In the prose literature (e.g. Sat. Br. VII, 4, 1, 33) *pratisará* is 'amulet.' Its literal meaning is 'going against, attacking,' and so it is ordinarily to be rendered. *Sâyana*, 'he that practises sorcery him it attacks.' In II, 11, 2 it is used synonymously with *pratyabhi-kāraṇa*. Cf. also the note on IV, 17, 2. The Pet. Lex. and Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, explain the word in a different, it seems to me, erroneous way.

### Stanza 3.

In Pāda c, either *ubhé* or *imé* is metrically superfluous; the former, perhaps, is to be thrown out.

### Stanza 4.

The term *pratīvartā* occurs only in this hymn (4 and 16). The Pet. Lex. renders it by 'in sich zurücklaufend;' Zimmer, l. c., by 'cord;' Henry, 'knot.' Without doubt the word is closely synonymous with *pratisará* in the sense of 'assailing.' *Sâyana*, *pratimukham vartayat anena*.

### Stanza 9.

For the connection of the name *Āṅgiras* with unholy (*āṅgīrasa*=*ābhi-kārika*) practices, see the notes on XI, 4, 16, and X, 1, 6, and the introduction to this volume. For Pāda f, cf. VIII, 7, 15, and note the strained alliteration between *navatīm* and *nāvyāḥ*. So also X, 1, 16.

<sup>1</sup> Cited erroneously by *Sâyana* as *Nakshatrakalpa*.

**Stanza 11.**

The first three Pādas are repeated at XIX, 39, 4. In Pāda e, Sāyana has pratispāsinam (abhi~~karata~~h prati-mukham bādhakam, 'striking against the sorcerers'). The MSS. read ántitam; the vulgate and the Index Verborum ánti tám. Sāyana offers both alternatives, antitam atyan-tasamnihitam, athavā tam . . . dveshtāram anti antike avidāma. Perhaps antikām is to be substituted in the text for ántitam. Sāyana understands the passage as follows: 'Him (the enemy) that we did seek, we have found lurking near by.' But see Tait. S. V, 7, 3, 1, where pratispasá surely means 'guarding;' cf. also AV. VII, 38, 1.

**Stanza 14.**

For Kasyapa, see the note on IV, 20, 7. In Pāda d, Sāyana reads sam~~s~~reshane and glosses 'in the battle which causes close contact (sam~~s~~leshana) with one another.' Whether we accept this sensible emendation, or not, the meaning is clear.

**Stanza 15.**

Pāda a may be improved into an anushṭubh by throwing out the first yás tvā. The dikshā~~h~~ and the yagñā~~h~~ here referred to are of course unholy (ābhikārika); cf. X, 1, 11, and Kesava at Kaus. 47, 12. 14-16. Sāyana, dikshābhi~~h~~ yagñiyair vágyamanādiniamavisheshai~~h~~ . . . yagñai~~h~~ himsā-sāadhanai~~h~~ syeneshvādibhir<sup>1</sup> yāgai~~h~~. The two hemistichs are loosely correlated (anacoluthon): we should expect mā for tvā in Pādas a, b.

**Stanza 17.**

Cf. Tait. S. V, 7, 3, 1; RV. X, 171, 4.

**Stanza 18.**

The first hemistich is repeated at XIX, 20, 4 a, b.

<sup>1</sup> The syeneshu seems to be a witchcraft practice, otherwise unknown. The Âṅgirasakalpa, if it ever turns up, is likely to furnish the necessary information.

**Stanza 20.**

c, d. The passage is highly metaphorical. According to *Pañk.* Br. XIII, 9, 17, *methí* (*methř*) is the post to which cattle is fastened with a rope (*rággu*). The amulet with its cord (cf. II, 4, 5) seems to be likened to it: the tertium comparationis is the protective quality of each. As the cattle is secure when attached to the post, thus the presence of the amulet affords security. Possibly the passage is derived secondarily from a different practice and a different sphere of conceptions.

**Stanza 22.**

Cf. RV. X, 152, 2, almost identical with this stanza.

## VIII, 7. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 41.

This compilation of stanzas in diverse metres, in praise of the curative qualities of plants, is analogous to the so-called *oshadhî-stuti*, RV. X, 97; *Maitr.* S. II, 7, 13; *Tait.* S. IV, 2, 6; *Vâg.* S. XII, 75-96. Its employment in the ritual is as a universal remedy (*sarvabhaishagyam*). At *Kaus.* 26, 33 it is rubricated along with five other hymns in a series (*gava*) which is styled *gavakarmâgava* (!) in the *Gavamâlâ*, *Ath. Paris.* 32, 24. Its particular function is indicated at *Kaus.* 26, 40: while it is being recited an amulet consisting of chips from ten kinds of (holy) wood, described at *Kaus.* 27, 5 in connection with AV. II, 9 (cf. also *Kaus.* 13, 5), is fastened upon the patient. See the introduction to II, 9. At *Vait. Sû.* 30, 6, similarly, the hymn is employed while the curative *surâ* (spirituous liquor) for the *sautrâmanî*-ceremony is being mixed with herbs. Cf. *Contributions*, Third Series, *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* XV, 153-154; *Oldenberg*, *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1893, no. 9, p. 342 ff.; *Weber*, *Râgasûya*, p. 100 ff.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 504 ff.; Henry, *Les livres VIII et IX de l'Atharva-veda*, pp. 20, 58 ff.

**Stanza 2.**

c, d. Cf. III, 9, 1 and III, 23, 6 a, b, with which this hemistich coincides word for word. The ocean represents both the heavenly and terrestrial waters, from which the plants derive their nourishment and origin.

**Stanza 4.**

Cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 57. I agree with Professor Henry in assuming that no systematisation, however rudimentary, is intended: salient qualities are embalmed in epitheta ornantia. The same scholar's rendering of *amsumátih*, 'pourvues de suc, pourvues de sôma,' is strained.

**Stanza 6.**

For *arundhatī*, see the introduction to IV, 12. The first hemistich also at VIII, 2, 6: cf. VI, 59, 3; XIX, 39, 2. 3, and see the notes on the last-mentioned two stanzas. Professor Henry's explanation of *nagha* in *naghârishâm* as=*agha*, 'evil,' will probably appear unnecessary in the light of these notes. The solitary form *pushyâm* is suspicious, since the MSS. confuse the syllables *shya* and *shpa* hopelessly; cf. st. 27, and the note on V, 4, 4.

**Stanza 9.**

This is an especial appeal to aquatic plants, the *ávakâ* being the most characteristic representative of that class; cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 71; *Contributions*, Second Series, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* XI, 349 ff.

**Stanza 10.**

In *Pâda d*, *krītya-* in the vulgate is a misprint for *krītyâ-*. For *balâsa*, see the note on V, 22, 11.

**Stanza 11.**

Rare herbs were doubtless bought, and brought from a distance. The word 'village' is characteristic, as being



the proper scene of Atharvanic performances; cf. IV, 36, 7; IX, 5, 19; XVIII, 2, 27; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 28.

#### Stanza 12.

d. *gó-purogavam* does not differ materially from expressions like *gav-âdi*, and the like. The *Pet. Lexicons*, 'die Kuh zum Anführer habend,' and Henry's, '(la nourriture) à laquelle préside la vache,' are rather too literal and pregnant; they miss, perhaps, the idiomatic force of the expression.

#### Stanza 15.

d. Cf. I, 8, 1; VI, 113, 2; VIII, 5, 9. The flowing water of the running stream shall carry them off.

#### Stanza 16.

For a, b, cf. I, 10, 4; VIII, 2, 27, and our note on the first of these passages. *Agni Vaisvânara* seems to represent here the funeral fire. It would be convenient to read (with Henry) the vocative *oshadhayo* for the nominative. Ludwig construes *mumukânâh* as passive, 'losgegeben von *Agni Vaisvânara*.' But on what occasion does *Agni* confine the plants?

#### Stanza 17.

Cf. st. 24; VIII, 5, 9; XIX, 39, 5, and especially our note on XI, 4, 16. But it is questionable whether *ângirasâh* is to be taken here in its ritualistic sense = *âbhikârika*, 'pertaining to witchcraft.'

#### Stanza 23.

Cf. I, 24, 1; II, 27, 2; V, 14, 1, and the notes on the passages, for this and the following stanza. It is rather curious to find the serpents and their old time enemy the *ichneumon* (cf. VI, 139, 5) peacefully together, as discoverers of remedies. But the serpents here are mythic, not the poisonous individuals.

#### Stanza 24.

b. *raghâto* is ἀπ. λεγ. The *Pet. Lex.* suggests plausibly *raghâvo*, 'swift.' The flight of the heavenly eagle who

robs the Soma, results in the growth of the *parna*-tree; cf. Ad. Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers* (index s. v. *parna*). The eagle might therefore be said to be acquainted with the *parna*-tree. But the passages cited in the preceding note show that the keen sight of certain birds of prey fits them, in the mind of the poet, for the task of finding the rare and secreted plants.

#### Stanza 26.

a, b. The human physicians in contrast from the divine doctors, Rudra, the *Asvins*, *Sarasvati*, &c.

#### Stanza 27.

Cf. the *Atharvāṇīya-paddhati* and *Dasa Karmāṇi* in the note on *Kaus.* 36, 5.

a, b. Cf. *RV.* X, 97, 3; *Maitr. S.* II, 7, 13 (93, 5); *Tait. S.* IV, 2, 6, 1; *Vâg. S.* XII. 77.

c. Ludwig renders *sammâtārāḥ* by 'vereinte mütter; ' Henry proposes to read *sám mâtārāḥ*, as previously in *AV.* XIII, 2, 13 (see his *Les Hymnes Rohitas*, pp. 10 and 40), a very doubtful passage. The plants are called mothers, *RV.* X, 97, 4; *Maitr. S.* II, 7, 13 (93, 6); *Tait. S.* IV, 2, 6, 1; *Vâg. S.* XII, 77, but the word *sammâtārā* (dual) stands unquestioned at *Maitr. S.* II, 5, 4 (52, 1). I think that the text is to be sustained by all means: the sense is excellent. The plants, as though calves sucking the same mother, shall each yield the same sap, that heals disease; cf. *RV.* VII, 101, 1, where *duhre* (as *duhrām* here) is middle, not passive.

#### Stanza 28.

Cf. *RV.* X, 97, 16. I have translated *pāñkasalād*, &c., by 'from a depth of five fathoms,' &c. This is not a little insipid. Perhaps, after all, Ludwig is correct: 'from him that wields five arrows,' &c. Cf. *Sk. pañkasara*, 'he who has five arrows,' as an epithet of *Kāma*.—*devakīlbishāt*, 'sin against the gods,' or, perhaps, 'sin committed by the gods.' This is conceived as being passed off (wiped off) on men. See VI, 111, 3; the introduction to VI, 112 and

113; and Proc. Amer. Or. Soc., May, 1894 (Journ., vol. xvi, p. cxix ff.). Cf. especially Âpast. Sr. XIII, 17, 9; Pañk. Br. I, 6, 10.

#### VIII, 8. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 117.

This battle-song deals especially with the obstacles that are placed in the way of an advancing enemy. Traps and nets are constructed to capture and destroy: see stanzas 5 ff. The Kausika, 16, 9-20, rubricates a number of the stanzas among the practices of the king (râgakarmâni, chapters 14-17), to wit: 16, 9. 'With stanza 1 (or rather the entire hymn) the fire is churned. 10. With stanza 2 a rotten rope is put down (upon the fire-place). 11. The fire is churned with (two sticks, one of) asvattha-wood, (the other of) badhaka-wood<sup>1</sup>. 12. With Pâdas c, d of stanza 2 the smoke of the fire is addressed. 13. With the same two Pâdas, beginning at the word agni, the fire (is addressed). 14. Upon this fire (which is removed) into the forest, sticks of wood that destroy enemies, namely, asvattha, badhaka, tâgadbhaṅga, âhva, khadira, and sara<sup>2</sup>, are placed. 15. The snares mentioned (in Kaus. 14, 28: they are prepared of bhaṅgâ, "hemp" [bhañg, "break!"], and muñga, "reed") are cast. 16. Hammers made out of asvattha-wood, and nets of hemp are placed. 17. (Also) staffs of badhaka-wood (bâdh, "oppress!"). 18. With the exclamation, "Hail to these here" (st. 24 c), an offering is made for the friends (one's own army). 19. With the exclamation, "Perdition to those yonder" (ibid.), an offering is made, with the left hand, of iṅgiḍa-butter<sup>3</sup> into fire built out of badhaka-wood. 20. To the north of the fire a

<sup>1</sup> The symbolism of these acts is clear: the stench of the old rope (Dârila, gîrmaraggu) in the fire, and the etymological qualities of the two kinds of wood, delineated in st. 3, shall operate against the enemy, each in its own way.

<sup>2</sup> For the real and symbolic meanings of these names, see the notes on sts. 3-5.

<sup>3</sup> iṅgiḍa is the typical substance that takes the place of ghee (âgrya) in hostile practices. See the Paribhâshâ-sûtra, Kaus. 47, 3.

branch of red asvattha is fixed (in the ground), enveloped with a blue and a red thread, and then removed to the south while stanza 24 d is being recited<sup>1</sup>. The entire practice is redolent of fierce hostility: cf. in general the introduction (paribhâshâ) to the âbhiṣârîka (witchcraft) practices in Kaus. 47, 1 ff.

The hymn has been rendered by Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 527 ff.; Henry, Les livres VIII et IX de l'Atharva-veda, pp. 23, 61 ff. Cf. also Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, V, pp. 87, 405, note.

### Stanza 1.

The root manth is employed in connection with Indra's feats only on the occasion of his churning the head of the demon Namuḥi: the present statement is doubtless a reminiscence of that performance. See Contributions, Third Series, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XV, 156 ff. The Sûtra, however, takes manth in its more common sense of churning a fire, and embodies it in a corresponding performance on the part of the ritualist: see the introduction above.

### Stanza 2.

It may be reasonably doubted whether the ritual, which takes pûtiraggû in its literal and etymological sense (Kaus. 16, 10, above), has fathomed the meaning of the word. But it is a reasonable construction, and we are, for the present, driven to accept it. In the second hemistich amitrâ is metrically superfluous: it may readily have crept in as a gloss from st. 1 d.

### Stanza 3.

The plants are chosen with reference to the punning etymologies that may be extracted from them. Even the juxtaposition of asvattha and srimhi is intentional. For tâgâdbhânga, see Kausika, Introduction, p. xlv. Its problematic accentuation (Padapâṭha, tâgâdbhângaḥ) is prob-

<sup>1</sup> For the blue and the red threads, see the note on the stanza.

ably to be changed to *tâgâdbhaṅga* (cf. Kaus. 16, 14). Etymologically the word means 'breaking suddenly.' The plant *vadhaka*, *badhaka* (also *vâdhaka*, *bâdhaka*) is defined by the commentators as *girimâla*, *girimâlaka*, *kr̥imimâlaka*, *karimâlaka*, itself of unknown meaning; see Kausika, Introduction, p. xlv, and Pet. Lex., s. v. *bâdhaka* 2.

#### Stanza 4.

a. The Pet Lex., s. v. *parushâ* 2) a, endorsed by Henry, renders 'may the reed turn them into reeds,' i. e. make them fragile as reeds. This is rendered very doubtful, because *parushâ* does not elsewhere mean 'reed,' and because *Dârila* at Kaus. 16, 14 renders *âhva* by *palâsa*. Ludwig, having at the time no access to the *Sûtra*, renders 'diser rauhen feinde schlachtruf mach er heiser,' which seems to us intrinsically and grammatically impossible. If any one should be sceptical about *âhva* in the list of fire-woods, Kaus. 16, 14, the passage would then have to be rendered 'may (our) disjointed cry render the enemies disjointed,' or something similar. The *Pâda* is hypermetric, but Henry's suggestion that *parushâhvâh* in the sense of 'parusha (reed) by name' is a gloss, deprives the passage of its subject, and its best point.

#### Stanza 5.

d. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, I, 140, renders *âpâvapat* by 'hat gefischt.' This is excellent sense, as far as the present passage is concerned, but conflicts with the natural etymology and the clearest instances of the occurrence of the word: AV. XIX, 36, 4 (*Sâyana*, *apavapatu nâsayatu*); Tait. S. III, 3, 7, 3.

#### Stanza 7.

The second hemistich is hypermetric. Professor Henry proposes to eliminate *satâm*<sup>1</sup> and *dâsyûnâm*, leaving perfect metre. Unfortunately such corrections suggest them-

<sup>1</sup> The word does not appear in the quotation of the stanza, Muir, l. c., p. 87.

selves so frequently as to render one another nugatory. An uneasy sense is left that we all know how to make better verse-lines than those that have somehow got to be in vogue among the Atharvan writers; carried out to its full consequences this would eliminate one of the more marked peculiarities that render the Atharvan what it is. Doubtless the present translator has at times fallen into the same error.

#### Stanza 11.

Cf. XI, 2, 19, where the *matyām* is also Bhava's weapon. Ludwig, here, 'entschluss (*satyam*?)' but at XI, 2, 19 (p. 550) 'erfindung.'

#### Stanza 12.

For the *Sādhyas*, see Weber, *Indische Studien*, IX, 6 ff.; Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, I<sup>2</sup>, 10, note.

#### Stanzas 14, 15.

The first hemistich of st. 14 is repeated at XI, 9, 24; see the note there. With it goes 15 a, b, as the second hemistich of XI, 9, 24. The phrases are formulaic, being worked over into prose form at Kaus. 73, 5. In 15 b the *punṣyaganāḥ* are the *sukṛitāḥ*, 'pious deceased,' who enjoy themselves with Yama and the Fathers. Cf. *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* XVI, 27.

#### Stanza 16.

d. The meaning of *kūṭam* is not altogether certain. The *Pet. Lexs.*, Ludwig, and Henry, 'horn;' this is unlikely because of Kaus. 16, 16: horns of *āsvattha*-wood would be very strange. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, I, 139, renders it by trap, which is tempting on account of the seeming parallelism of the two halves of the stanza. This is the rendering I had in mind in the treatment of the expression *āsvatthāni kūṭāni* in Kaus. 16, 16. Dārila says unintelligibly, *kūṭam khādānām*, and my comparison of the word *khadā* (according to Dārila at Kaus. 38, 7 = *svabhāvagaḥ gartaḥ*, 'a natural cavity') was undertaken in the belief that the word meant something like 'pitfall.' But now

I prefer to rely upon the expression, *tasya na kûṇa pragnanti* in Sat. Br. III, 8, 1, 15 (cf. also Ait. Br. VI, 24, 12), rather than the general parallelism. Cf. Contributions, Sixth Series, Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. XLVIII, 546 ff.

#### Stanza 17.

c. The Pet. Lexs. take *pr̥snibāhuḥ* as an independent noun, 'a certain mythical being.' But fanciful colours are attributed with great predilection to Rudra and all his forms (see the introduction to XI, 2). Cf. the epithet 'gold-armed' in the Satarudriya, Vâg. S. XVI, 17, and in general Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, IV<sup>2</sup>, p. 322 ff. I have taken the word with *sārva* (nominative with vocative): cf. RV. IV, 50, 10.

#### Stanza 18.

a. For *ósham* of the edition the MSS. present *ásham*. In the Index Verborum, p. 383, l. 1, the word is still further corrected to *oshám*, 'quickly.' This leaves the genitive *mṛityór* without governing word, and we have supplied 'fetter,' according to well-known parallels (*mṛityór páśam*?). One may also think of *oshám* in the sense of 'fire, agony' (of death).

c. Our translation of *akshu* is little more than a guess. It seems hard to acquiesce in Geldner's proposition (endorsed by Henry), *Vedische Studien*, I, 136, that *akshu* means 'pole' (cf. sts. 5, 12), as long as this involves a 'thousand-eyed pole' in AV. IX, 3, 8 (see the note there). However salient a pole may be in the construction of a house, the epithet *sahasrákshá* is decidedly far-fetched. Further, we should expect the reverse order in the compound (*gálákshû*), since the poles are accessory in their rôle of supporters of the net<sup>1</sup>. Non liquet.

#### Stanza 21.

The second hemistich recurs at VI, 32, 3 (see the note there); cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 181. Perhaps

<sup>1</sup> The word is not mentioned in Goldstücker's Sanskrit Lexicon.

Ludwig's simple rendering of *gñâtāram*, 'der sie kennt,' is preferable.

**Stanza 22.**

The remainder of the hymn is prose in the style of the *Brāhmaṇas*. The stanza is rubricated along with a number of others at Kaus. 15, 11: the king and his charioteer are made to step upon the war-chariot, preparatory to battle. The renderings are necessarily problematic, owing to want of knowledge of the real properties of the chariot (cf. Zimmer, p. 251): the *pákshasî* which are compared with heaven and earth are themselves equal to *ródasî*, 'the two hemispheres,' an allusion doubtless intentional. For *pári-rathyam* I have followed *Nilakant̥ha*'s gloss to *parirathyā*, *Mahābh.* VIII, 1487, a very reasonable rendering. Ludwig, 'wagenrand.'

**Stanza 24.**

Cf. Kaus. 16, 18-20 in the introduction above. From the time of RV. X, 85, 28 onwards 'blue and red' are magic colours. At *Vāg. S.* XVI, 47; *Maitr. S.* II, 9, 9; *Tait. S.* IV, 5, 10, 1, they are the colours of Rudra. Cf. *AV.* IV, 17, 4; the introduction to VII, 116; Kaus. 32, 17; 40, 4; 48, 40; 83, 4. See also the passages quoted by Winternitz, *Das Altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, p. 67, and especially *Baudhāyana's* (I, 8) implied explanation of the two colours as representations of night and day, which probably forms the true basis of the conception.

IX, 1. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 229.

The drink called *mádhu*, 'honey,' is associated from earliest times with the cult of the *Asvins*<sup>1</sup>, and a more specific conception endows them with a honey-lash (*má-dhumatî kásā* or *madhukarā*), which instils sweetness, food, and strength into the sacrifice and into men. The allu-

<sup>1</sup> See Hillebrandt, *Soma und verwandte Götter*, p. 239 ff. Cf. also the *madhubrāhmaṇam* (*madhukāṇḍa*, *madhuvidyā*), imparted to the *Asvins* by *Dadhyañk*: *Sat. Br.* IV, 1, 5, 18; XIV, 1, 1, 18 ff.; 5, 5, 17 ff.; *Ind. Stud.* I, 290; *Sacred Books*, XII, p. xxxiv.



sions of the Rig-veda and the Srauta-literature to this honey-lash are of the incidental sort; neither the texts nor the commentaries elucidate the point in any way. The Atharvan, however, devotes to it an independent effort<sup>1</sup>, and that too in the cosmogonic-theosophic style of mock profundity, which allows the writer to attribute to the honey-whip creative and sustaining power, and places men in the attitude of deeply speculative reverence towards it. The apotheosis of the honey-lash resembles therefore that of the *úkkishṭa*, AV. XI, 7 (cf. the introduction there), or the manipulation in the Bráhmaṇas of specific features of the sacrifice or sacrificial implements as divine beings.

The mythic or realistic background of the honey-lash is not at all manifest. The *Pet. Lex.*, under *madhukasā*, suggests some implement with which the honey was beaten at the sacrifice, but the very slender use of the honey in the ritual (cf. Hillebrandt, l.c., 241) fails to reveal either the act or the occasion. Henry, *Les livres VIII et IX de l'Atharva-véda*, p. 115, assumes 'an evident allegory of the lightning which whips the clouds and produces the rain.' This in itself very reasonable explanation is problematic because the whip belongs to *Asvins*, and their connection with natural phenomena of this sort does not accord with their character in general. And yet, certain allusions in the first ten stanzas of this hymn (cf. especially stanzas 10 and 20) seem to lend support to a construction not very far removed from this. At RV. V, 83, 3 *Parjanya* sends his rain-messengers, as a charioteer who whips his horses with the lash. The patter and the streaming down of the rain (honey) may have suggested the comparison with the lash<sup>2</sup>. Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*, II,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. RV. IX, 11, 2, where it is stated that the Atharvans mixed milk with honey.

<sup>2</sup> Yâska's *Nighant* has *avas* exhibit *kaśā* among the words for voice (*vāk*); cf. *Nirukta* IX, 19. *Sâyana* at RV. I, 157, 4 has rain distinctly in his mind, but rather in reference to the word *mádhumatyâ* (*madhu*, *udakanâma*, *Nigh.* I, 12) than the word *kaśā*. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 209, note, denies this con-

433, has collected a sufficient number of passages in which the Asvins set the waters in motion, and cause the heavenly rivers to flow : madhukasā may therefore amount simply to 'the honey (the water) that lashes.'

In the Atharvan ritual the hymn is known as the madhu-sūktam, 'honey-hymn.' Under this designation it is employed while mixing honey with milk in the course of the agnishṭoma (Vait. Sū. 16, 12). In the Kausika and the subsidiary texts the hymn is simply a varṇasyam (sc. sūktam), 'designed to bestow lustre' (cf. sts. 11-14, 16, 17); see Kaus. 10, 24 ; 12, 15 ; 13, 6, and the second varṇasyagana of the Gaṇamālā, Ath. Paris. 32, 27 (Kaus. 12, 10, note).

#### Stanza 4.

d. The great embryo which is mentioned here, and which figures in the sequel, is apparently described in st. 21 as a part of the honey-lash ; in st. 5 the embryo is said to come from the honey-lash. The embryo suggests the lightning (fire), which seems therefore to be viewed here as a child of the waters, represented by the honey-lash, coinciding thus with the conception of the apām nápāt (cf. Oldenberg, l.c., pp. 99, 118 ff.). But the intolerable mysticism of sts. 5 ff. leaves everything in doubt.

#### Stanza 6.

In Pāda b kalāsaḥ may be thrown out as a gloss which disturbs the metre (gagatī). Cf. with Pāda c the statement of the use of the madhugraha, 'portion of honey,' which is given to the Brahmans, Kāty. Sr. XI, 4, 17. 18 ; see Hillebrandt, Soma, p. 242.

#### Stanza 7.

By a characteristic leap of fancy the fluid-yielding lash is now regarded as a milch-cow, and the rhetorical properties usually connected with her ecstatic praise are exploited. For Pāda d, cf. XII, 1, 45 ; RV. IV, 42, 10 ; VI, 48, 11 ; VIII, 69, 10.

nection with the moisture of the clouds, and suggests the morning dew.

**Stanza 8.**

Cf. AV. IX, 10, 6 = RV. I, 164, 28, and AV. VIII, 9, 13. For the three gharmanas (RV. VII, 33, 7), see the discussions of Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, II, 139; Henry, l. c., p. 68. I am disposed to think that there is here at least an allusion to the ritual gharman, either the hot milk, or the pot in which the hot milk is cooked; cf. Vâg. S. XXXVIII, 6 ff., and Haug, *Vedische Räthselfragen*, p. 40.

**Stanza 9.**

Cf. the interesting formula at Lâty. Sr. III, 5, 15, . . . pîta upatishthanta âpo ye sâkvarâ rishabhâ ye svarâgas te arshantu te varshantu te *krinvantv* isham ūrgam râyasposham tad videya. The words sâkvarâ and svarâgas allude incidentally to the groups of sâman-stanzas of that name. In Pâda d âpâh may possibly be accusative (Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*<sup>2</sup>, § 393 a), co-ordinated with ūrgam.

**Stanza 10.**

b. Cf. Contributions, Sixth Series, Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. XLVIII, 566.

**Stanzas 11-13.**

Rubricated at Vait. Sû. 21, 7, together with other formulas (VI, 47 and 48), designed for the three daily pressures of the soma. Cf. in general Bergaigne, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la liturgie Védique*, *Journal Asiatique*, vol. xiii (1889); Contributions, Fifth Series, *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* XV, 3 ff. More secondary is the employment of the stanzas, Kaus. 139, 15, at the introduction of the pupil to the study of the Vedas, which rests upon the occurrence of the word vârkas in the stanzas. Cf. the first varkasyagana in the Ganamâlâ, Ath. Paris. 32, 10 (Kaus. 13, 1, note).

**Stanza 14.**

For vamsishiya, read vamsishiya with Whitney, *Index Verborum*; cf. *Proc. Amer. Or. Soc.*, May, 1886 (*Journ.*, vol. xiii, p. cxviii).

**Stanza 15.**

Identical with RV. I, 23, 24 ; AV. VII, 89, 2 ; X, 5, 47.

**Stanza 18.**

Cf. XIV, 1, 35, and Hillebrandt, *Soma*, p. 251. In Vait. Sû. 30, 13, the stanza figures at the sautrâmanî-rite, as is suggested by the presence of the word sūrâ. Cf. Contributions, Third Series, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XV, 148 ff. ; Oldenberg, *Nachrichten der Göttingischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1893, p. 342 ff.

**Stanza 19.**

Repeated almost identically at VI, 69, 2 ; cf. Hillebrandt, l. c., p. 240.

**Stanza 20.**

c, d. In Pâda b diví seems to stand secondarily for ádhi in st. 10. At any rate tám in Pâda c and sã in d seem to refer to bhūmyâm in b. Very differently Henry in his note.

**Stanza 21.**

This and the following sections are written in Brâhmaṇa-prose. The present stanza seems to contain a mystic correlation of the parts of the lash with cosmic forces, all of which are obscure. For the embryo, cf. the note on st. 4. Here gárbha, 'embryo,' seems to be a part of a real whip.

## IX, 2. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 220.

In the cosmogonic hymn, RV. X, 129, 4=AV. XIX, 52, 1, desire (kāma) is said to have been 'the first seed (product) of the mind,' which came from 'the one' after it had sprung into existence through creative fervour (tâpas). In the philosophical hymns of the Atharvan, and in the disquisitions of the Upanishads, this Kāma, the creative desire (not sexual love, as in AV. III, 25), takes a place among the very numerous primeval cosmic forces, and appears as one form of the tentative monotheistic per-

sonifications of primeval force ; it then does not differ materially from 'the one' (ekam), 'the being' (sat), and the more vigorously personalised Brahma, Pragâpati, Visvakarman, Svayambhû, &c. The Greek mythology similarly connects Eros, the god of love, with the creation of the universe ; see Plato's Symposium 6. Of such hymns the Atharvan has two, XIX, 52, in addition to the present. Cf. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V, p. 402 ff. ; Scherman, *Philosophische Hymnen*, p. 76 ff.

The personification of Kâma as a supreme being suggests very quickly his power to protect those who worship him, and to destroy the enemies of the worshipper. The Atharvan naturally rings the changes upon these more ordinary divine qualities : the personal Kâma is dealt with much in the same spirit as Agni, many of whose attributes are conferred upon him. For the relation of Kâma to Agni, see Weber, *Ind. Stud.* V, 225 ff. In the ritual the entire hymn, as well as single stanzas of it, is degraded into ordinary witchcraft charms against enemies, without special significance : see Kaus. 49, 1 ; 48, 5 ; 24, 29, and cf. 46, 9, note ; Vait. Sû. 24, 10<sup>1</sup>. The hymn has been translated in full by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 529 ; Henry, *Les livres VIII et IX de l'Atharva-vêda*, pp. 84, 118 ff. More or less fragmentary translations are offered in the two works cited above ; cf. also Hillebrandt's *Vedachrestomathie*, p. 40 ff.

#### Stanza 1.

a, b. For the distinction between ghrîtâ and âgya, see the *Grihyasamgraha* I, 106 (*Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* XXXV, p. 567).

#### Stanza 2.

This and the following stanza are rubricated along with certain other mantras in the *duḥsvapnanâsanagana*, a series of stanzas designed to obviate the effect of evil dreams, in the *Gaṇamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 8. See Kaus. 46, 9, note.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in the Ath. Parisishâs (e. g. 10) as kâmasûktam.

b. Prof. Roth in the *Pet. Lex.*, s. v. *bhas*, regards this passage as corrupt, and conjectures *yasmād bībhatse yaś ka nā-bhinande*, 'which I loathe and which I do not enjoy.' The motive of the correction, in addition to the poor metre, is the usual transitive use of *abhi nand*, 'take pleasure in,' and the like; this does not seem to me to warrant so complete a transformation of the text.

c. The *Pāda* is hypermetric, and may be normalised by reading *muñkā* for *muñkāmi*. But the imperative first sing. act. without *ni* is not elsewhere known in the *Atharvan*.

### Stanza 3.

b. *asvagātā* occurs but one other time, *AV. XII*, 5, 40, *asvagātā párihñutā*, a very obscure passage. The *Pet. Lexs.* translate 'heimatslosigkeit'; Ludwig, 'unfreiheit' (cf. *Der Rigveda*, III, 284); Henry, 'dépendance.' The adjective *ásvaga* occurs in a closely parallel passage, *XII*, 5, 45, *ásvagam ápragasam karoti*; I would compare *svastha* and *asvastha*, 'well' and 'unwell'; *svasthatā* and *asvasthatā*, 'well-being' and 'diseasedness.' For *ávarti Vāg. S. XXX*, 12 has *ávariti*, 'trouble' (Ludwig, 'verarmung'); cf. perhaps *Avestan hāmvarēti* of opposite meaning, 'defence, courage.'

### Stanza 5.

*Vāk Virāg* (cf. *Khānd. Up. I*, 13, 2) is the same *Vāk* who is designated *RV. VIII*, 100, 11, 'as the milch-cow whom the gods begot'; cf. *AV. VIII*, 9, 2, and Oldenberg, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. XXXIX*, 54 ff. In *Pāda d* the metre is sensibly relieved by dropping *parávo* (so also st. 16); nevertheless I should hesitate to correct, because the same *RV. stanza* states 'that multiform animals (*parávaḥ*) speak her (*vāk*).' The argument may, of course, be turned the other way, by assuming that *parávo* is due to a reminiscence from that very stanza.

### Stanza 9.

a, b. For *indrāgnī*, nominative for vocative, coupled with *kāma*, vocative, cf. *Delbrück, Altindische Syntax*, p. 105.

The dual number of the verb in the next Pâda may be due to the dual number of *indrâgnî*.

d. This seems to be the full form of the Pâda which occurs previously (st. 4) in a defective form.

#### Stanza 12.

The same stanza with one variant occurs in a different connection at III, 6, 7. This, as well as the next stanza, seems to be interpolated.

#### Stanza 13.

It is impossible to reproduce the chain of puns in this clap-trap stanza; *yava-yâvâno*, moreover, is somewhat ambiguous, as *yâvan* may come either from *yu*, 'ward off' (so we, with Whitney in the *Index Verborum*), or *yâ*, 'go' (so Ludwig). The *Pet. Lexs.* do not analyse the word, simply translating it 'abwehrend.' Cf. in a general way the hymns II, 7; VI, 91.

#### Stanza 16.

Pâda a ends at *trivârûtham* (read *sârma* as three syllables); *udbhû* seems to be a gloss. Pâda b is hypermetric, and may be relieved by casting out *brâhma* and *krîtâm* (Henry). For Pâdas c, d, cf. st. 5 c, d, apparently the more original source of the passage.

#### Stanza 19.

At *Îsâ Upanishad* IV, the 'one' (*ekam*) is similarly lauded, *nai-nad devâ âpnuvan pûrvam arshat* (*arsat*). Cf. *Ath. Paris.* 48, 2.

#### Stanza 22.

Cf. *Vâg. S.* XXIV, 25, 29; *AV.* II, 31, 2; VI, 50, 3.

#### Stanza 23.

*Manyu* is 'courage,' personified; cf. *RV.* X, 83, 84.

#### Stanza 25.

The purpose of the passage seems to be to ensure wholesome desires, fit and capable of realisation; evil thoughts,

unfit for fulfilment, shall not trouble the suppliant. But *dhīyaḥ* may refer perhaps to the hostile prayers of the enemy, which shall not injure him that prays to Kāma.

## IX, 3. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 193.

The character of this hymn is such that its proper object did not reveal itself clearly, until its application appeared plainly stated in the Kausika. Zimmer, p. 153 (cf. the translation, p. 151 ff.), supposes that the hymn is a charm to free one's house from imaginary witchcraft practices, which have been placed as fetters upon it (cf. stanzas 5, 6, 24). Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 464 ff., translates the hymn under the title, 'Removal of a house,' without stating the precise situation; he comes very near the truth, yet misses the main point. Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 60, 188 ff., fails to find any reason for a removal, and construes the hymn (just as III, 12) as a dedicatory ceremony after the erection, and before occupation. And Henry, *Les livres VIII et IX de l'Atharvaveda*, pp. 87, 121 ff., seems to underrate the significance of its employment in the Sūtra. He suggests that the hymn alludes to the building of a house, but accentuates the successive removals of the ancillary frame, the scaffolding, as the house advances from stage to stage.

The Kausika treats the hymn in 66, 22-30, and Kesava epitomises the treatment very well by designating the ceremony as *sâlāsavam*, i.e. the solemn bestowal upon a priest of a house as *dakshinā*. See his comment on Kaus. 64-66, especially page 365, lines 1, 2, and cf. also the introduction to XI, 1. The Kausika's rather elaborate treatment is as follows: Sū. 22. 'While reciting AV. IX, 3, that which is about to be given along with the house is (placed) within (the house) covered up. 23. It is recommended, moreover, that the objects mentioned in the hymn (be given as additional gifts). 24. While reciting st. 18 the door is removed. 25. While reciting st. 22 they take up the water-vessel and the fire and enter the house. 26. That (water-vessel) is anointed with the dregs (of ghee) after they have arrived



within (the house), while the (entire) hymn is being recited. 27. Having sprinkled the house (with water) from the anointed water-vessel, having recited the stanzas (of the hymn) over it, having addressed (the recipient), the giver, being made to speak (what?), presents (the house)<sup>1</sup>. 28. (The recipient) while reciting st. 15 accepts it. 29. While reciting the first stanza he loosens the objects mentioned in the stanza<sup>2</sup>. 30. Addressing them with st. 24 he carries them off.'

The Anukramanî designates the hymn simply as *sâlâ-devatyam*. For previous translations see above.

### Stanza 1.

One may imagine that the *upamît* is a vertical post, the *pratimît* a slanting support to hold the house in position, the *parimît* a crossbeam connecting the vertical posts; but no certainty can be reached in words which are likely to be technically flavoured. Cf. Kaus. 66, 29, above.

### Stanza 2.

Indra's double *Bṛihaspati* here slays *Vala*, as in RV. X, 67 and 68; cf. also II, 23, 18; II, 24, &c. *Vala* (*Vṛitra*) is often described as lying unloosened, undone, after Indra's attack; hence the comparison.

### Stanza 3.

c. The *Pâda* may be rendered, more concisely, 'as a skilful butcher the joints (of an animal).' Our rendering is based upon the conviction that the poet has in mind the ritual butcher. Cf. RV. I, 162, 18. 20, and Contributions, Sixth Series, Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. XLVIII, 556. The point of the stanza is, of course, that the parts of the house shall not be damaged in the course of their transfer to the priest.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kaus. 63, 22, which also leaves some of the terms in this *Sûtra* in the dark.

<sup>2</sup> The buttresses, supports, and connecting beams.

**Stanza 4.**

Again the terms are technical, and not at all clear. I have rendered pakshá by 'side,' in deference to ulûkapakshî (sc. sálâ) in Pânini, IV, 1, 55, and Mahâbhâshya, IV, 29 b. Cf. AV. III, 7, 3, *kâtushpaksham khadîh* (Sâyana, *katushkonam*), 'roof with four sides or facades;' see also st. 21 of our hymn. Zimmer and Grill, 'seitenpfosten;' Ludwig, 'zimmer;' Weber in his comment on III, 7, 3 (Ind. Stud. XVII, 210), 'vierbeschwingtes dach;' Henry, 'chambranles.'

**Stanza 5.**

c. For *mânasya pátñî*, see our comment on III, 12, 5.

**Stanza 6.**

a, b. The difficult expression in this hemistich is *raṇyāya* (kam), which is a *ḍπ. λεγ.* when accented with the svarita on the last syllable. Ordinarily the word is *rānya*, one of whose meanings when used as a noun is 'pleasure, joy.' This meaning is at the base of our translation 'for comfort;' but what are those ropes (*sikyāni*) which are tied within for comfort? Non liquet. The Pet. Lexs. and Zimmer give it up. Ludwig translates etymologically, 'dass die theile in ihrer lage verharren,' and Grill follows the suggestion up by proposing the emendation *rāmaṇyāya*. Henry, 'pour (te) maîtreiser' (cf. his note). The real difficulty is with *sikyāni*, which is doubtless an obscure technical term.

a, d. The second half of the stanza, as it stands, disturbs the run of the metre (*Anukr., pathyâpañkti*), and possibly needs correction. By dropping *mânasya patni* and *uddhîtâ* the last Pâda is restored as *sivâ nas tanvè bhava*, in accordance with similar expressions in I, 12, 4; VIII, 1, 5; 2, 16. Cf. st. 21 c, d, e, which is similarly irregular, and also contains the expression *mânasya pátñîm*.

**Stanza 7.**

The various designations of the house represent a fairly complete summary of the huts and other sheltered places

which are needed in the larger Vedic (śrauta) sacrifices ; see the Pet. Lex. under each, Zimmer, p. 154, and cf. especially Vāg. S. XIX, 18 ; Tait. S. III, 2, 4, 3. 4. The divergent metre of the stanza (8 + 8 + 12 : Anukramanī, paroshnīh), and the interruption which it occasions in the account of the breaking up of the house, render it very suspicious. The bestowal of sacrificial epithets upon the house are obviously intended to enhance its value in the eyes of the recipient.

#### Stanza 8.

Technical terms again render this stanza obscure. I imagine a covering of wicker-work, the openings in which suggest a thousand eyes, stretched across a beam and slanting down from it to both sides (vishūvāti) in the manner of our roofs. The passage seems, perhaps, to harbour a comparison of the roof with the head and the head-dress of a woman (cf. opasā and vishūvāti, and see the note on VI, 138, 1). Professor Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, I, 136, renders the stanza : 'die in der mitte als diadem ausgespannte tausendäugige befestigte aufgesetzte stange lösen wir durch besprechung.' But what occasion is there for a pole with thousand eyes, i.e. countless holes<sup>1</sup> ? Ludwig renders ākshum opasām by 'das löcherige geflecht ;' Grill, 'das ausgespannte flechtennetz ;' Zimmer, l. c., and p. 265, 'das netz das über den schopf (gespannt ist) ;' Henry, 'le réseau tendu.'

#### Stanza 10.

a. He that bestows a house in this world gets it back again in heaven. Ludwig, 'in jener welt (soll) es ihm entgegenkommen.' Kausika's construction of the hymn renders the meaning very clear.

#### Stanza 15.

At this point the recipient of the house (cf. Kaus. 66, 28, above) begins to see to it that the house shall produce for

---

<sup>1</sup> The employment at AV. VIII, 8, 18, of the root han, 'slay,' with akshugālābhyām does not prove ākshu to mean 'pole, club : ' that which catches the enemy may be imagined to slay him ; cf. also st. 7. Sāyana at RV. I, 180, 5, divides ā-kshu, 'not perishing.'

him all expected benefits, and he does not hesitate to 'take his mouth full.' The picture is a vivid one.

c. Similar and yet different is RV. X, 121, 5, *yó antárikshe rágaso vimánah*; cf. also RV. VI, 7, 7; 69, 5; AV. IV, 25, 2.

e. The Páda is de trop in form and sense (Anukr., *trya-vasánā pañkapadā-tisakvarī*). If it originally stood here at all, it is spoken by an agent of the recipient who receives the house for him (*tásmai*). Or *tásmai* is an ethical dative, 'in the interest of him (the donor).'

#### Stanza 17.

b. A bold and beautiful comparison this, between the house and night who gathers to her bosom all creatures. In the hymn to night, RV. X, 127, 5, we have: 'The throngs (of beings) have gone to rest, those who go on foot and fly by wing; gone to rest have the preying eagles.' Cf. also AV. III, 12, 5. Grill applies the pruning-knife to this and the preceding Páda (11 + 12: Anukr., *prastārapañkti*), in order to exact two anushṭubh Pādas, *trínair vásánā rātrī-va śālā gagannivésanī*. This amounts to independent composition, not very good at that, since it leaves the first Páda, a good trishṭubh, in bad shape.

#### Stanza 20.

a, b. With *ví gáyate* and *pragáyate*, cf. *vígāvati prágāvati* in stanzas 13, 14.

#### Stanza 21.

Ludwig here, as in st. 4, translates *paksha* by 'room: 'das zweizimmerig, vierzimmerig, &c. gebauet wird; ' the Pet. Lex., *Zimmer*, and Grill, 'pfosten.' But see the note on st. 4, and cf. Kaus. 135, 9 (p. 287, l. 5), *ashṭasthūno dasapakshaḥ*, showing that *paksha* and *sthūnā* cannot both mean 'pillar, post.' The exact meaning of the word is after all not clear. Cf. Henry's note on the passage.

c. For *agnīr gārbhe*, see Contributions, Fifth Series, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XVI, pp. 15, 16.

**Stanza 22.**

The expressions 'turned towards' imply friendly reception on the part of the house, and eagerness on the part of the future possessor ; hence at Kaus. 66, 25 the house is entered along with water and fire. Cf. III, 12, 8, and Kaus. 43, 10.

d. The waters and Agni are the door of the order, or the law of the universe, i. e. they are the primal elements. Hence Agni is styled frequently *ritásya prathamagāh*, *ritásya gárbhah* ; *ritásya dhûrshád* ; see Grassmann's Lexicon, under *ritásya*.

**Stanza 23.**

Is identical with AV. III, 12, 9 ; see the note on the passage.

**Stanza 24.**

According to Kaus. 66, 30 the house is actually carried off at this stage ; the stanza offers especial security that Kausika construes the hymn aright. Cf. with his construction the rather forced interpretations of Grill, p. 192, and Henry, p. 128.

**IX, 8. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 45.**

This is a charm against diseases in general (*sarvabhishagyam*), without indication as to remedies, either in the form of drugs, or talismans. At Kaus. 32, 18. 19 the patient is taken hold of while the hymn is being recited. During the recital of the last two stanzas the sun is faced reverently. According to Sâyana at II, 33 the hymn is a member of the *amholingagana*, 'a series designed to drive away distress ;' see the introduction to II, 33.

The hymn has been translated by Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 378 ff. ; Henry, *Les livres VIII et IX de l'Atharvaveda*, pp. 105, 141 ff.

**Stanza 1.**

For *vilohitá*, see the note on XII, 4, 4 ; for *karnasûlá*, Wise, *Hindu System of Medicine*, p. 287, and the introduction to VI, 90.

**Stanza 2.**

kánkûsha is a *ḍπ. λεγ.* of unknown meaning. For visályaka, cf. sts. 5, 20, and VI, 127, 1. 3; XIX, 44, 2. In the last two hymns, and in the present hymn, Shankar Pandit reads visálpakah; Sâyana at VI, 127, visalpakah; at XIX, 44, 2, visarpakah (vividham saraṇasilo vranavishesah, 'a running wound'). See Zimmer, p. 386; and cf. Wise, p. 414.

**Stanza 4.**

The rendering of pramóta (*ḍπ. λεγ.*) is Zimmer's conjecture. It may be rendered 'dumb' with equal propriety and equal uncertainty. Cf. Sk. mûka, Lat. mûtus. The Pet. Lex., 'eine bestimmte krankheit.' All renderings are based upon the suggestion of the passage itself.

**Stanzas 6-8.**

For udvepáyati, cf. V, 22, 7. 10; for visváśārada, cf. XIX, 34, 10; for gavñike, I, 3, 6; for balása, V, 22, 11. In st. 7 c antár áṅgebhyo is suspicious, as is also antár âtmáno in st. 9 c. Both are probably to be emended to antáraṅgebhyo and antárâtmáno (or possibly with oxytonesis, cf. Whitney, Sk. Gr.<sup>2</sup>, § 1289). Accordingly our translation.

**Stanza 9.**

For a-pvâ, 'impurity' (par excellence), 'diarrhoea,' cf. the note on the goddess Apvâ in III, 2, 5; for antár âtmáno, the note on antár áṅgebhyo in st. 7 c.

**Stanza 11.**

Pâda a is directly joined in sense to 10 b: the bīlam is identical with vastibilām, 'opening of the bladder,' in I, 3, 8. The plain sense is that disease shall pass off in the form of urine from the bladder, in the form of faeces from the belly.

**Stanza 19.**

The word madáyanti (not mādáyanti; cf. patáya-, 'fall': pátáya-, 'fell') is not altogether clear. Perhaps 'madden'

is nearer the truth. Böhtlingk, 'betäuben;' Zimmer, 'lähmen.' Cf. the root *ram* in its two meanings of 'delight' and 'rest.'

#### Stanza 20.

For *vidradhá*, cf. Grohmann, *Indische Studien*, IX, 397; Zimmer, p. 386, and Wise, pp. 210, 284, 288, 362; for *vâtî-kârá*, see Contributions, Fourth Series, Amer. Journ. Phil. XII, 427; the notes on VI, 44, 3; 109, 3, and the introduction to I, 12; for *alagí* (Wise, p. 296, *alaghi*<sup>1</sup>), see Zimmer, p. 390. Henry's *bâlagi* is scarcely due to oversight: he seems to have in mind some children's disease, *bâla-gí*.

#### Stanza 21.

For *ushwíhábhya*, see the note on II, 33, 2.

#### Stanza 22.

For *vidhú*, 'beat,' cf. *vidhukrânta*, a designation of a certain musical bar. For the second hemistich, cf. the note on II, 32, 1.

#### X, 1. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 72.

This hymn belongs to the class called *krítýápratiharāṇāni*, a series of hymns 'which repel sorceries or spells,' assembled in the list at Kaus. 39, 7. The practices associated with this group of hymns, Kaus. 39, 7-12, are obscure. They begin with 'the pouring of the great consecration' (see the introduction to IV, 17). The performer then takes the holy water obtained by the 'great consecration,' and at night takes off his shoes, puts on a turban, and proceeds to the place where the spell is supposed to have been instituted, sprinkling the holy water as he goes. A formula is recited indicating that the holy water is sprinkled for certain female personifications of holiness and beneficence (*yatáyai*, &c., Kaus. 39, 9). If no spell is found he casts away (the materials with which he is performing<sup>2</sup>). The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *andhālagí*, Pet. Lex. and Wise, p. 412.

<sup>2</sup> The holy water, or the turban? Dārila, *samskārāṇām apakshepaḥ*.

next Sûtra (11) is obscure; cf. the note on V, 14, 9. For Sûtra 12, see Kaus. 35, 28 in the introduction to III, 25. Various single stanzas and Pâdas of the hymn (20 c; 21 c, d; 25; 32) are employed in other phases of witchcraft in Kaus. 39; see the index.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 520 ff. Cf. the closely related hymn V, 31.

#### Stanza 1.

The spell is in the nature of some terrifying, evil-working figure (bugbear, bogey, bogle; German popanz), not merely a magical rite. See the performances in the Sûtra, above.

#### Stanza 6.

The first hemistich is not easy to render, owing to the plays upon the words, and their ad hoc personifications. It might be rendered, 'Pratîkîna ("Back-hurler") is our magic priest (âṅgirasá), Adhyaksha ("Overseer") our officiator.' The word âṅgirasá at any rate implies an allusion to that use of the word which couples it especially with witchcraft, and contrasts it with holy practices (âtharvaná, sânta): see the introduction to this volume; the note on XI, 4, 16; and cf. VIII, 5, 9. Note also the pun between *krityá(h)* and *âkrítya*, and cf. V, 8, 7.

#### Stanza 8.

Cf. IV, 12, 7. Here, as there, *rîbhú* may be either appellative, or refer to the mythic *Rîbhu*.

#### Stanza 10.

a. The image of things floating down a river is employed with great predilection to indicate loss of power, harmlessness: e.g. I, 8, 1; VI, 113, 2; X, 4, 3.

#### Stanza 11.

The gift of an outsider to the Fathers must either have been regarded as a defilement, or as an attempt to alienate their affection and protecting care. In Pâda b the sacrifice is the hostile sacrifice as in VIII, 5, 15; the name of the



enemy is frequently called out in hostile formulas and prayers, e.g. IV, 16, 9; Kaus. 47, 10. 22. For the difficult word *saṁdesyāt*, here and in the next stanza, see the notes on II, 8, 5 b and IV, 16, 8.

#### Stanza 12.

For the conception of the sins of the gods, see the notes on VI, 111, 3; 113, 1, and Proc. Amer. Or. Soc., March, 1894 (Journal, vol. xvi), p. cxix ff. Ludwig's rendering, 'sin against the gods, and against the Fathers,' is perfectly admissible, but the other seems to us more pregnant and probable.

#### Stanza 15.

d. *kurûṣṇî*, translated by 'crowned with a crest,' is in truth a *ἀπ. λεγ.* of unknown value. The Pet. Lexs. suggest its equivalence with *kirîṣṇ*, 'ornamented with a diadem.' Cf. also *kurîṣra* and *kurîṣin*, the latter in the closely related hymn, V, 31, 2. Hemaṅdra also reports a word *kurûṣin*, 'horse,' and Ludwig, apparently on this basis, translates 'mit rossen.' The head of the bogey may have been ornamented in some fanciful way with a crest. But the point is altogether problematic. Cf. also *tirîṣin*, VIII, 6, 7.

#### Stanza 18.

With the first hemistich cf. the little legend at Maitr. S. III, 8, 8 (106, 11); Tait. S. VI, 2, 11, 1; Sat. Br. III, 5, 4, 2.

#### Stanza 22.

The 'lords of the beings' allude to Rudra, who is called *bhûtapāti*; cf. Bhava and Sarva in the concatenating next stanza, and see the introduction to XI, 2.

#### Stanza 26.

b. Cf. the perfect parallel, Manu VIII, 44, *yathâ nayati asṛīkpâtair mṛigasya mṛigayuk padam*, 'as the hunter tracks the (wounded) animal by its drops of blood.'

#### Stanza 27.

A metaphorical description of the fate of him that practises witchcraft. The counter-charm (*krityâpratiharaṇa*) is

sure to prevail in the end. For *pratyâdâya* read *pratyâdhâya* with the *Pet. Lex.* and *Roth*, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* XLVIII, 681.

### X, 3. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 81.

At *Kaus.* 19, 22 there is a performance which is supposed to result in the fulfilment of every desire (*Kesava*, *sarva-kâma*). It consists simply in reciting one of four hymns in praise of certain amulets, while fastening the amulet extolled in the hymn, after having steeped it for certain three nights in a mixture of sour milk and honey (in accordance with the *Paribhâshâ-sûtra*, *Kaus.* 7, 19). For the character of the amulet derived from the *varana*-tree, as treated by the *Atharvan* poet, cf. the introduction to VI, 85. The third stanza naturally figures in the *duḥsvapnanâsanagana*, a list of hymns designed to remove the effect of evil dreams, in the *Gaṇamâlâ*, *Ath. Paris.* 32, 8 (*Kaus.* 46, 9, note). Cf. also *Sântikalpa* 17 and 19. The hymn has been translated by *Zimmer*, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 60 ff.

#### Stanza 3.

b. For the epithet, 'thousand-eyed,' cf. the note on IV, 20, 4.

### X, 4. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 152.

The central feature of this charm against serpents is the frequent allusion to the white horse of *Pedu* (*Paidva*): from earliest times onwards, this is said to be a slayer of serpents. For its mythic origin, see *Bergaigne*, *La Religion Védique*, II, 451-2, 498, who identifies it plausibly with the steed of the sun. In the practices of the *Atharvan*, *Kaus.* 32, 20 ff.<sup>1</sup>, some insect is substituted for the unattainable mythical horse<sup>2</sup>. The hymn is employed at *Kaus.* 32, 20-25, as follows: 20. 'While reciting X, 4 the (person bitten) per-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Kaus.* 35, 4. 8, and the introductions to VI, 11 and 17.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Contributions*, Third Series, *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* XV, 158; *Kausika*, Introduction, p. xliv ff.

forms the rite to Takshaka (described at Kaus. 28, 1; see the introduction to IV, 6). 21. Having ground up the paidva<sup>1</sup>, he puts it with his right thumb up the nose in his right nostril. 22. If afraid of serpents he hides (the paidva) away in the seam of his garment. 23. While st. 25 of the hymn is being recited (the patient suffering from a snake-bite) is rubbed from (his head) to the tips of his feet. 24. Having heated the bitten spot while reciting the last stanza of the hymn, he throws (the torch with which the heating is done) upon the serpent. 25. (In the absence of the serpent he hurls it upon the spot) where he was bitten.' The hymn is also cited, along with other mantras against serpents, at Kaus. 139, 8, in the course of practices preparatory to the study of the Veda. It has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 520 ff.

#### Stanza 1.

c, d. apamā (the Padapāṭha in perplexity, apa-mā) seems untenable, unless we admit an irregular change of final as to ā before r; cf. Joh. Schmidt, *Die Pluralbildungen der Indogermanischen Neutra*, p. 124 ff. We emend to apamō. ārad and arishat (I with some MSS.) are prophetic aorists: lit. 'it has hit a post and come to grief.'

#### Stanza 2.

a. The general sense of this passage seems fairly clear, but it is full of obscure details, and the metre so much disturbed as to cast suspicion upon the text. The *Pet. Lexs.* identify tarṇakam with tarunaka in darbhatarunakā, 'a young shoot of darbha-grass;' it seems therefore best to place tarṇakam in apposition with darbháḥ. But it is not quite clear what kind of grass is meant, nor what it is meant to do. According to *Ait. Br.* VII, 33, 1; *Sat. Br.* III, 1, 2, 7, &c.; *Āsv. Gr̥h.* IV, 6, 11, the darbha-shoots are employed in the ritual; possibly its purificatory power is

<sup>1</sup> The paidva is some kind of insect. Most clearly *Kesava* at Kaus. 32, 22, paidvam hiraṇyavarṇasadrīśaḥ kīṭas kītrito vā sa paidva ity uḷyate.

engaged against the serpents, as a flame which burns them. Or, perhaps the young darbha-grass in which the serpent lurks (cf. st. 13 d) is invoked against the serpent.

b. The horse of Pedu is meant, it seems: even its tail burns the serpents. For the unintelligible parushásya we are tempted to substitute arushásya, relying upon the oft emphasised whiteness (svetá) of Pedu's horse (RV. I, 116, 6; 118, 9; 119, 10; X, 39, 10).

### Stanza 3.

c. Cf. st. 20, and I, 8, 1; VI, 14, 3; 113, 2; X, 1, 10; RV. X, 155, 3: things that float away on the water are harmless and powerless.

d. The vulgata reads vār, enclitic; Whitney in the Index Verborum, vār. But many MSS., both here and in the next stanza, have vār. According to Pischel, Vedische Studien, II, 74 ff., this is the true reading: injunctive of the s-aorist, second person singular (avārsham, avār, avār) from root var, 'ward off, hinder, obstruct.' The sense would be, 'ward off the fierce poison of the serpent (so that it be) devoid of strength.' But in the next stanza vār would need to be construed as the third singular aorist indicative, 'he did ward off, &c.,' which renders this construction problematic. Perhaps the words vār ugrám, being metrically superfluous, are merely a gloss to vishám.

### Stanza 4.

Our rendering of the ἀπ. λεγ. aramghushó is purely etymological, and very doubtful. Ludwig manipulates it as a proper noun. Perhaps it is the designation of some serpent-killing bird.

### Stanza 5.

For kasarnīla, the TS. I, 5, 4, 1 has kasarnírá (kâdraveya), as the name of a personified serpent-ríshi. ratharvī is a ἀπ. λεγ. of unknown connection. Ludwig suggests that the word means 'die die radform liebt.' Both are wanting in the list of serpent divinities, Pañk. Br. XXV, 15, 3.

**Stanza 8.**

The first hemistich recurs at VI, 56, 1 c, d; cf. the note there.

**Stanza 10.**

a. aghâsvá seems here to be the designation of a serpent. In RV. I, 116, 6 aghâśva with different (bahuvrīhi) accent seems to be Pedu, the possessor of the serpent-killing horse; cf. Bergaigne, l. c., p. 451. The relation of the two is very obscure. For svagá and the subsequent designations of serpents, see the note on VI, 56, 2.

**Stanza 22.**

c. kândāvishám and kanáknakam are ἀπ. λεγ.; it is not even certain that the latter refers to a particular substance: the word may be an adjective qualifying kândāvishám. It seems to be an intensive formation from root kan.

**Stanza 24.**

a, b. taúdî and ghrítâkî seem to be fanciful names of plants, 'the piercer,' and 'dripping with ghee.' The latter is personified in many ways, as night (AV. XIX, 48, 6); Sarasvatî (RV. V, 43, 11); cf. ghrítápâdî as an epithet of Idâ (e. g. Sat. Br. I, 8, 1, 26).

**Stanza 25.**

Rubricated at Ath. Paris. 33, 3.

**X, 6. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 84.**

The chief interest of this rather banale production lies in the practice which it harbours. From st. 2 we gather that the hymn is addressed to an amulet prepared from the ploughshare. In st. 6 the amulet itself is spoken of as a ploughshare<sup>1</sup>, but in addition it is said to be 'strong khadira-wood' (acacia catechu). From Dârla at Kaus.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the allusions to the ploughshare in sts. 12 and 33.

35. 4, we may gather that there was a part of the ploughshare which was called 'the chin of the ploughshare' (phâlañibukâ). This must have been made of wood, since of it might be made a vessel having the form of a soma-cup (Dârila, *ibidem*). All doubt is dispelled by the same commentator's glosses on Kaus. 19, 22. 23 (p. 53, notes 10 and 12 of our edition). Here it is stated with direct reference to st. 6 of the present hymn, that 'the chin' of the plough was made of khadira-wood, and that an amulet fashioned out of khadira-wood in the likeness of the plough is the object extolled in the present hymn<sup>1</sup>. The khadira is a very hard wood (cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 58); at Sat. Br. XIII, 4, 4, 9 it is said to be dâruza, 'hard,' and is compared with the bones of the body. The chin of the ploughshare can scarcely be anything else than the point of the instrument, and we are thus brought face to face with the primitive wooden plough. The metal ploughshare seems to have been known as well, if pavîra, AV. III, 17, 3; Vâg. XII, 71; Tait. S. IV, 2, 5, 6; Maitr. S. II, 7, 12, has that meaning (cf. Zimmer, *l. c.*, p. 236). The appropriateness of the embodiment of 'the chin of the plough, made of khadira-wood,' into an amulet lies on the one hand in the character of the plough and the ploughshare as emblems of prosperity (cf. stanzas 12<sup>2</sup> and 33); on the other, in the qualifications of the khadira, 'the wood that chews up (khâd) the enemies' (cf. AV. VIII, 8, 3).

The hymn is rubricated at Kaus. 19, 22 ff. In Sû. 22 the amulet is tied on in the manner described at Kaus. 7, 19 (cf. the introduction to X, 3). In the obscure next Sûtra (23) the four amulets<sup>3</sup> mentioned in Sûtra 22 seem to be passed along the cords (with which they are fastened)<sup>4</sup> by means of a chip of gold (cf. hîrañyasrag in st. 4); they are then bent, and put on each three times. In Sû. 24 a fire is

<sup>1</sup> Not so Kesava, khadirapalâsamam, 'an amulet from the leaves of the khadira-tree.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the mantra in Kaus. 20, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Dârila, uktamanes katasrah suvarnasragmanigatutvam nîtvâ.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sat. Br. XII, 3, 4, 2.

built while reciting st. 35 ; in Sû. 25 the amulet is taken out of the substances in which it has (again) been steeped while reciting st. 29 (cf. Sû. 22), and (again) fastened while reciting st. 30. Cf. also Vait. Sû. 10, 2. 3, and Ath. Paris. 37, 1, rubricating stanzas 1 and 3. St. 4 is rubricated at Ath. Paris. 13, 1 ; st. 35 at 22, 3 ; 46, 2.

#### Stanza 6.

The formula, *yám ábadhnâd br̥haspátīh*, which is repeated many times, indicates the presence of the purohita, the king's chaplain. As *Br̥haspati*, the divine purohita, fastens the amulet upon the gods, so the king's chaplain serves the king.

#### Stanza 34.

A delicate oratio pro domo. The significant words are *yagñavardhana* and *satadakshīṇa* (*ishṭa* and *pūrta*). The real meaning of the stanza is: 'as I, the priest, have by means of this amulet made thy sacrifice successful, thus do thou, the king, permit thyself to be inspired to reward me, the priest, by a gift of a hundred cows !'

### XI, 1. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 179.

The preparation of the *brahmaudana*, otherwise called *savayagña* (*Sâyana*), or *brahmaudanasava* (*odanasava* in *Sâyana*'s introduction to Tait. Br. II, 7, 7, page 772), is described at full length in Kaus. 60-63. It consists of the solemn combination of a soma-sacrifice with the cooking of a porridge for the Brahman's *dakshinâ*. Both the sacrificer and his wife (*pátnī*) participate in the ceremonious details of the performance. The ceremony works up quite completely the stanzas of XII, 3, in addition to the present hymn. Wherever the ritual is suggestive or explanatory, its gist will be given in connection with the stanzas in question. There are, however, many signs of a secondary and forced employment of the stanzas in the ritual, and the stanzas themselves exhibit occasionally secondary changes which arouse the suspicion that their form and their grouping here are not altogether primary and original.

**Stanza 1.**

At Tait. S. VI, 5, 6, 1; Tait. Br. I, 1, 9, 1, the preparation of the porridge is correlated with a legend that tells of Aditi and the birth of her sons. Cf. the note on XII, 3, 11. Aditi in our hymn symbolises the pátnî, the wife of the sacrificer (yágamâna). According to Kaus. 60, 19, the stanza is spoken while both of them are engaged in churning the fire. The third Pâda is defective: perhaps pûrve is to be inserted before bhûtakrîtaḥ, if we consult VI, 133, 5; XII, 1, 39.

**Stanza 2.**

According to Kaus. 60, 22 this stanza is addressed to the smoke as it rises from the churning-sticks. The third Pâda reads, ádroghâvitâ (Padapâṭha, ádrogha avitâ: some MSS. avitâḥ) vâkam ákkha, which the Paippalâda varies by reading, adroghâ vitâ vâtam matsa. Sâyana comments, adroha-kârinâm sukaritrânâm yagamânânâm avitâ rakshitâ vâkam ákkha mathyamânâgneḥ stutyartham anûkyamânâm rig-rûpâm vâkam abhilakshya. The corresponding passage, RV. III, 29, 9, reads, ásredhanta itana vâgam ákkha, and it, with the Paippalâda, suggests the reading ádroghâ vîta vâgam ákkha, or ádroghâ áveta, &c., the sense being the same in either case. This has been made the basis of our rendering: the Saunakiya-text scarcely yields sense.

**Stanza 3.**

Kaus. 60, 23: The incipient fire is addressed with this stanza. For Pâda d, cf. st. 11 d, and RV. IV, 50, 10 d.

**Stanza 4.**

Kaus. 60, 24: The blazing fire is thus addressed. For Pâda d, cf. I, 9, 2; XVIII, 3, 4; Vâg. S. XII, 63.

**Stanza 5.**

The text of Pâda a seems forced. The Paippalâda with marked improvement, tredhâ bhâgo nihito gâtavedaḥ. Perhaps the words yâḥ purâ vo are imported from st. 15.



In Páda d the Paippaláda reads imám, i.e. the sacrificer<sup>1</sup>, for imám, the pátnî, the wife; cf. st. 4 d. See Kaus. 61, 8, from which it would appear that three heaps of rice, from which the brahmaudana is to be prepared, are addressed with this stanza.

#### Stanza 6.

Kaus. 61, 9-11: 'With the share of grain that has been divided off for the fathers he performs a srâddha. With the one that has been divided off for men he feeds the Brahmans. The share that belongs to the gods he pours into a jar, with closed fist, or open palm, or with the hollow of his two hands (aṅgali); bending his right knee, turned to the north-east, or with his body inclined; reciting stanza 6 (of this hymn).'

#### Stanza 7.

According to Kaus. 61, 20, this stanza is recited while the rice is being poured into the mortar. Possibly the words úd ubga &c. are addressed to the mortar. The Paippaláda has enam for enâm; cf. st. 5. A comparison with st. 6 b still further suggests enân, establishing a natural antithesis between nīko ny ùbga in 6 b, and úd ubgai·nân (sc. sagâtán) in st. 7 b.

#### Stanza 8.

Kaus. 60, 30: The sacrificial skin, its neck turned to the east, the hair turned upward (as usual in ritual performances), is spread out while reciting this stanza.

#### Stanza 9.

Kaus. 61, 18 rubricates Páda a of this stanza along with XII, 3, 14: 'the mortar and pestle, and the scrubbed winnowing-basket are placed upon the skin.' The Sûtra seems to substitute mortar and pestle for the two press-stones. Páda b is rubricated at 61, 22, along with XII, 3, 18, avahanti. Páda d along with XII, 3, 19 at 61, 24, udû-

---

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps even more primarily, the porridge; 'the share of the gods this (Agni) shall bring over to them.' Cf., however, the feminine enâm in st. 7 b.

*hantim* (sc. *patnīm anumantrayate*). The construction of the second hemistich is not altogether clear. We have referred the action to the earth in st. 8. See also st. 11. *Sâyana* refers it to the *pâtñi* (cf. Kaus. 61, 24, above), and construes *imâm* chastically with *pragâm*, to wit: he *patni avahananam kurvatī nibâdhasva imâm âtmîyâm pragâm hantum ye satravaḥ vartante tñ ni gahi*. This is obviously forced. The construction of *imâm* as *imán* (but *Padapâtñia*, *imâm*!), or its emendation to *imâm* (sc. *yâgamânam*) would render *Sâyana*'s and *Kausika*'s (61, 24) view more natural. Cf. the notes on sts. 5 and 7 for similar suggestions.

#### Stanza 10.

Kaus. 60, 19: *grihâna grâvânâv ity ubhayam grihñâti*. *Sâyana*, *ardharkena ulûkhalamusalam avahananârtham patnīm grâhayet*<sup>1</sup>. Kaus. 61, 15-17: 'With the second hemistich (the priest) addresses the sacrificer, saying, "Choose three gifts." (The sacrificer) chooses the first wish, saying: "May I by this rite become superior." The wife chooses the other two gifts.' *Sâyana*, *trayo varâḥ ity ardharkeṇa nirvâpânânantaram varam vrinantau* (sc. *anumantrayate*).

a. We have translated the doubtful *ἄτ. λεγ. sakr/tau*, for which the *Paippalâda* has the equivalent *sayugau*. Some MSS. used by *Shankar Pandit* have *sukr/tau*, an easier reading, suspicious on account of its facility.

#### Stanza 11.

Kaus. 61, 23: 'While reciting the first hemistich of this stanza along with the second hemistich of XII, 3, 19 (the sacrificer) takes hold of the winnowing-basket.' Kaus. 61, 25: 'With the second hemistich of this stanza and the first of XII, 3, 19 he addresses (the wife) as she winnows.' *Aditi* in the stanzas and the *pâtñi* in the practice are regularly correlated; cf. st. 1. For *Pâda d*, cf. 3 d.

<sup>1</sup> *Sâyana* obviously violates the sense of the stanza: *patnīm grâhayet* collides with *grihâná . . . vira* in *Pâda a*.

**Stanza 12.**

Kaus. 61, 29: The winnowing is performed while this stanza is recited.

a. Our translation of *uparvasé*, 'while (the wind) blows,' i.e. 'in the draught,' is wholly conjectural. The Pet. Lexs. 'dröhnend.' *Sâyana*, with many MSS., reads *uparvase dhruvaye* (for *uparvasé druvāye* of the editions), and comments as follows: *dhruvaye dhruvāya sthirāya satyaphalāya karmāne he tandulāḥ yushmān uparvase upa samīpe āsvāsāyāmi prabhūtān karomi*. Nothing usable may be derived from this manipulation of the stanza. For *druvāye*, see the note on V, 20, 2.

**Stanza 13.**

Kaus. 60, 25: 'With stanza 13 he sends (the wife), guarded and ornamented, to fetch water.' *Sâyana*, *udakam āharantīm patnīm sampreshayet*. This act precedes in the ritual the winnowing, being one of the first features of the ceremonial.

**Stanza 14.**

Kaus. 60, 26-28: 'With the first Pāda he addresses (the wife) as she brings the water (*Sâyana*, *prathamapādena āgakkhantīm patnīm anumantrayate*). With the second and third Pādas he calls upon the wife (to rise). With the words, "take the water-vessel," she takes it.' But *Sâyana* refers the action in the fourth Pāda to the sacrificer himself: *ā tvā-gan yagñāḥ iti pādaikadesena galakumbha-dātrī patnī kartāram preshayet, prati kumbham grībhāya iti ardhapādena patnī galakumbham grāhayet kartāram*.

a. *Sâyana* regards the *yoshitāḥ sūmbhamānāḥ* not as 'pure waters,' but as the women who bring them, *sobhanā-lamkārayuktā imā yoshitāḥ udakahartryāḥ striyāḥ*. But cf. sts. 17, 27.

b. *Sâyana* reads *tava samrabhasva*, and the *Paippalāda tavaḥ samrabhasva*. The Pāda as it stands in the editions is not defective: yet *tavāsam sām rabhasva* (haplographia) may have been the original reading. We have at any rate translated *tavāsam* as an abstract.

**Stanza 15.**

Kaus. 60, 29: '(The sacrificer) puts (the vessel) down while reciting the first Pāda.' Sāyana, *prathamapādena galakumbham bhūmau nidadhyāt*. Kaus. 60, 34: 'With the remaining three Pādas he places the water-vessel upon the skin.' Cf. also Kaus. 61, 33.

a. Our rendering of Pāda a leaves some misgivings. A more natural translation of it is, 'the share of food that has of yore been set aside for you.' But this leaves it hanging in mid-air.

**Stanza 16.**

Kaus. 61, 31: The pot is placed upon the fire; cf. also Kaus. 2, 7.

**Stanza 17.**

Kaus. 61, 34. 35: The purifying two blades of darbha-grass are placed over the pot, and water is poured in; cf. also Kaus. 2, 8. The Paippalāda read in Pāda c, *dadat pragām bahulām āsūn* (pasūn?) me.

**Stanza 18.**

Kaus. 61, 36: With this stanza and XII, 3, 28 the grain is washed in water, and poured into the pot. Cf. also Kaus. 2, 9.

**Stanza 19.**

Kaus. 61, 37: With this stanza and XII, 3, 29 the porridge is allowed to cook.

d. For *paktvá* in the vulgata, Shankar Pandit, following most of his MSS. and Sāyana, reads *paktā*; this we have translated. Cf. also the Index Verborum, s. v. *paktrī*. The corruption is due to st. 18 d. Note the alliteration.

**Stanzas 21, 22.**

Kaus. 61, 41. 42: With stanza 21 and XII, 3, 35 the porridge is taken off the fire. With st. 22 the pot is turned to the right.

**Stanza 23.**

Kaus. 61, 44 rubricates only the second hemistich, *amsadhrīm* (some MSS. *amsadrīm*) *ity upadadhāti*. The

difficult word in the stanza is the ἀπ. λεγ. which the vulgata presents in the form *amsadhrīm*. The MSS. present in addition the forms *amsaddhrīm*, *amsadrīm*, and *amsaddrīm*. Shankar Pandit chooses *amsadrīm*; Sâyana *amsadhrīm*, glossing as follows: *amsân bhâgân devamanushyapitrisam-bandhino dhârayati-ti amsadhrî tâm . . . vedim*. The only point that seems worth saving is the statement that the word refers to the vedi, not to the pot, as the Pet. Lexs. have it: 'vielleicht ein gefäss mit handhaben, henkeln auf beiden seiten.'

d. *daivânâm* (sc. *brâhmanânâm*). Read perhaps *devâtânâm*, metri gratia; cf. st. 25, and III, 3, 2; VI, 13, 1; XII, 3, 38; Vâg. S. XV, 50.

#### Stanza 24.

Kaus. 62, 1: With st. 24 and XII, 3, 36 the performance indicated in the mantra is made, i.e. the *sruk* is placed upon the altar (Sâyana, *srukam vedyâm sâdayet*).

a. The feminine *hástâm* is an opportunist formation, made to suit the feminine *srukam*. Some MSS., the Paipalâda, and Sâyana read *hástam*, a facile emendation which is, however, discredited by the universal reading *dvitīyâm*.

#### Stanza 25.

Kaus. 63, 3: Four descendants of the *Rishis* who know the *Bhrigu-Aṅgiras* texts (i.e. the Atharvan writings) are seated. Sâyana, *âsane upavesayet*. Cf. also Kaus. 65, 13.

b. Sâyana, *punar etân pra sîda prâpnuhi*. This meaning of *pra sad* is not well authenticated: perhaps 'favour them' is the true sense.

#### Stanza 26.

Not rubricated in the Kausika, but Sâyana, in the introduction, supplies the action, *katûra ârsheyân rîtvigo yagamâna âhvayet*. Not so, however, in the commentary upon the text, *suhavâ sobhanâhvânâ patnî ârsheyân . . . puna/punar âhvayâmi*. Whitney, in the Index Verborum, regards *suhavâ* as instrumental 'with efficient call,' at III, 26, 6; VII, 47, 1; 48, 1, in addition to our passage. But if we

compare AV. VII, 48, 1 with its parallel in RV. II, 32, 4, *rākām ahām suhāvām* (so RV. ; *suhāvā*, AV.) *sushātī huve*, it seems hard to refrain from emending *suhāvā* in our stanza to *suhāvām* = *suhāvān*. This we have done, supported further by RV. VII, 44, 2 ; 82, 4 ; 93, 1 ; X, 141, 4.

**Stanza 27.**

Kaus. 63, 4 : The action indicated in the stanza is performed. *Sāyana*, *teshām ritvigām hastaprakshālanārtham udakam dadyāt*. The stanza is nearly identical with VI, 122, 5 ; cf. also st. 17, and X, 9, 27.

**Stanza 28.**

Kaus. 62, 22 : With stanza 28 and XII, 3, 50 he places gold upon the porridge (*Sāyana*, *odane hiranyam nidadhyāt*). Kaus. 63, 5 : With Pāda b and XII, 3, 53 he sets it aside (? *Sāyana*, *īshat karshayet*).

a. For the relation of light and gold, cf. I, 9, 2.

b. For *pakvām kshétrāt*, cf. *vrīkshām pakvām*, RV. III, 45, 4 ; *pakvā śākhā*, RV. I, 8, 8.

**Stanza 29.**

Kaus. 63, 6. 7 : With Pāda a the chaff is poured into the fire (*Sāyana*, *agnau tushān guhuyāt*). With Pāda b the refuse is swept aside with the left foot. The precise difference between *tūsha* and *kambūka* is not clear. *Sāyana* glosses the former by, *brahmaudanārthatandulebhyah prithakkrītān* ; both Kausika and *Sāyana* render *kambūka* by *phalikarana*. These indications we have followed. The fire obtains the more valuable and nutritious part of the refuse ; *Nirriti*, the goddess of destruction, has the refuse pushed to her as a sop, uncannily, with the left foot.

**Stanza 30.**

Kaus. 63, 19. 20 : Either with the entire hymn, or with the part of it that begins here, he first anoints the porridge with the dregs of ghee. Cf. especially st. 31.

a. I have taken the words *śrāmyatah* &c. as genitives

singular, dependent upon viddhi. See Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 159. *Sâyana*, as accusatives plural: *dikshârûpam tapas tapyamânân*, &c.

**Stanza 31.**

Kaus. 62, 15-17 : With the first hemistich of our stanza and XII, 3, 45 he makes a cavity (for ghee) on the top of the porridge (*Sâyana*, *gartam kuryât*). The stanza is varied by substituting the word *brahman* for *adhvaryo*, if a priest other than the *Adhvaryu* is addressed. With the second hemistich of each of the two stanzas he floods the porridge with ghee.

**Stanza 32.**

For *purishînah* *Sâyana* quotes to the point Tait. S. II, 6, 4, 3 : *pragâ vai pasavaḥ purisham, pragayai-vai-nam pasubhiḥ purishavantam karoti*. Cf. sts. 26 a, b ; 25 d.

**XI, 2. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 155.**

The hymn is addressed to Rudra (Siva-Agni), under the large variety of names or embodiments (*mûrti*) customary with that divinity. These vary from seven to nine in number, most of which, namely Rudra, Bhava, Sarva, Pasupati, Ugra (cf. also the word *îse* in st. 27, as reflecting the name *Îsâna*<sup>1</sup>), occur in the hymn either as full proper names, or as standing epithets. Connected lists of these names occur frequently, e. g. AV. XV, 5 ; Vâg. S. XXXIX, 8. 9 ; Kaush. Br. VI, 2 ff. : Sat. Br. VI, 1, 3, 10-17 ; Sâṅkh. Sr. IV, 18, 5 ; Kaus. 51, 8 ; Pâr. Grîh. III, 8, 6 ; Âsv. Grîh. IV, 8, 19 ; Hir. Grîh. II, 8, 6. 7 ; Mârkaṇḍeya-purâṇa, 52, 2 ff. : cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* II, 302 ; XVII, 130 ; Omina und Portenta (Royal Academy of Berlin, 1858), p. 400 ff ; Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 343, 403 ff.

The hymn is a prayer to Rudra, in his various aspects,

<sup>1</sup> *Sâyana* cites the following versus memorialis: *sarvam pasupatiṁ ko-gram rudram bhavam athe-svaram, mahâdevam ka bhîmam ka*.

for protection and mercy, and it is rubricated, accordingly, at Kaus. 50, 13. 14 in the course of the performances of a merchant who starts out upon his business. See the introductions to the hymns III, 15; VI, 59; and 128. Further, in a performance undertaken by a traveller in a lonely place, at Kaus. 51, 7 ff., and again, when an ominous bird of prey holding flesh in its beak alights, Kaus. 129, 3 (cf. stanzas 2, 24 of the hymn). See also Vait. Sû. 29, 10. The hymn figures also in the *raudragana* of the *Ganamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 17. It has been translated by Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 335 ff., and Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, p. 549 ff.; cf. also Bergaigne et Henry, *Manuel Védique*, p. 157 ff.

### Stanza 2.

The metrical tradition of the stanza is corrupt: *avishyâ-vaḥ* at the end of the first hemistich seems to belong to Pâda c, which ends at *pasupate*. Accordingly our translation. *Sâyana*, in Pâda b, reads, pampering his etymology, *aviklabebhyaḥ*, and glosses, *viklabâ adhrishṭâḥ kâtarâs tad-viparītebhyaḥ*, 'to those who are the reverse of *viklaba* (cowardly),' i.e. 'bold;' cf. the note on XI, 9, 9.

### Stanza 3.

*Sâyana*, *ropayaḥ ropayitryo mohayitryas tanvaḥ*. Cf. V, 30, 16, and Rudra's relation to diseases in st. 22. The epithet 'thousand-eyed' accentuates the relation between Rudra and Agni; see the note on IV, 20, 4.

### Stanza 4.

One is tempted to emend *antârikshâya* in Pâda d to *antârikshât*, 'from the atmosphere reverence be to thee.' The change of the ablative to the dative may be due to st. 5 d, *pratikṣnâya te nâmaḥ*.

### Stanza 7.

c. The MSS. read unanimously *ardhakaghâtînâ*, but there is no Ardhaka to slay. *Sâyana*, 'he whose habit it is to slay half of the (hostile) army,' an insipid *pis-aller*.



A demon by the name of Andhaka is in the epics a familiar victim of Siva, who is styled andhakaghâtin in Mahâ-bhârata XII, 10356, and Siva is the later representative of Rudra. The Paippalâda reads adhvagaghâtin, 'the slayer of the wayfarer.' This suits admirably, since the hymn is intended as a prayer for protection against the dangers of a journey; cf. st. 4, and the practices (in the introduction). But its very suitability lays it open to the suspicion of being an easy reading which shirks the difficulty involved in the less familiar ardhaka (andhaka).

#### Stanza 11.

For the last Pâda, cf. XI, 9, 7. 14; 10, 7, and our Contributions, Second Series, Amer. Journ. Phil. XI, 339 ff. The female mourners indicate, of course, the presence of death.

#### Stanza 12.

b. The MSS. read sahasraghnîm, -ghnyâm, and -ghnî. The vulgate has adopted the impossible -ghnîm; Sâyana, -ghnyâm; and Shankar Pandit, -ghnî. We have translated the latter, as a locative singular from -hân, with háste, understood.

#### Stanza 13.

Cf. X, 1, 26; Sat. Br. XIV, 4, 2, 18: padanî means 'tracking the steps,' not 'leading the steps' (Pet. Lex.), as may be seen especially in the passage of the Sat. Br., where vindate is the synonym of nî.

#### Stanza 14.

b. The text has *karato*, not *karatho*: change the construction accordingly to the third person.

#### Stanzas 15, 17.

St. 15 is formulaic: see, e.g. XI, 4, 7. St. 17 is rubricated in Ath. Paris. 33, 3.

#### Stanza 18.

In the epic literature, Keshin is a demon slain by Kṛishṇa. In RV. I, 164, 44, three Keshin are mentioned: they are Agni, Sûrya, and Vâyu; further, RV. X, 136 is a hymn to

Kesin, the sun, typified as a solitary hermit (muni); see Contributions, Third Series, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XV, 167. Possibly the chariot of the sun is the object of Rudra's attack. The entire stanza may, however, be taken differently: 'The crushing chariot of the long-haired (kesin, i.e. Rudra) . . . we approach first.' Sâyana advocates the construction which we have put into the text.

#### Stanza 24.

Cf. XII, 1, 49. 51. In Pâda a, vâne may be a metrically superfluous gloss suggested by âranyâh. In Pâda c, yakshâm is not quite clear: 'thy spirit,' or 'thy reflection, image.' Sâyana adopts the hackneyed etymological explanation of the word, pûgyam svarûpam.

#### Stanza 25.

a, b. Sâyana, 'simsumâra is a kind of crocodile, agagara a kind of serpent, pulikaya and the rest varieties of water animals.' The last word occurs in the form pulikâya at Maitr. S. III, 14, 2 (between matsya and nâkra); in the corresponding passage, Vâg. S. XXIV, 21, in the form kulipâya (Mahîdhara, galaga), and at Tait. S. V, 5, 13, 1 in the form kulikâya (commentary, bahupân matsyavishesha). For the interchange between gutturals and labials, see Contributions, Sixth Series, Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. XLVIII, p. 557, note<sup>1</sup>. For the obscure ragasâ (Padapâtha, ragasâh) Sâyana reads râgasâ (âtmiyena tegasâ).

d. Many MSS. sârvân. Sâyana with some MSS. reads sârvâm for sârvân, the obviously correct form which we have in the vulgate.

#### Stanza 26.

Though Rudra here threatens men with poison, he is elsewhere reported as himself drinking it. So clearly in the Bhâgavata-purâna X, 31, and apparently also RV. X,

<sup>1</sup> Add the following possible cases of the correlation of gutturals and labials: riph=rikh; stupa=stuka; and cf. kapukhâla, 'back-hair' (cf. Lat. caput), with kakubh, kakudh.

136, 7, if we take *vishá* in its ordinary sense. The translators here generally render it by 'water, fluid' (cf. st. 1 of the same hymn). See Muir, l. c., IV<sup>2</sup>, pp. 50, 320.

**Stanza 27.**

a. The vulgata reads *tásyai*. This is corrected in the Index Verborum to *tásmāi*. Some of Shankar Pandit's MSS. now exhibit this obviously correct reading, which is also the basis of *Sâyana*'s comment.

**Stanza 28.**

c. Parallels to this interesting passage, together with a valuable discussion of the position of *śraddhā*, 'faith,' in the Veda, are presented in Ludwig's work, *Der Rigveda*, III, 263 ff.

**Stanza 29.**

b. The stanza is repeated, RV. I, 114, 7; Vâg. S. XVI, 15; Tait. S. IV, 5, 10, 2; the second Pâda appears there in the more desirable form, *mā na ūkshantam utā mā na ukshitām*, 'do not cause injury to our growing and grown up (children).' The Atharvan reading seems to be due to a misunderstanding of the meaning of the root *uksh*, as being derived from *vah*, 'carry.' *Sâyana*, *bhâravahana-kshamam madhyavayaskam*, 'the middle-aged man capable of carrying burdens,' and *vakshatah* (!) *kṛitavahanavyâpârân*. Ludwig, 'der uns faret . . . die uns faren werden.' Our own translation is a makeshift.

**Stanza 30.**

b. The Pet. Lexs. and Muir translate *asamsūktagilébhyaḥ* by 'devouring unchewed food.' We with *Sâyana* and Ludwig.

XI, 4. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 218.

In the Upanishads, *prāṇā*, 'breath,' is frequently identified with *bráhma* and *âtman*. See, e.g. Kaushîtaki Up. II, 1, 2; III, 2; IV, 20; Tait. Up. III, 3. Very frequently Agni and *Sûrya* take the place of these abstractions, e.g. Maitri

Up. VI, 1. 5. 9. 33; Prasna Up. I, 5. 7. 8; II, 8. *Prâna* is the personified breath of life, itself at the base of all existence (*Kaṭha* Up. VI, 2), and fits naturally into the system of monotheistic-pantheistic thought which from the earliest beginnings of Hindu literature runs in a parallel current with polytheism. A noteworthy feature of this hymn is the predication to *Prâna* of the qualities of a rain-god (*Parganya*). As such he quickens the life of plants and animals, and the account of this action of his is pursued with a great deal of detail and repetition. Equally remarkable is the outspoken identification of *Prâna* in sts. 21 and 22 with the sun in the form of the *hamsá*. This is a round-about way of saying that *prâná* (*âtman*) is identical with *bráhma*, *brahmá*. See Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V, 393 ff.; Scherman, *Philosophische Hymnen aus der Rig- und Atharva-veda-samhitá*, p. 69 ff., each of whom offers a partial translation.

In the ritual of the Atharvan the hymn figures as an *âyushyam* (sc. *sûktam*), 'bestowing long life,' and therefore forms a part of the *âyushyagana* in the *Ganamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 4 (see Kaus. 54, 11, note). Cf. also Kaus. 139, 7. At Kaus. 55, 17 it is employed in the course of the investiture of the disciple with the holy cord; at Kaus. 58, 3. 11 in certain special ceremonies (*bráhmaṇoktam* and *rishihastak*, Sû. 4), calculated to ensure longevity. The last stanza of the hymn is in our opinion constructed with this purpose directly in view: see the note on the passage. Cf. also *Sântikalpa* 15, 19<sup>1</sup>.

#### Stanza 2.

The four component parts of a storm are wind, thunder, lightning, and rain; see our *Contributions*, Sixth Series, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* XLVIII, 569-70, and cf. especially the *vâyú krandádishî*, 'the wind hastening along with clamour' (RV. X, 100, 2). We have therefore assumed that *krânda* is the wind, 'the roarer,' par excellence. See also st. 15.

<sup>1</sup> Erroneously quoted by *Sâyana* as *Nakshatrakalpa*.

**Stanzas 5, 6.**

Cf. Prasna Up. II, 10: 'When thou, O Prâna, sprinklest the rain, then are these creatures full of joy; (they think): "food shall we have according to wish."' Prâna here, as elsewhere in this composition, approaches closely to the character of Parganya; see the hymn, RV. V, 83. For st. 5, cf. st. 17.

**Stanza 7.**

The verse is formulaic; see, e. g. XI, 2, 15.

**Stanza 11.**

Sâyana, 'by his going out he causes the death of all living beings.' For Pâda b of this and the following stanza, cf. the similar sentiments assembled by Scherman, l. c., pp. 35, 59.

**Stanza 13.**

The epithet *anadvân*, 'ox,' suggests AV. IV, 11, where supreme divine power is attributed to an ox. See Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, V, 399, and Jacob's Concordance, s. v. *anadvuh*.

**Stanza 16.**

In the ritualistic literature the terms *âtharvanâ* and *ângirasâ* are differentiated, so that the former means 'holy,' being the equivalent of *sânta*, while the latter means 'pertaining to sorcery,' being the equivalent of *âbhiġârika*. Cf. Kaus. 47, 2. 12; Vait. Sû. 5, 10; Gopatha-Br. I, 2, 18; Rig-vidhâna IV, 6, 4. See Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XI, 387 ff.; Amer. Journ. Phil. XI, p. 332, note; and the introduction to the present work. Especially in the passages quoted from the Vaitâna-sûtra and the Gopatha-Brâhmana this distinction is expressed clearly, and there seems to be no good reason to doubt that the writer here has it in mind. For *ângirasîh* (sc. *oshadhîh*), see also AV. VIII, 5, 9; 7, 17. 24. Cf. also XIX, 39, 5.

**Stanza 21.**

Sâyana explains *hamsâ*, alternately, as either the sun, or breath. The latter, if it withdraws from man, produces

death, and consequently annuls all distinctions of time. There can be no doubt that the former is the correct interpretation. The stanza contains a blend of two personifications of the sun. As *hamsá* the sun figures at AV. X, 8, 17; XIII, 3, 14; Tait. Âr. II, 15, 8; Tait. Br. III, 10, 9, 11; cf. the words *hamsa* and *paramahamsa* in Jacob's Concordance to the principal Upanishads. The second conception of the sun underlies Pâda a; it is that of the *aga ekapad*, or *ekapâda*, for which see Roth, *Yâska's Nirukta*, Erläuterungen, p. 165; Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*, III, p. 20 ff.; Henry, *Les Hymnes Rohitas*, p. 25. We would refer any one that doubts that *aga ekapad* is the sun to Tait. Br. III, 1, 2, 8, 'Aga Ekapad has risen in the east, delighting all beings. At his urging (*prasavam*) all the gods go,' &c.

**Stanza 22.**

*Sâyana* again suggests that the human body, with breath as the dominating force, is the subject of the stanza. The human body, consisting of skin, blood, and six other elements, is eight-wheeled, and held in position by one fellow, breath. Doubtless, the sun is again presented mystically. At AV. X, 8, 7 (cf. Muir, l.c., I, 9; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 395) the stanza occurs with the variant *éka-kakram* for *ash/âkakram*. In this form it is obviously a continuation of st. 21: we are at a loss to explain the mystic thought which underlies the change of *eka* to *ash/â*; cf. *ash/âkakra* in AV. X, 2, 31. The stanza posits a theosophic riddle (*brahmodya*; cf. *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* XV, 172 ff.); the second hemistich recurs in a different connection at AV. X, 8, 13.

**Stanzas 24-26.**

The last three stanzas impart to the hymn the character of a conjuration, in accordance with its employment in the *Kausika*. See the introduction. In the last stanza *apâm gârbha* is 'fire' (cf. RV. I, 164, 52; Tait. S. IV, 2, 3, 3), either the fire in the body, or, perhaps more probably, the fire of which the Brahman disciple takes care. See *Sânkh.*

*Gr̥ih.* II, 10; *Āsv. Gr̥ih.* I, 20, 10-21; *Pār. Gr̥ih.* II, 4, 1 ff.; *Gobh. Gr̥ih.* II, 10, 46.

#### XI, 5. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 214.

This hymn has been subjected to the treatment of a number of prominent scholars : see Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V, 399 ff. ; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 452 ff. ; Scherman, *Philosophische Hymnen aus der Rig- und Atharva-veda-Samhitā*, p. 84 ff. ; cf. also Bergaigne et Henry, *Manuel Védique*, p. 161 ff. Neither of these scholars seems to us to state quite correctly the origin of this peculiar type of speculation. In our *Contributions*, Third Series, *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* XV, 167 ff., we have endeavoured to show that RV. X, 136 contains the glorification of the sun as a muni, a solitary ascetic : the present hymn may be understood best from a similar starting-point. The sun, who contributes elsewhere many of his qualities to the speculations regarding the primeval principle of the universe, is here for the nonce imagined as a *Brahmakārin*, a Brahmanical disciple, engaged in the practice of his holy vows ; next, by an easy transition, all the functions and powers of the *Brahmakārin* are made the basis of a momentary cosmogonic and philosophical account of the origin and existence of the universe. This allegory is carried out with all the feeble consistency that characterises Hindu speculations of this sort, and the more gladly so, as it offers a good opportunity for the apotheosis of Brahmanism, and the Brahmanic caste. The purely physical qualities of the sun peep out in a variety of stanzas, especially 1, 5, 6, 11, 23, and 26. Cf. the manipulation of the first stanza at *Gop. Br.* I, 2, 1.

#### Stanza 3.

*Sāyana* fitly quotes *Āpastamba's Dharmasūtra*, I, 1, 1, 15-17. Cf. also *Gautama* I, 8 ; *Vishṇu XXX*, 44-45 ; *Vasishṭha* II, 3-5 ; *Manu* II, 146-8. See also *Kaus.* 55, 18, note ; *Sat. Br.* XI, 5, 4, 12.

#### Stanza 4.

It is not easy to differentiate the synonyms *pr̥ināti* and

piparti at the end of the two hemistichs. *Sâyana*, *prinâti pûrayati* . . . *piparti pûrayati pâlayati vâ*. Ludwig and Scherman render *piparti* by 'fördern.'

**Stanza 6.**

c. This *Pâda* is peculiarly suggestive of the sun : cf. RV. X, 136, 5. In the preceding *Pâda* the apparently trivial *dirghâsmasruḥ*, 'with long beard,' probably refers to the rays of the sun.

**Stanza 7.**

For the identification of the *brahma*, or some kindred primeval principle, with *Indra*, cf. AV. X, 7, 29 ff. See also stanza 16.

**Stanza 11.**

The two *Agnis* are explained by *Sâyana*, correctly, we believe, as the fire of the sun and the terrestrial fire, *eko-gniḥ anudyatsûryâtmako vartate, aparāḥ pārthivo-gniḥ prâthivyâ upari vartate*. And further: 'The combined rays of this (terrestrial) fire and the sun, exceedingly strong in their fusion, expand upon heaven and earth.'

**Stanza 12.**

*Sâyana* regards *Varuna* (cf. stanzas 14, 15) as the subject of the first hemistich, *abhikrandan* . . . *megheshu stanitam gargitam kurvan syatiṅgaḥ* (I Shankar Pandit; the MSS. have *syamtigaḥ*) *syetavarnam galapûrnam prâptaḥ evambhûto varunaḥ*. There is no reason for thus separating the two hemistichs. *Sâyana* is squeamish about endowing a *Brahmakârin* with a *brihâḥ khépaḥ*; but he enacts here the rôle of *Pragâpati*, and the predication of a penis is as natural as that of the more commonplace semen (*rétas*).

**Stanza 13.**

d. Ludwig, 'ihr Ägys ist der mensch, regen und wasser.' We have translated with *Sâyana*. Cf. RV. X, 51, 8, *ghritâm kâ-pâm pûrusham kaúshadhînâm*, which carries the note of a vague relationship with our passage, but does not remove the obscurity.



**Stanza 24.**

For bráhma bhrá̃gat (again the sun), cf. Kaus. 97, 8 (p. 253).

**XI, 6. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 160.**

The hymn is rubricated, Kaus. 9, 2, 4, in the two so-called *sántigānas* (cf. Ath. Paris. 32, 26, 27). These are lists of purificatory hymns and stanzas, employed especially at the preparation of the *sāntyudaka*, 'holy water' (Kaus. 9, 8 ff.). According to the *Gaṇamâlā*, Ath. Paris. 32, 32 the hymn, with the exception of stanzas 7, 9, 22, and 23, which strike a different key, is a member of the *amholiṅgagana*, a list of stanzas characterised by the presence of the word *amhas*, 'misfortune, calamity;' cf. Kaus. 32, 27. The chief interest of the hymn lies in the clear and fairly complete presentation of the pantheon of the time. This is very much on the plane of the Yagus-texts and the Bráhmaṇas.

**Stanza 9.**

For the group of divinities addressed in this stanza, see the introduction to XI, 2.

**Stanza 14.**

For the use of the word *bheshagāni* as an equivalent of 'holy' Atharvan charms, cf. Sāṅkh. Sr. XVI, 2, 9; Āsv. Sr. X, 7, 3; *Pañk.* Br. XII, 9, 10. See the introduction to the present volume.

**Stanza 15.**

Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 72, assumes that *sáha* is the designation of a plant, and this view may be supported from the Hindu lexicographers. In the *Index Verborum* the word figures under the stem *sáhas*. Our rendering implies the adjective *sáha*, 'mighty.'

**Stanza 17.**

The entire stanza and certain turns of its expression are formulaic; see III, 7, 9, 10, and cf. the *Pet. Lex.* under *ārtavá*.

**Stanzas 19, 20.**

The two are identical, except that *sārvān* and *sārvābhiḥ* are substituted in 20, for *vīsvān* and *vīsvābhiḥ* in 19. Cf. Kaus. 56, 13; 74, 3.

**Stanza 23.**

The little story (*ākhyāyikā*) here alluded to is not, to our knowledge, illumined by the rest of the literature. *Mātali* is mentioned once more, RV. X, 14, 3, in a totally different connection. Cf. Kaus. 58, 25, and Kausika, Index D, under the stanza.

**XI, 7. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 226.**

The Vedic writings are extremely shiftily in assigning to a first cause the creation and maintenance of the universe, in the course of their cosmogonic speculations. There are purely philosophical abstractions like *sat* (being) and *asat* (non-being), *tad* (that), *eka* (the only); cosmic forces like *brahma*, *kāla* (time), *kāma* (love), *prāṇa* (breath); and personal creators like *Pragâpati*, *Purusha*, *Visvakarman*, *Hiranyagarbha*, and *Parameshthin*. But further, in the course of the speculations of the *Brâhmaṇas*, universal or special cosmogonic power is attributed to all sorts of trivial circumstances, even down to the special features and implements of the sacrifice. The priestly power (cf. XI, 5), and the priestly activity, are made to stand for the cosmic force with which they aim to establish relations. *Sâyana* is quite right, therefore, in correlating the present hymn with such a statement as is made in Tait. Br. I, 1, 9, 1 (cf. also Mait. S. II, 1, 12), where divinities are born of the leavings of the *brahmaudana* (see XI, 1; XII, 3) which had been eaten by *Aditi*. The hymn is nothing but a momentary symbolic transfer of the divine, or pantheistic attributes to a certain ritualistic feature made prominent for the time being. The writer knows that he is simply transferring his most fulsome cosmogonic conceptions in order to accentuate a to him important ritualistic act, the consumption of the leavings of the sacrifice. The veil is thin; everything

that is said here fits the brahma, or some other embodiment, and Sâyana boldly establishes the equation *úkkhishṭa* = brahma. Accordingly, too, in at least two stanzas (15, 16) the *úkkhishṭa* is personified as the masculine *úkkhishṭas*, quite in the manner of the relation of the neuter *bráhma* to the masculine *brahmán*. We may note, however, that the road for this drastic transfer is opened in a measure by the philosophical position of the word *anna*, 'food.' This is a prominent link in the chain that unites man to the universe. See, e.g. Tait. Up. III, 3, and the stately array of passages in Jacob's Concordance to the principal Upanishads, s.v. The interest of the hymn lies rather in the attempt which it makes to exploit exhaustively the chief concerns of Brahmanical existence and belief. Except for its metrical form it belongs to *Bráhmaṇa* literature. See Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. v, p. 396 ff., and Scherman, Philosophische Hymnen aus der Rig- und Atharva-veda-Samhitá, p. 87 ff., where partial translations of the hymn are essayed.

#### Stanza 3.

d. The translation of Páda d is mere guess-work. Since *vrá* means 'throng,' *drá* would seem to mean the converse; cf. the root *drá*, 'run:' 'that which is assembled and that which is scattered,' i.e. 'that which is confined and that which is free,' or the like. Sâyana, *vrah vārako varunaḥ draḥ drāvakaḥ amṛitamayaḥ somaḥ*. The difficulty is increased by the appearance of another mystic monosyllable, *nyáh* in st. 4 a. The Pet. Lex. suggests that all three are artificial abbreviations.

#### Stanza 4.

a. This Páda is again nearly hopeless. The vulgate reads *drimha* sthiró, and Whitney in the Index Verborum classifies *drimha* as an imperative. But an imperative is out of place in this hymn which is throughout descriptive. Shankar Pandit with the Padapátha and Sâyana reads *drimhasthiró* as a compound (Sâyana, *drimhanena sthiríkṛito lokaḥ*). I have thought of *dridhadrimhá(h)*, 'he who fastens that

which is firm : ' it is a mere guess. Cf. *bhûmidrimhá*, V, 28, 14; XIX, 33, 2. *Sâyana* glosses *nyáḥ* by *netâraḥ*, 'leaders,' but we should then at least expect *nyâḥ* with the circumflex. I have preferred the singular; cf. *vrâḥ* and *drâḥ* in 3 d.

#### Stanza 5.

Information regarding the great variety of terms connected with the liturgy and the sacrifice in this and the following stanzas is to be obtained every time from the *Pet. Lex.* For this stanza, cf. Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 25. For the obscure expression *tán máyi* in *Pâda d*, cf. sts. 12, 14, and *srîr máyi* in st. 1.

#### Stanza 6.

The beginning of the *mahânâmnî*-verses is given by *Sâyana*, as follows: *vidâ maghavan vidâ gâtum anu samsisho disaḥ* (*Ait. Âr.* IV, 1). Cf. *Proc. Berl. Acad.* 1868, p. 244.

#### Stanza 11.

b. The expression *ubhâyaḥ sahâ* has been rendered, not without grave misgivings, upon *Sâyana*'s authority, *ubhaya ity anena kâtûrâtrâdinâm dvigunitatvam vivakshitam*.

#### Stanza 14.

Three earths and three heavens are mentioned frequently; see Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. v, p. 304 ff., and the note on IV, 20, 2. Nine are unique.

#### Stanza 19.

According to *Sâyana* the mantras called *kâturhotâraḥ* are *Tait. Âr.* III, 1-5. Cf. the *Pet. Lex.* s. v.

#### Stanza 21.

d. We have followed *Sâyana*, who reads *samsritâḥ sritâḥ*. The error which extends to the *Padapâṭha* seems to be due to the singulars *âhitâ nḥitâ hitâ* at the end of the next stanza.

### XI, 9. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 123.

*Arbudi* and *Nyarbudi*, two divinities, friends of *Indra* (*indramedinau*, sts. 4 and 18), are implored to help in battle, and destroy the enemy. These two are associated

in XI, 9, and especially XI, 10 with a third, *Trisham̐dhi*, 'Three-joints,' who is evidently the personification of a three-jointed weapon (*vāgreṇa trīsham̐dhinā* in XI, 10, 3 and 27). Cf. the *trisham̐dhi* ishu, or the *trikāṇḍā* ishu, 'three-jointed arrow,' in Ait. Br. I, 25, 5; III, 33, 5; Sat. Br. II, 1, 2, 9. Further, the employment of the two hymns (XI, 9 and 10) in the Kausika renders it possible to assume that all three divinities are personifications of peculiar weapons, or machines employed in the rough warfare of the time. The warlike practices in question (Kerava and Sāyana, *gayakarmāṇi*) are described, Kaus. 16, 21–26, as follows :

21. 'With the two hymns, XI, 9 and 10 (the king's chaplain, the *purohita*), exhorts (the warriors) in accordance with the indications (of the hymns). 22. For sacrifice he employs "speckled ghee<sup>1</sup>." 23. He next performs the practices which end with the act of handing over (the bow), and the practices of scattering (snares and traps in the way of the enemy<sup>2</sup>). 24. Along with the scattered (snares, &c.) he places three-jointed weapons (*trisham̐dhīni*), weapons that have the form of bolts (*vagrārūpāni*), and weapons that have the form of arbudi<sup>3</sup>. 25. A white-footed (cow) is anointed with the dregs of ghee and fastened with a rope of darbha-grass to the staff which serves the king to rest upon (?). 26. A second (white-footed cow) is driven (toward the enemy).' The last two *Sūtras* bristle with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. XI, 10, 19, 'Speckled ghee' is ghee mixed with sour milk. See the *Pet. Lex.* s. v. *prishadāgya*.

<sup>2</sup> They are given in detail, respectively at Kaus. 14, 8–11 (cf. the introduction to VI, 97), and 14, 28–9.

<sup>3</sup> Dārila : The *trisham̐dhīni* are for cutting (*khedāya*), the *vagrārūpāni* are for breaking (*bhedāya*), the *arbudirūpāni* are for bringing to fall (*pātāya*). To these vague statements may be added the following, *vagrārūpāni pāṃduramgakaṇḍālakartrikā shashāṭatushkam arbuder eva rūpam yeshām vartulāni*. And further 'all are made of brass, all are tied with ropes.' They would seem to be destructive instruments placed in the way of the enemies' attack. Sāyana explains *trisham̐dhīni* (!) as *lohamayāni pātrāni*, 'brazen vessels.' Kerava offers nothing of consequence.

difficulties. *Sâyana* says *sitipadīm gām*, 'a white-footed cow,' but *Dârila* at *Kaus.* 14, 22 (cf. *AV.* III, 19) has *me-shīm*, 'a white-footed she-goat.' At *AV.* XI, 10, 6 (see the note on the passage, and cf. also XI, 10, 20) a white-footed, four-footed arrow is spoken of; this seems to indicate that the white-footed animal is let loose as a symbolic arrow, to find its way into the camp of the enemy (scape-goat?): in this way *Sûtra* 26 obtains sense. Further, the word *upâ-sāṅga* is obscure. We have translated tentatively and doubtfully according to *Dârila's* indication, *visrâmanârtho-rdhvagadandah*; *Kesava* has simply *râgño* (*Cod.* *râgñâ*) *dandah*; *Sâyana*, *râgñas kihnita ketudande rahasyam baddhniyât*, 'he shall secretly tie (the cow) to the staff of the characteristic banner of the king.' The *Pet. Lex.* assumes for *upâsāṅga* the meaning 'vicinity,' but the word ordinarily means 'quiver.' Is there a 'staff of the quiver?'

We have no information in the *Veda* itself regarding *Arbudi* and *Nyarbudi*, aside from this and the next hymn. *Sâyana* says that they were serpents (see st. 5), the sons of that Serpent-*Rishi* *Arbuda* (*Kâdraveya*, the son of *Kadrû*), to whom tradition ascribes the composition of *RV.* X, 94 and 175; cf. *Āsv. Sr.* V, 12, 9. 23; X, 7. Four words are concerned in the elucidation of this matter, *arbudá* (*árbuda*), and *nyàrbuda*, *árbudi* and *nyàrbudi*, and their manifold meanings do not bridge over to our subject with any degree of firmness. Only one point I would suggest: the forms with the prefix *ni* are in all probability the result of a verbal misconstruction. *Arbuda* in the *Rig-veda* is a demon-serpent whom *Indra* is bound to slay. At *RV.* II, 11, 20 we have *ny árbudam vâvridhâno astah*, 'thou (*Indra*), having waxed mighty, didst prostrate *Arbuda*;' similarly VIII, 32, 3, *ny árbudasya vishtâpam varshmānam brîhatás tira*, 'pierce the high resting-place of great *Arbuda*;' cf. also I, 51, 6; II, 14, 4. I believe that *nyàrbuda* and *nyàrbudi* owe their intrinsically meaningless prefix *ni* to such verbal juxtapositions which could be easily misunderstood. A still greater curiosity is the friendly relation of *Arbudi* and *Nyarbudi*, as ancillary war-gods, with *Indra*, notwith-

standing Indra's hostility to Arbuda in the RV. Note also the apparent epithet of Indra, *nardabuda*, at TS. III, 3, 10, 1. Whether it is in any way connected with this cycle of ideas it is impossible to say.

The present hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 530-1.

#### Stanza 1.

*Sâyana*, 'Make manifest to the enemy our equipments for battle, so that fear shall arise in their minds.' For *udârân* *Sâyana* proposes either 'demons in the air,' *udgatân antarikshakarân rakshakpisâkâdin*, or 'fiery portents,' *sûrya-rasmiprabhavâ ulkâdaya ântarikshyâ utpâtâh*. For *amî-trebhyah* Ludwig proposes a different construction, 'make all that visible with the enemy,' i.e. may their weapons and plans not remain hidden from us!

#### Stanza 2.

b. For the construction of this Pâda (repeated in st. 26 c), cf. Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 106.

c, d. The *Padapâtha* reads *sâmdrîshâtâ* and *guptâ*, neuters plural in agreement with *mitrâni*. *Sâyana* comments upon *sâmdrîshâtâh* and *guptâh*, supplying 'warriors' with it: this does not change the sense. Ludwig, 'erblickt soll euer verborgenes werden, so vile unsere freunde sind, o Arbudi.' For the eliptic vocative singular, *arbude*, cf. stanzas 3 and 11.

#### Stanza 5.

d. The word *bhogébhih*, 'with (thy) curves,' would seem to indicate that *Arbudi* is primarily a serpent; cf. RV. VI, 75, 14; Tait. S. II, 1, 4, 5. 6; V, 4, 5, 4. But it may also refer to some snare-like machine, similar to a serpent. *Sâyana*, *sarpasarîraiḥ pariveshtaya*.

#### Stanza 7.

For women as mourners over the dead, and their conventional practices, see our essay on the subject, *Contributions*, Second Series, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* XI, 336 ff. Our

explanation of *kṛīdhukarṇī*, 'with short (mutilated) ears,' is very doubtful, and on p. 340 of the essay just quoted I have asked whether the entire stanza does not perchance refer to demons of the battle-field. I do not place great confidence in Sāyana's naively ingenious explanation of *kṛīdhukarṇī* by 'short-eared, because all ear-ornaments have been removed.' Ludwig is relieved by making a proper name of the word.

### Stanza 8.

a. The Pāda is problematic : our translation implies that the women, bereft of their relatives who have fallen in battle, sit in a bent attitude longing for their lost kin. It would be possible to imagine another situation : with bent back the women who miss their relatives seek them on the battle-field, where Arbudi has pierced them. Sāyana offers nothing usable. Ludwig's translation is not clear, 'die abreisst den rückenwirbel, während sie im geist den sohn sucht,' &c.

### Stanza 9.

Sāyana presents futile etymologies for *alīklava*<sup>1</sup> and *gāshkamadā*. Pāda d, *amītreṣhu samīkshāyan* is cut of construction, and superfluous: *samīkshāyan* is in reality the nominative singular masculine of the participle (as in st. 6 b). The expression has assumed the character of a refrain (cf. stanzas 11 and 25), and is similar to the equally formulaic *amītrebhyo drīṣé kuru*, in stanzas 1, 15, 22, and 24.

### Stanza 12.

c. Sāyana reads *ūrugrāhaiḥ* (*ūrūnām grahanaiḥ*), and *bāhuvaṅkaiḥ* (*bāhunā vakrabandhanaiḥ*), i. e. 'with thy thighs and arms.' The parallelism is noteworthy, and *ūru-* may be the correct reading. Conversely, of course, Sāyana may have accentuated an incidental parallelism.

---

<sup>1</sup> *alīklabāḥ* *visishṭaklaibyayuktā* *viklabāḥ* *tadviparītā alīklabāḥ*, 'viklabas are creatures afflicted by extraordinary impotence ;' the converse of that are *alīklabas* (!); cf. the note on XI, 2, 2.



**Stanza 14.**

Cf. the essay quoted in the note on stanza 7 (especially p. 340, note). For *paṭaurāv* of the vulgata, Shankar Pandit, following Sāyana and some MSS., has substituted *paṭūrāv*. Sāyana on Pāda b, *urāḥ vakshaḥsthalam paṭūrau tatpra-desau (ka) āghnânâḥ*. Here, doubtless, belongs too *pātūra* in Tait. S. V, 7, 21, 2; 22, 1, a designation of a part of the body, described by the commentator as 'ribs in the back.' The translation of the ἀπ. λεγ. *aghârîniḥ* in Pāda c is that of the Pet. Lex., and purely etymological. Sāyana, 'distressed by the grief due to the loss of their husbands' (*aghena . . . ârtâḥ*).

**Stanza 15.**

a, b. All the matter pertaining to the female demons is extremely problematic. Sāyana takes *svānvatīḥ* literally, 'accompanied by the dog Sārameya as a playmate.' He explains *rūpakâḥ* as 'ghostly armies which by the force of magic are perceptible in outline merely' (*mâyâvasât kevalam rūpamâtrena upalabhyamânâḥ senârūpakâḥ*). The word *rūpaka* suggests the root *rup*, 'injure;' cf. XI, 2, 3.

c, d. Sāyana garbles his text, and comments as follows, *pātre antaḥ madhye rerihatim punaḥ-punar lihatim durnihitaishinim dushṭanikshiptam ikkḥantim vasām (!) gām*.

**Stanza 16.**

a. Our rendering of *khadûre* reflects simply our own and Sāyana's perplexity, *dûrabhûtam kham khadûram (!) âkāse dûradese*.

**Stanza 22.**

Much in this is obscure and bizarre. Sāyana does not help much, except that he agrees with the Pet. Lexs. in reading *-vâsīnaḥ* for *-vâsīnaḥ* in Pāda d; see *bastavâsīnaḥ* for *bastavâsīnaḥ* in VIII, 6, 12, and cf. V, 20, 2 b. Accordingly our rendering. The entire stanza seems to depict a blend of a human and demoniac army ('das wilde heer'), altogether fit to strike terror into the heart of the enemy.

**Stanza 23.**

**Sâyana:** 'Trisham̐dhi is a certain god who routs armies, or designates a weapon, a club which has three joints;' cf. our remarks in the introduction to the hymn. The naturalistic basis of the quasi-divinity is (Rudra's) lightning.

**Stanza 24.**

Even the trees and other vegetation, as well as animate beings, may exercise their powers to the destruction of the enemy, as is stated unambiguously in the closely parallel stanzas VIII, 8, 14. 15, where the arrangement of the first two hemistichs is a different one. Cf. also Kaus. 73, 5.

**Stanza 25.**

For the loosely construed refrain at the end of this verse, see the note on stanza 9.

## XI, 10. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 126.

The hymn continues the subject of XI, 9, but the appeals for help to Arbudi and Nyarbudi are subordinated; Trisham̐dhi is here the prominent figure: his momentous powers are engaged for the destruction of the enemy. For the employment of the hymn in the Atharvanic practices and the meaning of Trisham̐dhi, see the introduction to the preceding hymn, and the note on XI, 9, 23. It has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 531 ff.

**Stanza 1.**

For ketú, see the passages and the literature quoted by the *Pet. Lex.* s. v. 7); Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 32, note 51. Both **Sâyana** and **Ludwig** render the word here, as in stanzas 2 and 7, by 'flag.'

**Stanza 2.**

**a, b.** The vulgata, depending upon the *Padapāṭha*, construes *vedarāgyam* as a compound, it is difficult to say in what sense. We have taken *isām veda* in the sense of a quasi periphrastic perfect (cf. Whitney, *Sanskrit Gram-*

mar<sup>2</sup>, § 1070, c). Similarly Sâyana, *isâm veda isitavyatvena gânātu* (!). The word *trīsham*dhe is metrically superfluous and grammatically unassimilable: it has been omitted in our translation. At best it must be emended to *trīsham*dhir. The construction of Pâda b is problematic; perhaps it is to be put with what follows, 'may the evil brood, &c., together with the red portents, &c.' The *arunâh* *ketávaḥ* are personified as evil forces in this hymn; see the matter referred to in stanza 1.

#### Stanza 6.

The sense of the first hemistich is extremely obscure. According to Dârila to Kaus. 16, 25, and Sâyana on our passage, the *sitipadī* is a cow. But this fails to accord directly with the verbs *asyati*, Kaus. 16, 26, and *sâm patatu* in stanza 20 of our hymn: they point to some missile, an arrow, or the like, and accordingly we have *saravyâ* in the present stanza. But what is a 'white-footed, four-footed arrow?' We can merely refer back to the solution proposed in the introduction to XI, 9: apparently a white-footed cow is chased as a symbolic arrow into the camp of the enemy. Cf. Kaus. 14, 22 where likewise a *sitipadī* (Dârila, *meshī*) is let go (*avasrigati*, ordinarily employed with arrows). The latter Sûtra evidently relates to AV. III, 19, 8, 'fly forth, O arrow, after thou hast been hurled.' Sâyana reads in our stanza *sam patatu* for *sâm dyatu* (*dīyatu*, 'fly'?), and evades the difficult 'four-footed arrow' by paraphrasing *saravyâ* as an adjective agreeing with *gauḥ*, to wit, *saravyâ sarūnām bânānām samūhaḥ . . . sarasamhatirūpā bhūtvā (gauḥ) sam patatu satrūn samprāpnotu*. This resembles our own tentative explanation.

#### Stanza 7.

Cf. the notes on XI, 9, 7. 14. Possibly female demons, or spectres rather than mourners are referred to. Sâyana refers *dhūmākshī* and *krīdhukarnī* to the army of the enemy; this he supposes to be blinded by magic smoke, and bewildered by the noise of battle (*alpasrotrā paṭahadhvaninā hatastravanāsāmarthyā*).

**Stanza 17.**

Identical with AV. V, 8, 6. See the diverse translations of the passage in Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, pp. 439 and 532.

**Stanza 19.**

c. The speckled ghee (ghee mixed with sour milk) is embodied in the practices of the Kausika, 16, 22; see the introduction to XI, 9.

**Stanza 20.**

Cf. the discussion of *jītipadī* in the note on stanza 6.

**Stanza 22.**

Sâyana explains *āgman* as 'vehicle,' *rathādi yānam*, which simplifies the sense. In Pāda d he reads, desirably, *abhihita*, 'bound,' for *abhihata*, 'slain.'

**Stanza 25.**

c. *kakagākrīta* is ἀπ. λεγ. The Pet. Lexs., etwa 'zerfetzt;' Ludwig, 'zerstäubt;' Sâyana, *kutsitagananā vilolagananā vā krītā*.

**Stanza 26.**

a. Read *marma-viddhām*. *Suparna* is out of construction, and it seems natural to read *suparnā* (*h*). But the Pāda as it stands is hypermetric, and the expulsion of the word leaves a good *trishūbh*, ending at *adantu*. Then, to be sure, Pāda b is short by two syllables.

## XII, I. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 199.

This hymn is one of the most attractive and characteristic of the Atharvan, rising at times to poetic conception of no mean merit, and comparatively free from the stock artificialities of the Vedic poets. The relation of the real, visible earth to man, animals, and plants preponderates over the remoter mythological and mystic conceptions. The hymn and its individual stanzas are employed in the ritual freely and in a considerable variety of aspects. Its chief use is at the *āgrahāyanī*-ceremonies, the concluding ceremonies of the rites devoted to serpents, undertaken on

the full-moon day of the month Mārgasīrsha (Kaus. 24, 24 ff.<sup>1</sup>). The so-called *dridhikarmāni*<sup>2</sup>, 'rites for rendering houses, villages, &c., firm, or well-established' (Kaus. 38, 12 ff.), are also associated with this hymn, which on that occasion goes by the name of *bhaumam* (sc. *sūktam*). At Kaus. 98, 3 the hymn is employed in the course of the expiatory practices on the occasion of an earthquake. A considerable number of stanzas are worked up at the *bhūsamskāra*, the preparation of the ground for the fire-altar (*vedi*) in Kaus. 137. The *Ganamālā*, Ath. Paris. 32, 5 (see Kaus. 8, 23, note), counts it as one of the *vāstoshpatiyāni* (sc. *sūktāni*), 'hymns addressed to the genius of the home-stead;' the *Atharvaniya-paddhati* at Kaus. 19, 1, enlists it among 'the stanzas that secure prosperity' (*pushikā mantrāḥ*). Cf. also Vait. Sū. 12, 6; Ath. Paris. 10; 41, 1. The uses of single stanzas, or groups of stanzas, will be stated in the notes on the same, below.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 544 ff.

### Stanza 2.

Cf. Kaus. 137, 16. This and the preceding stanzas recur Maitr. S. IV, 14, 11. The reading *badhyatō* in st. 2 a is scarcely tenable, though supported by some MSS. and Kaus. 137, 16. Many MSS. read *madhyatō*, 'from the midst (of men).' The Maitr. S. has *asambādḥā yā madhyatō mānavébhyah*. As regards *pravātaḥ* in 2 b, Prof. Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, II, 63 ff. (cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* IV, 407), seems to us well justified in claiming that *pravāt* many times means 'river,' (root *pru*); nevertheless we must assume another *pravāt* (*pra-vāt*) in the sense assumed above, formed like *ud-vāt*, *ni-vāt*, &c. Cf. especially RV. VIII, 6, 34, &c. (Pischel, l. c., p. 67).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Āsv. Gr̥h.* II, 3; *Pāras. Gr̥h.* III, 2; *Sāṅkh. Gr̥h.* IV, 17, 18; *Gobh. Gr̥h.* III, 9; *Khād. Gr̥h.* III, 3, 6 ff.; *Āpast. Gr̥h.* VII, 19, 3 ff.; 8 ff.; *Hir. Gr̥h.* II, 17.

<sup>2</sup> The reading of the word is not quite secure; see the critical note, Kaus. 38, 12, and cf. *Kesava*.

**Stanza 4.**

Cf. Kaus. 137, 17 ; Maitr. S. IV, 14, 11 (233, 15. 16). The Pet. Lex., vols. i. 269 ; v. 1001 (s.v. *ánya*), explains *ánya* in Pāda c as 'inexhaustibleness.' So also Ludwig. But the ordinary meaning of *ánya* suffices as a pis-aller. Does the end of the word veil *svapatyā*, 'ownership ?'

**Stanzas 5-7.**

Cf. Maitr. S. IV, 14, 11 (233, 14 ; 234, 1 ; 233, 12), in part with important variants. Stanza 6 is rubricated at Kaus. 137, 28. For the expression *bhūmim prithivīm*, cf. Avestan *zām perethvim*, Yasna X, 4. Doubtless *prithivī* is still (or anew) felt as an adjective.

**Stanza 8.**

For parallel statements, cf. the passages assembled by Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, IV, 24 (note 58). Cf. also Ludwig, l. c., p. 320.

**Stanza 11.**

This and the next stanza are members of the *svasty-ayanagana* of the *Gānamālā*, Ath. Paris. 32, 11 (Kaus. 25, 36, note). Cf. also Ath. Paris. 10 ; 18<sup>1</sup>, 1.

**Stanza 13.**

Cf. Vait. Sū. 15, 8 ; Ath. Paris. 10. For *parigrīhṇānti*, cf. the *parigrīhyā* (sc. *vedi*), Kaus. 17, 2, and, in addition to the passages cited in the Pet. Lex. (under *pari grah* 3), Tait. S. II, 2, 10, 5 ; Maitr. S. I, 6, 3 (89, 14) ; Āpast. Sr. IV, 5, 4.

**Stanza 14.**

c. For *pūrvakṛitvari*, cf. the note on *pūrvakāmakṛitvane*, VII, 116, 1 b.

**Stanzas 19-21.**

The connection of these stanzas with the body of the hymn is a loose one : Agni, not the earth, is their primary subject ; cf. III, 21, 1. 2. See Kaus. 2, 41 ; 120, 5 ; 137, 30 ; cf. also Ath. Paris. 48, 2.

**Stanza 22.**

d. Ludwig, 'von svadhâ (opferspeise wol = Iâ) und speise.' We with Pet. Lex. (πέια ζώουσι).

**Stanzas 23-25.**

They are frequently cited in the Atharvan ritual as the *gandhapravâdâh* (sc. *rikah*), 'stanzas that mention gandha (fragrance).' At Kaus. 13, 12 a king desirous of lustre is anointed with fragrant substances, the act being accompanied by the recital of these stanzas. Similarly Kaus. 54, 5 (cf. also 24, 24, note); Vait. Sû. 10, 5. The stanzas figure also in the second *varṇasyagana* of the *Gaṇamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 27 (Kaus. 12, 10, note), and are cited frequently in the Atharva-parishistas, 4, 1. 3. 4; 6, 2; 17, 2; 22, 3; 44, 1. In st. 23, *gandhâ* and *gandharvâ(h)* in alliteration.

**Stanza 27.**

Cf. Vait. Sû. 2, 8.

**Stanza 28.**

Cf. Kaus. 24, 33; Ath. Paris. 43, 3. Possibly *ka* is to be added to Pâda b.

**Stanza 29.**

Cf. Kaus. 3, 8; 24, 28; 90, 15; 137, 40; Ath. Paris. 39, 16.

**Stanza 30.**

See Kaus. 58, 7 (cf. 24, 24, note), and Vait. Sû. 12, 6, both in connection with purification of the body.

**Stanza 31.**

Repeated with variants at Maitr. S. IV, 14, 11 (233, 16). This and the next stanza are members of the *svasty-ayanagana* of the *Gaṇamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 11 (Kaus. 25, 36, note).

**Stanza 33.**

See Kaus. 24, 33; Vait. Sû. 27, 7.

**Stanza 34.**

See Kaus. 24, 30. It is curious that this charming verse finds only secondary employment; it does not even figure among the *duṣvapnanâsanâni*.

**Stanza 35.**

See Kaus. 46, 51; 137, 12; Ath. Paris. 44, 1. Cf. st. 61.

**Stanza 36.**

See Kaus. 137, 9 (cf. 137, 4, note). Cf. Tait. S. V, 7, 2, 4.

**Stanzas 38-40.**

Cf. Kaus. 24, 37 (cf. 24, 24, note); Vait. Sû. 10, 8; 15, 4; 22, 1. Stanza 38 is counted by the Atharvaziya-paddhati (Kaus. 19, 1, note) among the *pushkîkâ* mantrâh.

**Stanza 41.**

b. Cf. V, 20, 9, and the note.

**Stanza 42.**

See Kaus. 24, 38; 137, 24.

**Stanza 44.**

Cf. Kaus. 24, 39; Ath. Paris. 10, 18, 2.

**Stanza 46.**

See Kaus. 50, 17; 139, 8; Vait. Sû. 29, 10; Ath. Paris. 19, 5. Cf. also the *raudragana* of the *Ganamâlâ*, Ath. Paris. 32, 17 (Kaus. 50, 13, note). The root *ginv* in Pâda c, as in st. 3c, seems to be intransitive, contrary to ordinary usage.

**Stanza 47.**

Cf. Kaus. 50, 1; Ath. Paris. 19, 2. In Pâda d *pánthânam* is a metrically superfluous gloss.

**Stanza 49.**

For this and the next stanza, cf. Vâg. S. XXX, 8; Sat. Br. XIII, 2, 4, 2. 4. For Pâda a, see AV. XI, 2, 24, and note. In Pâda c, *ulâ* is quotable in addition only at Vâg. S. XXIV, 31; Maitr. S. III, 14, 2 (Mahîdhara, 'a kind of wild animal')<sup>1</sup>. Ludwig, l. c., pp. 166, 548, regards it as an adjective, 'howling.' Ludwig, to *rîkshîkâ*, 'bârin (?)'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ûlâ*, Tait. S. V, 5, 12, 1, defined by the commentator in a variety of ways, indicative of perplexity.



**Stanza 51.**

Pāda b recurs at XI, 2, 24 b. Note the parenthesis involved in Pāda e. In the same Pāda upavām is a gloss, disturbing the metre.

**Stanza 52.**

See Kaus. 24, 41 ; 137, 23.

**Stanza 53.**

See Kaus. 10, 20, in the rite for acquiring wisdom.

**Stanza 54.**

See Kaus. 38, 30. While reciting this stanza one who wishes to be victorious in debate approaches the assembly-hall from the north-easterly direction (aparâgitâ, 'the unconquered' direction).

**Stanza 58.**

See Kaus. 24, 14 ; 38, 29. Recited by one who desires to please in the assembly : he addresses the assembly-hall with the mantra, and looks at it. Pāda b is obscure : cf. Kesava to 38, 29, *yaś kakshushâ paryati tad vadan* (Gammu MS. *idam*) *vighâto na bhavati*. Perhaps, 'when I look, then they delight in me.'

**Stanza 59.**

See Kaus. 24, 31 (cf. 3, 4, note).

**Stanza 60.**

For the 'mothers,' cf. the introduction to VI, 111. The earth herself is 'mother,' st. 63.

**Stanza 61.**

See Kaus. 46, 52 ; 137, 13. 14. Cf. for Pāda a the brahmodya, Vâg. S. XXIII, 9. 10. 45. 46 ; Sat. Br. XIII, 2, 6, 13 ; Maitr. S. III, 12, 19 ; Tait. S. VII, 4, 18, 1. 2 ; Tait. Br. III, 9, 5, 5, and the commentators. For the second hemistich, cf. st. 35.

**Stanza 62.**

See Kaus. 50, 10 : a traveller starts on his journey.

**Stanza 63.**

See Kaus. 24, 27 ; 58, 19, note ; Vait. Sû. 27, 8.

## XII, 3. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 185.

This hymn treats of the brahmaudana, the preparation of the porridge for the Brahmins, more elaborately than XI, 1, with which it is worked up in Kaus. 60-63. See the introduction to XI, 1.

**Stanzas 1-4.**

The sacrificer, his wife, and children step upon a skin, and seat themselves around a vessel full of water. Kaus. 60, 31 ff. : 'With stanza 1 (the priest) makes (the sacrificer) step upon the skin. 32. The wife (follows, or takes hold of the husband) as he is calling<sup>1</sup>. 33. With the third stanza<sup>2</sup> he calls for his children . . . 35. With stanza 4 they along with the children seat themselves around (a vessel containing water which has been placed upon the skin, Sûtra 34).'

**Stanza 1.**

a. *ihi* is wanting in the Paippalâda. The Pâda is improved by throwing it out and reading *pûmân* trisyllabically.

**Stanza 2.**

*édhas* at the end of the third Pâda may perhaps be regarded as an instrumental : 'When Agni with his flame, &c. ;' cf. Lanman, Noun-Inflection in the Veda, p. 562. The second hemistich seems to refer to widow-burning (cf. st. 17 c, and RV. X, 18, 7). The word *pakvât*, rendered 'from the (cooked) porridge,' seems to harbour something of a double entente : 'from the cooked remains of the body, after it has been burned upon the funeral-pyre.' The well-cooked porridge anticipates symbolically the successful conclusion of life, to be followed by a happy life hereafter. Cf. also stanzas 7-9, 11, &c.

<sup>1</sup> The translation of this Sûtra is by no means clear, and does not agree with Kesava's treatment, *tatra hvayasva iti pâdena patnîm* (Gammu MS. *patnî*) *âhvayîta*.

<sup>2</sup> Kesava, 'with the third Pâda :' *yâvantâv agre prathamam iti pâdena apatyâni anvâhvayîta*. But how can *trîtyasyâm* mean with the third Pâda?

**Stanza 4.**

We read *gívádhanyáh* (accented) with some MSS. and RV. I, 80, 4. But the vocative is not impossible: 'around this living (father), ye (children) that refresh the living.' The children might be so called in the sense that they continue the life of the parents. In the fourth Páda *vâm gánitrî* either refers to two children, or the parents: 'the mother (female) of the two parents.' See also the next stanza. *vâm* could be easily corrected to *vo*.

**Stanzas 7-10.**

Kaus. 61, 1. 2: 'While reciting stanza 7 the act indicated in the mantra is performed (i.e. they turn to the east). With the four mantras (7-10) they go around the water-vessel (turning towards each direction <sup>1</sup>).'

**Stanza 9.**

Cf. Kaushitaki-Upanishad I, 2, 3, where it is said that all those who depart from this world go to the moon (soma), the moon being the door of the world of light. Therefore shall man and wife turn to Soma's region where the pious (*sukṛta*) departed dwell. Cf. upon this point, Contributions, Third Series, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XV, 168. In Páda d the double meaning of *pakvá*, alluded to in the note on st. 2, seems to gain special prominence: *pakvá* is at once the cooked porridge, and the cooked ashes of the deceased couple.

**Stanza 10.**

a, b. Note the threefold play upon the word *ud*, in *úttaram*, *uttarávat*, and *údikî*.

c. The *púrusa* (cosmic man) is the *pañkti*; that is to say, like the metre *pañkti* he consists of five constituent parts. Cf. Ait. Br. II, 14, 7: 'Man is composed of five parts, hair, skin, flesh, bones, and marrow.' This statement about the *púrusa* appears to be solely for the purpose of bridging

<sup>1</sup> Kerava, *prâkîm-prâkîm iti katasrîbhîr rigbhîh pratidîsam upatish/hate mantroktam*.

over to the virāḡ who is identified in the next stanza with the fifth direction, the nadir (dhruvā).

#### Stanza 11.

Kaus. 61, 3 : 'While reciting the stanza (the sacrificers) face reverently every direction.' Apparently the nadir, as it were, embraces all the other directions. For dhruvā as a designation of the fifth direction, see III, 26, 5 ; 27, 5, &c. Virāḡ obviously has reference to the metre of that name ; she is, too, the daughter of Purusha (cf. Pet. Lex. under virāḡ 3), who is said to be the metre paṅkti in st. 10. A complicated chain of symbolism.

c, d. Aditi is called upon to protect the porridge, for she is the cooker of the porridge, by distinction : cf. the legends in Maitr. S. II, 1, 12 ; Tait. Br. III, 7, 11, 2, and the note on XI, 1, 1.

#### Stanzas 12, 13.

According to Kaus. 61, 4 (cf. Kerava) the water-vessel is next, with stanza 12, taken from the skin and placed upon the ground, and the water contained in the vessel is used throughout the ceremony. The sacrificer and his wife doubtless come down from the skin ; hence (the earth) is called upon to embrace them, &c. In stanza 13 the water is implored to purify the sacrificial vessels from impure contact (as indicated by the Paribhāṣhā-sūtra, Kaus. 8, 14). For the connection of the non-Aryan dāsī with the sacrifice, see Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, p. 212.

#### Stanzas 14, 15.

At Kaus. 61, 18 the mortar and pestle, and the scrubbed winnowing basket, are placed upon the (afore-mentioned) skin, while stanza 14, along with Pāda a of XI, 1, 9, is being recited. Cf. the note on XI, 1, 9 for the substitution of mortar and pestle in the place of the two press-stones. With stanza 15 the pestle is placed upright (in the mortar : Kaus. 61, 21, *musalam ukkhrayati*). It is also rubricated in Ath. Paris. 10.

**Stanzas 16, 17.**

At Kaus. 61, 13. 14 the employment of stanzas 16 and 17 is prescribed, without adhering to their order in the *Samhitā* : 'With stanza 16 the sacrificer, his wife, and children (*sāpat-yau*) touch the grain (which has previously been poured into a pot, *Sûtra* 11). With the second hemistich of stanza 17 the sacrificer takes hold of his wife's hand.'

**Stanza 16.**

Judging from the Kausika's employment of the stanza the presence of real sacrificial cattle at this stage of the ceremony seems doubtful: the grain that goes to make the porridge seems to be likened to cattle; cf. stanzas 18, 21. In *Pāda* b the *Paippalāda* reads *medhasvān* for *gyótishmān*, in *Pāda* c *tam* for *tān*; according to the *Index Verborum* most MSS. read *tām* for *tān*, but the present reading seems preferable.

**Stanza 17.**

Stanzas which similarly promise the reunion of families in the next world are AV. VI, 120, 3; IX, 5, 27; XVIII, 3, 23. The second hemistich seems to come from the mouth of the departed, who perhaps is conceived to desire that his wife shall follow him to the funeral-pyre; cf. st. 2. These statements are, however, hardly definite enough to permit us to connect them with the formalised later rite of *Suttee*.

**Stanza 18.**

This is rubricated along with XI, 1, 9 b at Kaus. 61, 22 : *avahanti*, 'the pestle is beaten down (upon the grain).' As it comes down it smites and drives off the hostile powers, but at the same time, as in the case of the axe which slays the sacrificial animal (cf. *Contributions*, Sixth Series, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* XLVIII, 556), the fiction is kept up that it does not really injure the grain. The statement strengthens the impression that the grain is viewed in the light of sacrificial cattle, as in stanzas 16, 21.

**Stanza 19.**

For the employment of this stanza in the Sûtra, see the notes on XI, 1, 11, and 9. The grain which is to form the porridge is addressed, as though it were the cooked porridge that spreads in the dish, and is enriched with ghee. The second hemistich shows this to be anticipatory, for the act of the stanza is the winnowing of the grain. Cf. stanza 53. In Pâda c varshávriddham shows that the basket is made of reeds, not of dead wood; cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 238.

**Stanzas 20, 21.**

Kaus. 61, 26-28: 'With stanza 21 the wife as she removes (the husks) is addressed. With stanza 20 the husband and wife touch (the husks) after they have been removed. With part of stanza 20 d (the grain) is again poured into the winnowing-basket.' There is no mention of the preparation of soma which is suggested by *amsûn* in stanza 20 c: the word must therefore refer to some part of the ceremony which the Sûtra ignores, unless the grain is figuratively called soma.

**Stanza 20.**

The meaning of the first hemistich is far from clear. The Brâhmana is either the priest (cf. XX, 2, 3), or some holy text. Perhaps *sámmittâ brâhmanena* means 'have been measured out by the Brâhmana;' cf. stanzas 28 and 33.

**Stanza 21.**

It seems again as though the animals here refer to the grain, as in stanzas 16 and 18: the grain is varied in colour; the porridge when cooked is solid in colour. In Pâda c the Padapâtha reads *tâm*, but we have taken *tâm* = *tân*.

**Stanzas 22-24.**

Kaus. 61, 31: 'With stanza 22 the pot is anointed.' As the Sûtra does not rubricate the next stanza (23), where the anointing is mentioned, by itself, we must understand

that stanza 23 is included in the quotation. 'With stanza 24 he places fire about (the pot).' In st. 22 d bráhmaṇā seems to be a gloss.

#### Stanza 25.

Kaus. 61, 34. 35: 'With this stanza and XI, 1, 17 the two purifying blades of darbha-grass are placed over the pot, and water is poured upon the grain.'

#### Stanzas 28, 29.

Cf. XI, 1, 18. 19, and see the notes there for the practices that go with the stanzas.

#### Stanza 30.

Pāda a may be addressed either to the fire, or some officiating person, perhaps the wife. In Pāda b the singular ātmānam is peculiar: the word seems, either to have reached the extreme limit of pronominal usage, or, as we have translated, refers to the interior of each grain of corn, which is to be penetrated by the water. In Pāda d the Paippalāda has pradīso yathaimām, upon the basis of which we would propose pradīso yāthe= māh, 'according to these regulations.' Or, perhaps, the Pāda is to be rendered (with the same emendation): 'measured was the grain as these regions of space (were measured).' It is possible, too, to imagine pradīso as a verb, and read pradīso yāthe= mām in still closer accord with the Paippalāda, 'as thou didst order this (woman).' The word pradīso is mentioned under pradīs in Whitney's Index Verborum for this passage.

#### Stanzas 31, 32.

Kaus. 61, 38-40. A barhis (seat of darbha-grass) is prepared for the porridge: with 31 a the sickle is handed over to him who shall cut the grass, with part of 31 b he cuts it, with 32 the grass is strewn. Cf. Kaus. 1, 24. 25; 8, 11.

#### Stanza 31.

d. ámanyutā (Padapāṭha, ámanyutāh) is to be regarded either as a homophonous instrumental from the abstract

ámanyutá (better amanyútá), or a denominative participle in ta (Whitney, Sk. Gr.<sup>2</sup>, § 1176 b). The latter is the more probable construction. Possibly, however, we must read ámanyu táh, 'without anger they,' ámanyu being an adverb. The word yásâm in Pâda c seems indeed to demand táh in Pâda d.

### Stanza 32.

c, d. The Paippalâda has, tatra devâh saha devair visantu, and dakshizato for ritúbhir. Pâda c stands sorely in need of correction: we propose tásmin deváh sahá devîr visantu. But for the metre tásmin devâh sahá devîbhîr visantu would be even simpler. Cf. in a general way VI, 59, 2, note.

### Stanza 33.

Kaus. 61, 43. A wooden platter is placed upon the barhis. In Pâda c tváshtrâ is used consciously for táshtrâ: the conceptions of the earthly carpenter, and the heavenly carpenter, Tvashtr—sukṛt and rūpakṛt are his standing epithets—are blended into one. The difficult word in this stanza is vânaspatē, which along with the statements in the first three Pâdas (agnishtomâ) seem to refer originally to the yûpa, the post to which the sacrificial animal is tied. See, e.g., Sat. Br. III, 6, 4, 1 ff. There is no occasion here, as far as can be seen, for a yûpa, and Kausika makes no mention of one. It looks very much as though a stanza concerned with the yûpa had been secondarily adapted. Similarly at Kaus. 15, 11 our stanza figures in connection with a chariot, which is also secondary.

### Stanza 34.

Kaus. 62, 9. The porridge is put down to the west of the fire. The meaning of the 'sixty autumns,' as indeed the sense of the entire passage, is extremely obscure; cf. stanzas 41, 42. The point of the stanza may again lie in the double meaning of pakvâ (cf. stanza 2): in sixty years, that is at the end of his life, the sacrificer shall reach heaven by the pakvâ, in the double sense of the porridge he has offered to the Brahmans, and the cooked ashes of the funeral-pyre.



**Stanza 35.**

Employed along with XI, 1, 21 at Kaus. 61, 41 ; see the note on XI, 1, 21, and cf. Vait. Sû. 10, 9. In the order of the Sûtra this stanza precedes stanza 34. Cf. XVIII, 3, 29.

**Stanza 36.**

Employed along with XI, 1, 24 at Kaus. 62, 1 ff. ; see the note on XI, 1, 24. The ladle is placed upon the altar, and in the sequel the porridge is dipped out, as indicated in the second hemistich of the present mantra (cf. Kaus. 62, 6. 7). See also AV. IV, 14, 7.

**Stanzas 37, 38.**

Kaus. 61, 45. 46. With stanza 37 the porridge is covered with ghee ; with stanza 38 the porridge is addressed. Both acts in the Sûtra precede correctly and naturally the dipping out of the porridge, indicated in stanza 36. In stanza 38 the mighty eagle seems to be the sun which shines upon the porridge ; cf. XIII, 2, 32. 33. Both *devāk* and *devâtābhiḥ* seem to refer to the *Brāhmanas* : the acting priests shall give the porridge to the priests for whom the porridge is prepared as a fee. Cf. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, I<sup>2</sup>, 262 ; Weber, *Indische Studien*, X, 35, and see Kaus. 6, 26 ff.

**Stanza 39.**

Kaus. 62, 11 ff. : ' With stanza 39 the act indicated in the stanza is performed (i e. both husband and wife place the porridge in one dish?). The wife takes hold of the husband. The subsequent performances are undertaken while husband and wife have hold of one another.' In Pāda a the second *paraḥ* which is rather superfluous may perhaps be emended to *pate*, corresponding to *gāye* in Pāda b.

**Stanza 40.**

b. We read *asmāt* for *asmát* to correspond with *asyāk* in Pāda a : man and wife are correlated.

**Stanza 41.**

Kaus. 62, 18 : 'With stanzas 41 and 44 juices are poured upon (the porridge).' The fourth Pāda which is identical with 34 a (see its explanation there) seems out of place; it may have crept in owing to 42 a. In Pāda b *amṛtasya nābhayaḥ* may mean, 'the navels of immortality.'

**Stanza 42.**

Kaus. 62, 10 : 'With this stanza the porridge is divided into three sections.' Cf. XI, 1, 6, and the corresponding passage, Kaus. 61, 8-11. In Pāda a 'the treasure' is the porridge itself; cf. st. 34.

**Stanza 43.**

Kaus. 62, 14 : 'With this stanza the fire is carried around (the porridge).' Cf., e.g., RV. VII, 15, 10 ; AV. VIII, 3, 26.

**Stanza 45.**

Employed along with XI, 1, 31 at Kaus. 62, 15. 17 ; see the note at XI, 1, 31. In Pāda d the rare singular *āṅgirasō* is to be changed to the adjective *āṅgirasó*, or, equally well, to the vocative plural *āṅgirasō*.

**Stanza 46.**

The three stanzas beginning here are quoted in the course of another version of the brahmaudana practices (Kaus. 67 and 68), in Sūtra 68, 27. The *devātāḥ* in Pāda a are again, in all likelihood, the *Brāhmaṇas* ; cf. st. 38.

**Stanza 47.**

b. The passage may perhaps be rendered, 'and (so does) my wife at my doing and instigation.' The second hemistich is evidently spoken by the priest in a sort of response to the speech of the sacrificer in the first two Pādas.

**Stanza 48.**

a. *ādhâró* is very doubtful: the Pet. Lex., 'rückhalt' (?). Perhaps 'support, or protection in guilt' is nearer to the true sense. Perhaps, again, an emendation to *ādharmo*, 'lawlessness,' would not lead too far afield.

**Stanza 49.**

Kaus. 62, 18. 19. A cow and utensils for milking are placed to the north of the fire, the cow is milked during the recitation of a certain hymn, and the milk poured upon the porridge. Pâda a is short by two syllables: supply kârma, or the like?

**Stanzas 50, 51.**

Kaus. 62, 22. 23: 'With stanza 50 (and XI, 1, 28) gold is placed upon (the porridge); with stanza 51 a homespun garment accompanied by gold is put down in front of it.' These, of course, are additional gifts (*pièce de résistance*).

**Stanza 50.**

Ordinary fire in wood, lightning in the (cloud-)waters, and the fire of the heavenly luminaries, are reflected in the gold, presented by him that cooks the porridge: in giving the gold he becomes luminous, illustrious. Cf. I, 9, 2; XI, 1, 28.

**Stanza 51.**

Since all animals have skins, nay even the porridge has a self-made garment, it is fit that the Brahman should also have one. In Pâda c *kshatrêna* seems to mean 'covering,' and it may stand for *khatrena* from *khad*, 'cover,' though *khatra* ordinarily means 'umbrella.' Cf. the variants *ahikshetra* and *ahikshatra* for *ahikhatra*, 'mushroom,' i. e. 'serpent's umbrella.'

**Stanza 52.**

Kaus. 63, 1. 2: 'With this stanza they clothe themselves in the same garment. A second garment (which they put on) becomes a garment (that carries off) evil: that, according to some authorities, is given to a human being of the lowest character.' Cf. Kaus. 18, 1. 4, where a black garment (*krishnakailam*), symbolic of misfortune, is put on, and afterwards dropped into the water, in order that the misfortune may depart.

**Stanza 53.**

Cf. the note on XI, 1, 28. For Pâdas c, d, cf. stanzas 19 a, b. The point of the stanza is not altogether clear: it

seems as though the smoke rising from the porridge (the earth) symbolises a cloud, and thus procures rain.

#### Stanza 54.

At Kaus. 63, 8 'other chaff of grain (phalīkarava in Sūtra 7) is thrown (into the fire) while reciting this stanza.'

Previously, in Sūtras 6 and 7, similar substances (tusha and kambūka) have been thrown into the fire, and cast aside with the left foot; see the note on XI, 1, 29. The stanza is extremely obscure, and I have lost confidence in the interpretation of it advanced in Contributions, Sixth Series, Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. XLVIII, 576. Its purpose seems to be, rather, to cause the fire to blaze up anew, perhaps, in order to drive away demons. As the sky can assume different colours, and, especially in the morning, can drive away its blackness for the brightness of the dawn (Pāda c), so the fire may be enlivened unto redness by sacrificing (chaff) into it. RV. X, 3, 1 d is almost identical with our Pāda c. The Paippalāda, suitably to the metre, reads ātmany in Pāda b, and rasantim in c; for āpāgait, see the passage in the Contributions, cited above.

#### Stanza 55 ff.

With the remaining stanzas the bestowal of the brahmaudana and the concomitant gifts takes place (Kaus. 63, 22). The series of formulas beginning here are closely related to the sarpāhuti, AV. III, 27; Maitr. S. II, 13, 21; Tait. S. V, 5, 10, 1 ff.; cf. Weber, Indische Studien, XVII, 295 ff. For the names of the serpents, see the notes on VI, 56; VII, 56, and Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 94 ff. The expression garā mrītyāve in the third line of the formula reminds us of the bahuvrīhi garāmrītyu, XIX, 24, 8; 26, 1; 30, 1. This suggests here a tatpurusha garāmrītyú, 'death from old age;' the passage would then mean, 'may he lead us to death from old age.' In stanza 59 the association of Vishṇu with the dhruvā dīś is remarkable: we should expect the ūrdhvā. For the association of Indra (not Yama) with the southern direction, see Weber, l. c., p. 296.

## XII, 4. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 174.

The hymn is an elaborate plea of the Brahmins for one of the numerous sources of income which they managed to devise. Especially all sorts of ominous occurrences are set down as occasions for expiatory performances (*prāyaskitti*), at which the performing Brahmin comes in for his *dakṣiṇā* (see the thirteenth book of the Kausika), and every kind of irregularity in the birth of a domestic animal is amended by ceremonies in which the animal finally expiates its own existence by going over into the possession of the Brahmin. See, for instance, AV. III, 28, and Kaus. 109-111. A cow which after a certain time (see st. 16) is discovered to be sterile (*vaśā*) is viewed in this light: she belongs to the Brahmins, and the present hymn recounts in picturesque language, accompanied by fierce threats, the urgency of passing her on to the Brahmins whom nothing hurts. Similarly in Tait. S. II, 1, 2, 2, a sterile sheep is said to be 'cattle for the gods' (i. e. in effect, for the *Brāhmaṇas*); cf. also Tait. Br. I, 2, 5, 2, and see in general Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 61 ff. In Kaus. 44 and 45 the ceremonies for slaughtering a *vaśā* are described; it seems according to 45, 17 that they are wound up by giving the animal away. The present hymn is rubricated in Kaus. 66, 20 along with X, 10; nothing is stated except that she is bestowed upon the Brahmins, after having been solemnly sprinkled while the hymns are recited. Cf. in general Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 272, and the same scholar's translation of the hymn, *ibid.* 448 ff. The metre of this composition is regular *anushṭubh*; this, together with the style and contents, betrays the late character of the hymn.

## Stanza 1.

The parenthetic expression, 'and they have noted her,' is admonitory: the Brahmins do not fail to know that a sterile cow exists; they are sure to claim their own! Ludwig suggests *abhatsata* or *abhantsata* for *ābhutsata*, 'and those who have bound her,' but there is no relative pronoun, and the sense resulting is strained.

## Stanza 3.

a. For *kûṛá*, cf. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, I, 138. *asya* seems to refer to *gāvaḥ*, understood from the context.

b. *kāṭám ardati* is difficult: *kāṭám* is unquestionably a Prākritic form for *kartám*, AV. IV, 12, 7 (cf. similarly *kévaṭe*, RV. VI, 54, 7). For *ardati* one would expect some word for 'fall,' or 'push,' but the word means 'burst, go to pieces.' Perhaps *kāṭám* is the subject, 'the deep ground bursts' (cf. RV. IV, 17, 2; AV. XIX, 9, 8, descriptive of earthquakes), but this does not quite do justice to *kāṭám*.

d. The Paippalāda has for *ḍiyate* the preferable reading *giyate*, 'his property is wrung (from him).' For the interchange of the sound-groups *ḍi* and *gi* (*dy* and *gy*), see the writer in *Amer. Journ. Phil.* VII, 482.

## Stanza 4.

a. *vilohitá*, designation of some disease, also IX, 8, 1; perhaps, 'flow of blood from the nose.' Henry, *Les livres VIII et IX de l'Atharva-véda*, pp. 105, 142, 'décomposition du sang.' Both translations are purely etymological, but we may note that the word occurs in connection with other ailments of the head at IX, 8, 1. Cf. also *lóhita* VI, 127, 1, note.

c, d. The passage is not quite clear. *sámvidyam*, ἄπ. λεγ., may mean 'possession.' Ludwig, 'name.' At any rate there seems to be an attempt to etymologise upon, or explain, *vaśá* as a derivative from the root *vas*, 'control:' the character of the *vaśá*, quasi 'controller,' is such that she cannot be deceived (*duradabhná*). We should expect *uḵyate* for *uḵyase*: the Paippalāda also reads *uḵyase*. The *Pet. Lexs.* translate *duradabhná* (also st. 19), by 'getting the better of gates,' i.e. 'not to be confined.' This is ingeniously improbable, and contrary to the more usual rendering of the perfect passive participle. The prefixes *dur-* and *a-* represent a double negative for emphasis; the word is a stronger version of *dû-dābha*.

Stanza 4 may be suspected of having stood originally

after 5, because its second hemistich seems to summarise the statements made in the remaining three hemistichs of the two stanzas.

#### Stanza 5.

b. *viklīndu*, अप. लय., perhaps 'catarrh;' cf. *vikleda* (root *klid*), 'moisture.'

d. Ludwig emends *yā* to *yān*, but the feminine is unobjectionable (supply, *dhenūh*, or the like).

#### Stanza 6.

For the custom of marking cattle, see Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 234. The sense of *ā sku* is not quite certain. For *Sat. Br. I, 2, 1, 5, 8*, Böhtlingk's *Lexicon* renders it 'durch stochern zerkleinern;' Eggeling, *Sacred Books*, XII, 33, 'pull towards oneself;' *Pet. Lex.*, 'divide off.' For *ā vriskate*, see the next note.

#### Stanza 12.

c, d. If we compare *ā vriskanti* in st. 28, and *Sat. Br. XII, 1, 3, 22*, it seems possible that the passive *ā vriskyate* must be substituted in one or another case (stanzas 6, 12, 26, 34) for *ā vriskate*; cf. the parallel roots *skyut* and *skut*, and the note on VI, 136, 3. The *Pet. Lex. s. v.* suggests the same correction for a number of passages in other texts. The dative *manyāve*, in that case, involves *zeugma*: here the middle of the same verb, in the sense of 'infringe upon,' is certainly required, as is shown by st. 51.

#### Stanza 16.

For *Nārada* in this and several of the following stanzas, see the note on V, 19, 9.

#### Stanza 18.

The sense is as follows: Though he did not perceive her udder, because a young and sterile cow is deficient in this mark of prospective maternity, yet when he gives her away, she becomes a fruitful source of blessings.

**Stanza 22.**

d. The cow belongs not even to every ordinary Brāhmaṇa, but only to him that knows all her mystic properties; cf. the numberless occurrences in the Brāhmaṇas of the expressions, *ya evaṃ veda*, &c., and *ya evaṃ vidvān*, &c.

**Stanza 23.**

The divinities that belong to the earth are in all probability the Brāhmaṇas themselves; cf. the note on XII, 3, 38. The stanza betrays sharp competition between the Brāhmaṇas.

**Stanza 24.**

c, d. Ludwig proposes to read either *vidvān* for *vidyān*, or *nārada* for *nāradaḥ*. Neither seems necessary: *vidyāt* is the optative of narration, a moderated form of categorical statement. A better way to ease the construction is to read *sá ha* for *sahá* in Páda d.

**Stanza 27.**

The statement is significant: it seems as though stanzas of a more antique and floating character respecting the *vasá* existed prior to the Atharvan redaction. For *vaset* read, of course, *vaset* with the Index Verborum; cf. the note on III, 4, 7.

**Stanzas 29, 30.**

d. Ludwig suggests *gighāmsasi*, and this is correct as far as the change of the third person to the second person is concerned. The attraction of the proper third person in st. 30 has operated. But I have furthermore changed both stems to *gigāmsa-* from the root *gam*: the sense is much simplified. In st. 30 d read *yákñyáya* with the Index Verborum.

**Stanza 31.**

Cf. the interesting parallel stanza Sat. Br. III, 4, 2, 7. It may be questioned whether the real gods are supposed to mediate between the *vasá* and the Brahmanas, or whether *devá* and *brahmán* are used synonymously. Cf. the notes on st. 23 and st. 40.



**Stanza 32.**

a, b. The call *svadhâ* is the ordinary and typical exclamation in connection with formulas addressed to the Fathers, in distinction from *svâhâ*, the call to the gods. The construction of the hemistich involves a zeugma. If we compare expressions like *â sûryâya vriskyate*, Tait. Br. II, 1, 2, 10; *â vriskyantâm âditaye durévâh*, RV. X, 87, 18, it would seem as though the datives *pitrîbhyo* and *devâtâbhyah* are to be construed with *nâ â vriskyate* (*vriskate*), derived from the sense of Pâda 4; cf. also st. 28 d. See in general the note on st. 12.

**Stanza 38.**

*Brîhaspati* is the divine representative of the Brahmins: he undertakes to collect the debt incurred by the unrighteous owner of the *vasâ* from his descendants by causing the priests to dun them for the debt.

**Stanza 41.**

For *viliptyâm* (MSS. also *viliptîm*) the *Paippalâda* has *vilaptîm* (for *vilapatîm*?). Neither form seems to suggest anything usable. Perhaps *viluptî*, 'miscarrying,' a derivative of *vilupta*, 'destroyed,' in the neuter 'dead offspring' is the true reading, of which the extant forms are perplexed popular etymologies (*viliptî*, 'soiled'; *vilapatî*, 'whining'). Only it does not appear clear why *viluptî* should have been misunderstood; hence the suggestion is very problematic.

**Stanza 42.**

c. The *Paippalâda* reads *tân* for *tâm*: 'And *Nârada* replied to them'—a more facile reading.

**Stanzas 43-47.**

There seems to be considerable disorder in the arrangement of these stanzas. We should naturally expect 47 immediately after 43. This may have been displaced by 44: the concordance of *kâsyâ(h)* in 43, and *viliptyâh* in 44

(cf. *viliptī yā* in the otherwise identical st. 46) renders stanza 44 suspicious. The original order, throwing out 44, may have been 43, 47, 46, 45.

### XIII, 1. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 207.

The thirteenth book of the Atharvan consists of four hymns devoted to the worship of a divinity called Rohita, and his female Rohini. There can be no doubt that 'the red' sun and his accompanying female, who in the course of the literature is designated as Ushas, Sūryā, Sūryā Sāvitrī, or Dyū<sup>1</sup>, are primarily in the mind of the poet. Rohita accordingly is identified with Agni (stanzas 1, 11. 12), Sūrya (stanzas 1, 32. 45; 2, 1) and other manifestations of the sun<sup>2</sup>. But there is also another equally obvious side to the composition: it represents an allegorical exaltation of a king (*rāgā*) and his queen (*mahishī*). The heavenly Rohita and his female are called upon to protect and exalt the king and queen; the names of the divinities, *rōhita* and *rōhini*, are felt by the Atharvan poet to furnish especially good ground for calling upon them to undertake this protection, since they afford an inexhaustible mine for puns with words that mean 'rise, ascend' (cf. st. 4 a). In the royal ceremonies (*rāgakarmāṇi*) the king frequently ascends (*ā ruh*, or *ā kram*), a throne, or skin, or horse; the act, of course, symbolises every time the moral ascendancy of the potentate. Cf. Vait. Sū. 36, 7; Kaus. 17, 3. 9. 13. 22; Ait. Br. VIII, 6, 12; and the *rāgasūya* at Vāg. S. X, 1 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Contributions, Third Series, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XV, 186.

<sup>2</sup> The word 'identified' is perhaps too strong. The composition of this book is by no means a unit; it is indeed at times very difficult to see upon what ground the various stanzas have been compiled evidently with the main purpose of glorifying Rohita. But at any rate the compiler finds it especially natural to adapt stanzas in praise of other sun-divinities, and to glide over into the diction familiar to them. At Kaus. 24, 42 *rohita* is explained directly as the sun (*āditya*). Another relation of Rohita is Agni with two red steeds (*rohitābhyām*), Lāṭy. Sr. I, 4, 2 ff.

where the verb *â ruh* occurs with especial frequency. In general the relationship of many stanzas of the present hymn with those in vogue at the *râgasûya*, the ceremonies at the consecration of a king, is very close; they have been collected and discussed in our remarks on the Rohita-book; see the article cited below.

In the Tait. Br. II, 5, 2, 1-3 a considerable number of the stanzas at the beginning of this hymn recur with variants which betray the fact that the Taittiriya-version is older and better than that of the Atharvan<sup>1</sup>. The commentator (p. 600) explains the *rôhita* as the horse employed at the *asvamedha*, the horse-sacrifice, and we may regard it as possible that certain stanzas in this compilation were originally composed for this purpose (cf. the note on st. 22).

The hymns of book XIII are designated at AV. XIX, 23, 23<sup>2</sup>, and Kaus. 99, 4 as *rohitâni* (sc. *sûktâni*). Neither the Kausika, nor the Vaitâna, each of which rubricates individual stanzas, contributes anything of consequence towards the elucidation of the hymn<sup>3</sup>. In Ath. Paris. 13, 2 (*Hiranyagarbha*vidhi) the first two hymns of the book are employed. This is distinctly a royal rite, intended to ward off all evil (*sarvapâpanodana*). Stanzas 1, 12; 2, 36. 37 are employed in another *râgakarma*, called the *Ghrîtâvekshasam*, Ath. Paris. 8, 1. Nowhere is there anything calculated to define these hymns more narrowly.

The present hymn has been rendered by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 536 ff.; cf. also Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V, 395 ff. The entire Rohita-book has been translated and expounded by Henry, *Les Hymnes Rohitas* (Paris, 1891); cf. *Contributions*, Fourth Series, Amer. Journ. Phil. XII,

<sup>1</sup> AV. XIII, 1, 1 in Tait. Br. II, 5, 2, 1; AV. 3 in Tait. 3; AV. 4 in Tait. 1; AV. 5 in Tait. 1; AV. 6 in Tait. 3; AV. 7 in Tait. 3; AV. 8 in Tait. 2; AV. 10 in Tait. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Indische Studien*, IV, 433.

<sup>3</sup> At Kaus. 99, 4 the *rohita*-hymns are addressed to the sun during an eclipse.

429 ff.; Regnaud, *Le Rig-Veda et les Origines de la Mythologie Indo-Européenne*, p. 315 ff.

### Stanza 1.

In Pāda d the Tait. Br. reads *naḥ* for *tvâ*; the latter seems due to secondary adaptation. The stanza in its Atharvan form clearly bespeaks protection for a king from Rohita. Its first hemistich is addressed, very secondarily, at Kaus. 49, 18, in a witchcraft-practice to a sinking ship.

### Stanza 3.

The appearance here of a stanza that deals with Indra and the Maruts is not as arbitrary as it may seem to be at first sight. In a certain sense Pāda 3 a is in catenary construction with 2 b. The Maruts are the *vis*, the people; Indra is the typical king. And, with a quick turn in the second hemistich of the present stanza, Rohita again suggests the king, who listens to the people (the *vis*, the Maruts): the word *svādusammudāḥ* conveys between the lines the prayer, 'so that they (the people) shall be delighted with the sweet gifts of royalty.'

### Stanza 4.

Cf. XIII, 3, 26 d, and the introduction, for the alliterations in Pāda a. The Taittiriya version of Pāda c, *tābhiḥ sāmṛabdho avidat shād urvīḥ*, has correct metre, and the aorist third singular *avidat* is in accord with the tenses and numbers of the verbs immediately following. Ludwig evades the syllepsis in the plural *avindan*, rendering, 'von disen (frauen) erfasst haben die sechs weiten ihn aufgefunden.'

### Stanza 5.

The present stanza, together with 4 a, b, exhibits a very pronounced allusion to practices akin to the *rāgasūya*; cf. the *dig-vyāsthāpana-mantrāḥ*, Tait. S. I, 8, 13, 1-2, and see for details our article cited above, p. 432. For the form *āsthan* (*āsthat*), ib. 438 ff. Cf. the first *abhayagāṇa* of the *Gāzamālā*, Ath. Paris. 32, 12 (Kaus. 16, 8, note).

**Stanza 6.**

The Taittirīya version again has the mark of priority (*agá ékapād* for *agá ékapādaḥ*). The *agá ékapād* is certainly the sun; cf. Tait. Br. III, 1, 2, 8, 'the one-footed goat (with double entente, "driver," and again, "non-born"<sup>1</sup>) has risen in the east, delighting all gods; at his urging all the gods go.' Cf. the note at XI, 4, 21.

**Stanza 10.**

The *gāyatrī*, the rhythmic measure of Agni, is his representative upon earth (cf. RV. I, 61, 8; Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. XVI, 9). The assimilation of Rohita and Agni, which appears frequently in the sequel, begins here. Note the variants, Tait. Br. II, 2, 5, 2.

**Stanza 11.**

d. Repeated at RV. X, 123, 8 d, where the *Pāda* appears to be secondary, since the word *rûpāṇi*, supplied here from *Pāda* b, is there wanting. Cf. similarly the inferiority of RV. VI, 58, 1 a to Tait. Âr. I, 10, 1 (3 a).

**Stanza 12.**

c. *tvâ* is metrically superfluous, and hardens the sense. Without it, 'he shall not abandon me, lest I abandon (him).' Our rendering of *nâthitô*, 'when implored,' is uncertain: ordinarily (e.g. III, 1, 2) it means 'in distress.' The sense would then be, 'may I not in distress abandon thee.'

**Stanza 14.**

c. Repeated in st. 37 d. The rendering is conjectural owing to the obscurity of the word *magmāni*, which occurs here only. Cf. RV. I, 143, 4.

**Stanza 15.**

c. I am inclined to think that Ludwig is correct in emending the  $\delta\pi$ . λεγ. *ushṇihāksharó* to *ushṇihâksháro* = *ushṇihâ aksháro*, and in rendering *aksháro* by *om* (the *pranava*); cf. Sâṅkh. Sr. I, 1, 36 (*pranavo ye yagâmahe vashaḥkâraḥ*). For other suggestions, cf. Henry's careful discussion in his note (l. c., p. 27 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*, III, 23.

**Stanza 16.**

The five stanzas beginning here are rubricated at the godâna-ceremony, the trimming of the youth's beard at the time of puberty, Kaus. 54, 10. Their connection with the rest of the hymn is problematic. In stanza 18 d Rohita, as a variant of Agni in 17 d, is mentioned, and this alone may have induced the diaskeuasts to place the entire series here.

**Stanza 17.**

This and the next two stanzas exhibit the word *vâkaspati*. They, along with other stanzas containing the same word, are known in the ritual (Kaus. 41, 15) as *vâkaspatilingâh* (sc. *rikah*), and are employed at practices designed to ensure gain in business, while addressing the rising sun.

d. The word *parameshthin* seems to refer for the nonce to the young man, who, during the moment of his consecration, assumes in the exorbitant language of his environment the rôle of the lord on high.

**Stanza 18.**

According to the Index Verborum the MSS. read *nau* for *no* (both times?).

**Stanza 21.**

Here begin the stanzas devoted to Rohini. Cf. RV. I, 39, 6; VIII, 7, 28. Both these passages have the nominative *rôhitaḥ*, so that he himself appears as the side horse, the speckled mares or cows of the sky being the main draught-animals. The Atharvan form smacks of adaptation, decidedly. For, apparently, Rohita is here in the car, and the speckled female is the side-horse. The gloss on this stanza, Kaus. 24, 42. 43, which states distinctly that *rôhita* is the sun, *pr̥shatî* the sky (*dyu*), conceives of the latter as a cow<sup>1</sup>, rather than a mare, as one would expect in the case of the female of the red steed. This is quite

<sup>1</sup> The stanza is cited by the Ath. Paddhati (Kaus. 19, 1, note), as one of the *pushîkâ mantrâḥ*.

in accord with the usual description of the dawn; cf. RV. I, 113, 2; V, 64, 7; 80, 2-4.

#### Stanza 22.

The word *sûrí*, very common as a masculine, is here, and here alone, feminine. It seems chosen, with conscious straining, for the purpose of alluding to *Sûryâ*, the female of the sun. We should not forget in this connection the fact that there is another *Rohinî*, the constellation of that name, corresponding to another male divinity of light, the moon; see Tait. S. II, 3, 5, 1; Tait. Br. III, 1, 1, 2; 4, 2 (cf. also Tait. S. I, 1, 7, 7). It is not unlikely that the existence of one of these pairs stimulated the completion of the other. These notions are plastic, and elusive in their multiplicity.

#### Stanza 23.

Cf. the similar mantra, Vait. Sû. 36, 27. For a possible relation of this stanza and the *rohinî*-episode of the hymn to a certain part of the ceremonies at the horse-sacrifice, see our above-cited essay, p. 435 ff.

#### Stanza 25.

This and the next stanza are recited at the *ĥitrâkarma*, a rite designed to procure prosperity, during the full moon of the month *ĥaitra*; see Kaus. 18, 25.

#### Stanza 27.

Addressed at the *âgyatantra*, Kaus. 137, 10, to him that constructs the fire-altar (*vedi*). The adjectives *páyasvatim*, &c., refer doubtless primarily to the earth, the cosmic altar (cf. st. 46).

#### Stanza 31.

b. For *utpápānam*, cf. our discussion, l.c., 441 ff.

#### Stanza 32.

c. The *Paippalāda* reads *rasmibhiḥ* for *ásmanā*; this suggests *rasmínā*, 'with his ray,' but the singular instrumental is rare, and in this connection doubtful.

**Stanza 33.**

The Virâg is another personification of the shining female heaven (dawn), and the male sun is viewed here as her calf rather than her husband. The 'bull of prayers' again must refer to the sun: it seems to mean 'he to whom prayers are chiefly directed,' a conception which is fortified immediately by the epithet *sukráprishtha*, which I take to be an equivalent of *somaprishtha* (st. 12). In Pâda c it would seem natural to read *ghriténâktâm*, 'anointed with ghee,' for *ghriténârkâm*, establishing thus a certain balance between this expression and *bráhma sántam* in Pâda d. But the construction of *abhí ar̥k* with two accusatives is secure, e.g. AV. VII, 14, 1; 72, 1, and at Tait. Br. II, 8, 8, 9 c we have, *tám arkaír abhy ar̥kanti vatsám*. Each reading seems equally good under the circumstances.

**Stanza 39.**

d. The Paippalâda reads *vipasyantam* for *vipask̥itam*; the reading is not favoured by the metre, and seems in every way inferior.

**Stanza 40.**

a. The text as it stands can hardly be sustained. The Paippalâda reads, *devo devam arkayasi*. Henry, without a knowledge of this, emends to *devó deván arkayasi*; cf. our remarks, l. c., p. 437. We have finally accepted this in our rendering: the extant *Saunakîya* reading must have arisen on the basis of the reading *devó devámmarkayasi* with anticipatory *anuvâra*.

**Stanza 41.**

A cosmic charade (*brahmodyam*)=AV. IX, 9, 17, and RV. I, 164, 17 (with the variant *anták* for *asmín* in Pâda d). The subject of the riddle is the dawn. Her calf is the sun, as in st. 33. The disappearance of the dawn at sunrise is depicted prettily, though rather mystically in the second hemistich. The meaning of Pâda d is that though a cow she does not beget her calf in this earthly herd: her calf



is heavenly. Cf. Haug, *Vedische Räthselfragen und Räthselfprüche*, p. 24, for other explanations that seem to us decidedly strained.

#### Stanza 42.

Another, profoundly mystic, charade, essentially identical with IX, 10, 21 and RV. I, 164, 41. Whatever the independent solution may be (cf. Haug, l. c., p. 47 ff.), the presence of the stanza here seems to be in some way due to the word *padā* in 41 b. There the word indicates the part of the body; here, with characteristic jugglery, the metrical 'foot.' The varying light or rays (feet) of the dawn may have suggested the metres with their varying feet, even if the brahmodyam was not really constructed primarily with a view to the answer 'dawn.' It has at any rate no direct bearing upon Rohita, and seems to appear here by way of expanding the laudation of the female divinity of the preceding stanza.

#### Stanza 45.

Beginning here Sūrya appears in the rôle of a cosmic sacrificer, and the elements of the sacrifice familiar in the liturgies are boldly projected into the visible universe. With all the extravagance of the fancies they are on the whole intelligible, and at times not wanting in beauty.

#### Stanza 56.

Employed at Kaus. 49, 26 in a conjuration against an enemy. Pāda b, *μὴ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ὀμικεῖν*, Hes. *Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι* 725.

### XIX, 26. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 63.

The hymn is not employed in the Kausika<sup>1</sup>. It is quoted by Sāyana from the Sāntikalpa 17<sup>2</sup>, as follows: *agneh pragātam iti sūktena āgneyim agnibhaye sarvakāmasya ka*. This Sāyana expounds, *iti vihitāyām āgneyyākhyāyām*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kausika, Introduction, p. xl.

<sup>2</sup> Sāyana regularly substitutes Nakshatrakalpa for Sāntikalpa.

mahâsântâu hiranyanirmitam kundalâdikam abhimantrya badhniyât. According to this he who is afraid of fire, or desires everything in general, performs 'the great rite of consecration for Agni, and puts on earrings and so forth, made of gold.' For mahâsânti, see Kaus. 39, 27 ; 43, 5 ; 44, 6 ; 46, 7, and the note on Kaus. 9, 5. Sâyana further quotes Sântikalpa 19, in which the hymn is again rubricated: agneḥ pragâtam pari yad dhiranyam iti hiranyam âgney-yâm, and comments, karnamadhye kḥidravat dhiranya-kundalam ity arthaḥ. Once more the hymn is rubricated in the Tulâpurusha, Ath. Paris. 11, 1, along with other mantras: agne gobhiḥ, agne-bhyâvartin (Kaus. 72, 13), agneḥ pragâtam iti sampâtân udapâtra ânîyâ-bhishekakala-seshu ninayet. The performances are secondary throughout. The hymn has been translated by Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 49, 192 ; the Anukramanî designates it as âgneyam hairanyam.

#### Stanza 1.

Cf. Tait. Br. I, 2, 1, 4 ; Âpast. Sr. XIV, 11, 2. In Pâda c enam refers either to manî or some other masculine designation of a jewel. Sâyana, hiranyarûpam padârtham arhati.

#### Stanza 2.

For pragâvanto mânavaḥ, see Bhagavadgita X, 6. The majority of the MSS. read ishiré for îshiré, and Whitney, Index Verborum, and Roots of the Sanskrit Language, seems to derive the word from ish, 'send.' Sâyana, îshire prâ-ptavantaḥ.

#### XIX, 34. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 38.

The hymns, AV. XIX, 34 and 35, are not rubricated in either of the Sûtras, Kausika or Vaitâna, and this is in accordance with the general character of the nineteenth book as a paralipomenon in the text of the Saunaka school ; see Kausika. Introduction, p. xl ff. According to the Sântikalpa 17 and 19, both hymns are employed in a mahâsânti, 'great consecration' (cf. Kaus. 9, 6, note), pertaining to Vâyu, the wind. In reference to this Sâyana has the fol-

lowing: *pañkame*•*nuvâke dvâdasa sûktâni*, *tatra 'gaṅgido*•*si*' *iti prathamadvitīyābhyām sūktābhyām 'vāyavyām vātavātyāyām'*<sup>1</sup> *iti (Sântikalpa 17<sup>2</sup>) vihitāyām vāyavyākhyāyām mahāsāntau gaṅgidavṛikshanirmitam manim bādhnīyāt, tathā nakshatrakalpe (! for sântikalpe) sūtritam, 'vâtâg gâtaḥ' (IV, 10) iti saṅkham vârunyām, "gaṅgido*•*si gaṅgido rakshitâ*•*si" (XIX, 34) iti gaṅgidam vāyavyāyām' iti (Sântikalpa 19).* A number of stanzas have been commented upon by Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*: see the index, p. 457.

### Stanza 1.

**a, b.** The text of our translation of the first two Pâdas is that of the vulgate. This differs from the MS. reading so much as to amount to an independent composition on the part of the editors. They read, *āṅgirâ* (cf. st. 6) *asi gaṅgida rākshitâ*•*si gaṅgida*; the MSS. unanimously present, *gaṅgidô*•*si gaṅgidô rākshitâ*•*si gaṅgidāḥ*. I am far from feeling that the editors have restored the ancient text. The difficulty with the MS. reading is the absence of any adjective or noun *gaṅgidā* with appellative meaning, and the cumulation of nominatives. The latter difficulty is paralleled closely by AV. IV, 12, 1, and it would seem almost as though in both passages the nominative had assumed the function of vocative. Neither difficulty exists for Sâyana, who translates the second *gaṅgidô* as vocative and paraphrases the first as an agent noun, as follows: he *gaṅgida mane gaṅgido*•*si yato gâtânām krītyānām krītyākṛitām ka nigaranakartâ*•*si* (one MS. *nigirana*•) *ato gaṅgida ity ukyate . . . gam girati iti gaṅgirah . . . yad vâ gaṅgamyate satrûn bādhitum iti gaṅgidah*. I must say that I do not think it impossible that the original text had in mind some pun on the root *gar*, 'swallow,' in connection with the first *gaṅgida*, or perhaps some other root, say, *gâgri*, 'wake.' The latter suggestion would yield good

<sup>1</sup> My copy of the Sântikalpa reads *vātavātyādyām*.

<sup>2</sup> Shankar Pandit, erroneously, here and in the following quotation, substitutes *Nakshatrakalpa* for *Sântikalpa*.

sense, the first *gaṅgidó*, 'wakeful,' being parallel with *rá-kshitá* in the second *Páda*.

### Stanza 2.

a. The MSS. at the basis of Roth and Whitney's edition read *gâgritsyás tripañkâsîh*, and the editors, inspired doubtless by RV. X, 34, 8, have emended *akshakrityás tripañkâsîh*, 'the sorceries with dice, fifty-three in number.' But the parallelism of the Rig-veda passage is every way doubtful (Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 284; Weber, *Über die Königsweihe*, Transactions of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, 1893, p. 72 of the reprint); the bold emendation is at any rate not warranted by any too desperate condition of the text. The majority of the MSS. used in Shankar Pandit's edition (both *Samhitâ* and *Padapâtha*) have *gâgritsyás*, which the editor, with *Sâyana*, has changed to *yâ(h) gritsyas*; this might mean 'the thieving female demons' (*Sâyana*, *yâ gritsyah gardhanasilâ yâs . . . krityâh*); cf. *grîtsâh* at Vâg. S. XVI, 25, and Mahidhara's scholium. Notwithstanding that *gritsyas* is the unanimous lectio difficillima of the MSS., perchance yet destined to be sustained, I have restored simply *yâh krityâh*<sup>1</sup>; cf. for the juxtaposition of *krityâ* and *krityâkrît* (*Páda* b), AV. IV, 17, 4; V, 14, 3. 4. 5. 8. 10. 12. 13; X, 1, 6. 31; XIX, 45, 1. The *Padapâtha* divides *tripañka-asîh*, 'devouring fifteenfold,' which would comport well with the reading *gritsyas*. The meaning 'consisting of fifty-three' assumed for *pañkâsá*, 2. in the *Pet. Lex.*, in our translation, and by *Sâyana* (*tryadhikapañkâsatsamkhyâkâh*), thus rests upon a fragile basis; perhaps the *Padapâtha* is right; or, perhaps, the word means simply 'fifteenfold,' an adjectivised *tripañka-sas*, with the well-known adverbial suffix *-sas*, 'fold'<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Sâyana* describes the *krityâ* concretely as a figure, or the like, made of mud, wood, &c., *mriddârvâdinâ nirmitaputtalyâdi*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Avestan fractional numeral adjectives *thrishva-* 'a third,' *kathrushva-* 'a fourth,' &c., which, in our opinion, are adjectivised locatives plural, *thrishu*, &c., 'that which is in three.'

c. The MSS. of the vulgate read *sárvân vinaktatégaso*, for which the edition substitutes *vinashṭa-*. This is *Sâyana*'s reading (*vinashṭategasaḥ hatavîryân*), and with a slight alteration (*vinishṭa-*) that of one of the MSS. used by Shankar Pandit. The latter recites all the readings of his manuscripts; they are (besides *vinakta-*), *bhanakti*, *bhinakti*, *minaktu*, *vinakti*, and *vinaktu*. He has chosen the last, making the *Pâda*, *sárvân vinaktu tégasah*, 'may (the *gaṇ-gidâ*) expel all strength' (note, however, the ordinarily neuter gender of *tégas*). We prefer the text of the editio princeps and *Sâyana*.

### Stanza 3.

a. *Sâyana*, *abhikaratâ utpâditam nâdam dhvanim*, 'the noise got up by the person practising witchcraft (against any one);' cf. *Kesava*'s *purushahava* in the introduction to II, 4 (p. 281). The MSS., *Samhitâ* and *Padapâtâ*, read *krîtrîm anna-adâm*!

b. Our translation of *saptâ visrásah* by 'seven debilitating (charms)' is a purely etymological conjecture; cf. expressions like *visrastânga*, 'lax of limb,' *visrastaketana*, 'lax in mind,' and the like. *Sâyana*, *visramsanaḥ . . . mûrdhani-shṭheshu nâsârandhradvaya-kakshurgolakadvaya-srotrakḥi-dradvaya-mukhakuvara-rûpeshu saptasu kḥidreshu abhikaratâ utpâditâ sapta nishyandâḥ*, i. e. 'discharges from the seven openings of the head, induced by one practising witchcraft.'

### Stanza 4.

The same stanza with variants occurs at AV. II, 4, 6.

### Stanza 5.

c. The text of the vulgate has *sâsahé*, a reading which is now supported by one of the MSS. at the base of Shankar Pandit's edition. The MSS. in general have *sâsaha*, *Padapâtâ* *sasaha*, each with a considerable variety of accentuations. *Sâyana* comments upon the following text for *Pâdas* c, d, *vishkandham oḡasâ saha samskandham oḡa oḡasâ*. For his explanation of *vishkandha*, see the note on II, 4, 1 c (p. 282); his comment upon *sâmskandha* is as

follows: *yena rogena skandhaḥ samnataḥ samlagna bhavati sa rogaḥ samskandhaḥ*. This etymological rendering coincides with that in the minds of the occidental interpreters: the Pet. Lex., 'name of a demon or disease'; Böhtlingk, 'name of a disease'; and Zimmer, l.c., p. 391, 'contracting the shoulders, a disease.' See, however, our note on II, 4, 1 c (p. 283).

#### Stanza 6.

a. The MSS. of both *Samhitā* and *Padapāṭha* read *trishṭvā*; we with both editions *trīsh tvā*. *Sāyana*, *trishu lokeshu avasthānāya*.

c. The name *āngirās* for the plant seems to be trumped up to pun with *gaṅgīdās*.

#### Stanza 8.

a. Roth and Whitney's edition reads, *átho yadā samábhavo*, the basis of our translation: the MSS. have *átho padā ná bhagavo* (*Padapāṭha*, *átho iti padā ná bhagavaḥ*). Shankar Pandit, upon the basis of *Sāyana*'s comment, restores *átho-padāna bhagavaḥ*. The explanation is, he *upadāna upādiyate svikriyate krityānirharanādivyāpāreshv iti upadānaḥ*. The meaning seems to be something like 'thou who art pressed into service for the purpose of driving out sorceries.' I do not believe in either the restoration, or the explanation.

c. I have again translated the text as restored by Roth and Whitney (cf. XIX, 35, 1). The MSS. of the *Samhitā* read *purā ta ugrā grasata* (*upa*), and those of the *Padapāṭha* are divided in reading *ugrāḥ* and *ugrā*. With the latter we might have the following sense, 'formerly a fierce (female demon?) ate of thee.' *Sāyana*, *te tvām* (!) *ugrāḥ prāninaḥ purā grasate bhakshayanti* (! plural). I feel by no means certain that the vulgate has restored the original text.

#### Stanza 10.

a. *āsarīka* and *vīsarīka* are translated upon the basis of their etymology simply. *Sāyana*, *āsarīkam sarvato himsakam etannāmānam rogam tathā visarīkam viseshena*

*himsakam etannâmânam ka balâsam.* To *visarikam*, cf. our note on II, 4, 2 (p. 284).

b. For *balâsam*, see the note on V, 22, 11.

c. For *visvâsâradam*, see the note on V, 22, 13.

#### XIX, 35. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 39.

For the employment of this hymn in the ritual texts, see the introduction to XIX, 34. *Sâyana* defines it as *gaṅgidamañibandhane*. It has been translated by Grohmann, *Indische Studien*, IX, p. 418 ff.; and Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 65.

##### Stanza 3.

a. The MSS., both *Samhitâ* and *Padapâṭha*, read *durhârdah sámghoram kâkshuh*, and *Sâyana* explains the otherwise unknown compound *sámghoram* by *atyanta-krûram*. I have refused the text as emended by Roth and Whitney (*durhârdas tvâm ghorâm*); cf. IV, 9, 6.

b. *âgamam*, 'I have approached' with sinister intention; *Sâyana*, *âgatam* (!) *hantum prâptam*. But several MSS. read *âdabhan* (for *âdâbhan*?), 'destroying,' and this is worth considering. Grohmann and Zimmer translate *âgamam* as an adjective, 'der herzutritt,' 'den herantretenden.'

c. For *sahasrakaksho*, see the note on IV, 20, 5.

e. The extra *Pâda*, making a *pañkti* out of the *anushubh*, is rather suspicious. The MSS. read *gaṅgidâh*; we, with the vulgate, *gaṅgida*; cf. the note on XIX, 34, 1.

##### Stanza 4.

c. The majority of the MSS., both of the *Samhitâ* and the *Padapâṭha*, read *bhavyâd*. Both editions follow the minority of the MSS. in adopting the regular *bhâvyâd*.

##### Stanza 5.

a. The edition of Roth and Whitney has *yé krîtvano*, an emendation of *yâh krishnávo* of the MSS., both *Samhitâ* and *Padapâṭha*. *Sâyana* comments upon *yâ rishnávo* (*devair nishpâditâh . . . gantâro himsakâh purushâh*), and

this reading has been adopted by Shankar Pandit. I know not how to improve upon the suggestion of the occidental editors.

b. The western editors have restored *yá utó mártye-bhyāḥ*, the basis of our translation. The MSS. have *yá utó vabhrītenyāḥ* (*vabhrītenyāḥ*), and *vabhrīthenyāḥ*. *Sāyana's* text has *yá utó vavrité-nyāḥ*, upon which he comments as follows, *ye anye manushyādireritā bādhakā vavrite vavritire* (! why does he comment, in the teeth of the grammar, upon the plural, instead of the singular, which would make equally good sense?). Shankar Pandit has adopted *Sāyana's* text.

### XIX, 38. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 40.

The matter of this little hymn, the *guggulú* or *bdellium*, has been made the subject of an exhaustive investigation by Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, I<sup>2</sup>, 339; cf. also Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 28. *Sāyana* here defines it as, *surabhiḥ ghrānasamtarpako gandhaḥ*; cf. also his comment at II, 36, 7. The ritual of the *Kausika* makes no mention of the hymn, but it is rubricated in an unimportant way in *Ath. Parisishṭas* 4, 3. 4<sup>1</sup>; 17, 2. A previous translation is that of Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 39, 193. The *Anukramanī*, *mantroktagugguludevātākam*.

#### Stanza 1.

In most of the MSS. the bracketed hemistich forms the first half of st. 1<sup>2</sup>; next, the last hemistich of our first stanza, together with the first of st. 2, makes up the second; and, finally, the second hemistich of our st. 2 figures independently as a third stanza. Some MSS., however, make one stanza of the three last hemistichs (a *tryavasānā*, sc. *rik*). The bracketed passage is obviously secondary, though it stood in its present place at the time of the composition

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the introduction to XIX, 39, note.

<sup>2</sup> Thus also both editions.



of the *Parisishṭas*. It seems to have been attracted to its present place by the word *yákshamáḥ* in st. 2 a of the text.

a. For *arundhate*, see IV, 12; V, 5; VI, 59, in these translations. *Sāyana* overcomes the embarrassing presence of the word by turning it into a verb, *rodham na kurvanti na pīḍayanti* (!), and Whitney in the Index, in the same vein, emends the word to *arundhata*, though it is followed by the present *asnute*. The MSS. with accent, *árundhate*.

f. The MSS. have, *mrigá ásvā ive·rate*, which we have translated. Roth and Whitney emend *mrigád rīsyā ive·rate*, 'as antelopes flee from the wild beast.'

### XIX, 39. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 5.

Neither the *Kausika*, nor *Dārila* and *Kesava*, make any mention of this hymn, though it might, but for the commentaries, be understood to be included in the *kushṭhaliṅgāḥ* (sc. *rikāḥ*) in *Kaus.* 28, 13. It is not, moreover, included in the *takmanâsanagana* of the *Gaṇamâlâ*, *Ath. Paris.* 32, 7: see *Kaus.* 26, 1, note. Its failure to appear in the latter is fortuitous, since the *Gaṇamâlâ*, like other *Atharvan Parisishṭas*, draws freely upon the nineteenth book; *Kausika*'s silence, on the other hand, is in accord with the general attitude of this *Sûtra* towards the nineteenth (and twentieth) books of the *Samhitâ*; see *Kausika*, Introduction, p. xl. *Sāyana* in his introduction to the hymn says that the hymn is employed in the *Râtrikalpa*<sup>1</sup>, on the occasion when incense of *kushṭha* is offered (to whom?) in connection with AV. XIX, 34, *etu devaḥ iti shashṭham sūktam* (sc. *pañkame·nuvâke*) *asya râtrikalpe kushṭhapradâne viniyoḡaḥ pûrvasûktasamaya* (XIX, 38) *uktaḥ*.

The hymn has been translated by Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 198 ff.; cf. also Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Index, p. 457 b. For the nature of the *kushṭha*, see the introduction to V, 4.

<sup>1</sup> The quotation occurs neither in the *Pish/arâtryâḥ Kalpa* (*Ath. Paris.* 6), nor in the *Ârâtrika* (*Ath. Paris.* 7), but in the *Purohita-karma* (*Ath. Paris.* 4, 4), where it is quoted together with XIX, 38.

## Stanza 2.

**b, c.** The two Pâdas are translated in accordance with the text of the edition, which emends the MS. readings with great ingenuity, as follows : *naghamâro naghârishô nâ ghâyâm pûrusho rishat*. For the two syllables *naghâ* the MSS. everywhere present *nadyâ*; so also Shankar Pandurang Pandit's MSS. of the text with Sâyana's commentary, and the Padapâtĥa (*nadya*). The Devanâgarî MSS. confuse badly, in the case of doubtful words, the characters for *dya* and *gha*; see, e.g. the writings *vamdyā* for *vamgha*, Kaus. 8, 14, and *apâdya* for *apâgha*, 36, 22; 42, 22; 82, 4. Thus far the emendation seems therefore well founded, an impression which is strengthened by Sâyana's abortive attempts to get sense out of *nadyâ* by correlating it with *nadî*, 'river,' and even worse. As regards *naghârishô* of the edition, Shankar Pandit's MSS. waver between *nadyârishô*, *nadyâyushô*, and *nadyâyûshô*, and the Padapâtĥa between *nadyâ-rishâĥ* and *nadyâ-âyushaĥ*; the element *âyusha* seems to be due to a secondary effort to contrast the word with *mâra* in the preceding, and thus strain sense out of it. The formation *naghârishâ* is guaranteed by AV. VIII, 2, 6; 7, 6, where it is also an epithet of a curative plant. By the side of *pûrusho rishat* the MSS. have also *pûrushorshat* and *pûrusho rishat* (Padapâtĥa : *pûrushaĥ rishat*, and *pûrushaĥ rishat*). These emendations may be regarded as a specimen of the best that can be done with the corrupt text of the nineteenth book.—'Three names hast thou,' i.e. *na-gha-mâra* ('forsooth-not-death'), and *na-ghâ-rishâ* ('forsooth-not-harm'), in addition to the ordinary name *kûshĥa*. This refers to varieties of the plant (cf. V, 4, 8), which, in the common manner of the Atharvan, justify opportunistic formations, coined with the freest fancy, and expressive of salient qualities.

## Stanza 3.

**a.** *givalâ*, 'vivida,' 'quickening,' or 'full-of-life,' is the honorific epithet of an independent plant (AV. VI, 59, 3; VIII, 2, 6; 7, 6), probably the *arundhatī* (see the introduc-

tion to IV, 12). The Atharvan has a way of formulating qualities as father, mother, brother, &c. of the object they are attributed to; see the note on V, 5, 1.

b. I have not followed the edition in emending *givantó*, the unanimous reading of the MSS., to *givaló*. A glance at VIII, 2, 6; 7, 6 shows *givalám* by the side of *givantīm*; and *givanta*, *givantī*, *givantikā* are sufficiently authenticated as names of remedial plants. The emendation seems entirely groundless. For another father of the plant, see V, 4, 9 b.

#### Stanza 4.

a. Cf. VIII, 5, 11; V, 4, 9 a, b, and also 1 b. The fulsome praise in the manner of kathenotheism. When another plant is employed the expressions are no less exorbitant; cf. e.g. VI, 15, 1.

#### Stanza 5.

a. The MSS. have *trīḥ sām̐bubhyo āngirebhyas*, or *āngireyebhyas*, for which the vulgate substitutes boldly, *trīr bhrīgubhyo āngirobhyas*. I have followed it, not without some misgivings, in translating *āngirobhyas*; the text, however, may possibly disguise some patronymic derivative of *āngiras*. *Sāyana* comments upon *āngireyebhyas*, with the words, *āngirasām apatyabhûtebhyaḥ sām̐bubhyaḥ*. But I could not go so far as to substitute *trīr bhrīgubhyo* for *trīḥ sām̐bubhyo*, the *lectio difficilior*, apparently for the reason merely that the *Bhrīgu* and *Āngiras* are frequently mentioned together. *Sāmbu* and especially its patronymic *Sāmbavya* are well authenticated, the latter being a school-name of a *sautra-sākhā*. The *Sāmbavya-grīhyasûtra* is a version closely related to the *Sāṅkhāyana-grīhyasûtra*; cf. *Indische Studien*, XV, 4 and 154.

e. *sākām sōmena tishṭhati* (cf. V, 4, 7 b): both *sōma* and *kūshṭha* are mountain-plants; the former has the epithet *girishṭhā*, 'dwelling upon the mountain,' RV. IX, 18, 1, &c., and the mountains are called *sōmaprīshṭha*, 'having soma upon their backs,' AV. III, 21, 10. For *kūshṭha* as a mountain-plant, see V, 4, 1; VI, 95, 3.

**Stanza 6.**

The same stanza at V, 4, 3; VI, 95, 1, with the variant fourth Pâda, *devāḥ kūśhīkam avanvata*; see the notes at V, 4, 3. In Shankar Pandit's edition with Sâyana's commentary the last four Pâdas of the preceding stanza are here added at the end, as a refrain.

**Stanza 7.**

The same stanza at V, 4, 4; VI, 95, 2, with *pūshpam* (*pūshyam*) for *kākshamam* in Pâda 3, and *devāḥ kūśhīkam avanvata* in Pâda 4; see the notes at V, 4, 4. In Mr. Pandit's edition the same refrain as in the preceding stanza.

**Stanza 8.**

**a, b.** It seems difficult to abstain from comparing with this passage certain features of the well-known legend of Manu and the flood. In the Sat. Br. I, 8, 1, 6 the northern mountain upon which Manu's ship settled is styled 'Manu's descent,' *manor-avasarpamam*, and in the version of the flood-legend in the Mahābhārata I, 12795 (cf. also the Matsyopākhyâna 49) it is called *nau-bandhana*. If the vulgate is correct in its restoration of the word *īkshvāko* to *īkshvākor* in the next stanza (9), 'the ancestor of *īkshvāku*,' i. e. Manu, may be imagined as landing with his ship upon the mountain, and finding the remedy. The Rig-veda, II, 33, 13, speaks of pure, most wholesome, and strengthening remedies which 'Father Manu' chose, and it seems altogether likely that the two independent legends should blend here in the mind of the poet, and that he should have in mind when speaking of the descent of his golden heavenly ship upon the Himālaya the very spot where Manu descended. Nevertheless it may be fairly questioned whether *nāvaprabhrāmsana* here is a proper name, and does not mean simply, 'where the (heavenly) ship descended.' The character of the word as a compound is not at all secure. The majority of the MSS. of the *Samhitā* read *nāvaprabhrāmsanam* with two accents, and one of Shankar Pandit's MSS. has *nāvaḥ prabhrāmsanam*. The MSS. of

the Padapāṭha are divided between ná ava·prabhrámsanam and ná áva pra·bhrámsanam. At any rate the ship which brings down the kúshṭha (Soma, the moon?), and Manu's ship, may have nothing to do with one another except their mutual suggestion. Páda a seems to have stood originally, yátra nāvāḥ prabhrámsanam. See Weber in Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung, IV, 288; Grohmann, Indische Studien, IX, 423; Zimmer, l. c., p. 30; Eggeling, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xii, p. 218, note.

### Stanza 9.

a. We have not translated the text of the vulgate, yám tvā véda pūrva íkshvākor, a by no means certain restoration, since the MSS. of the Samhitā have íkshvāko (ishvāko), and those of the Padapāṭha íkshvākaḥ (ishvākaḥ). Sāyana comments upon the nominative, purātana íkshvākū rāgā, and that presupposes a more natural reading, yám tvā véda pūrva íkshvākur, the one adopted for our version. Although this handles the text more severely, I could not get myself to feel certain that pūrva íkshvākoḥ could mean 'the ancestor of Ikshvāku,' as useful as this result is for the current interpretation of the preceding stanza <sup>1</sup>.

b. The text is doubtful, the MSS. read kushṭha kāmyaḥ (kāmyaḥ). Accordingly Sāyana takes kushṭha as vocative and translates kāmyaḥ as a patronymic, 'the son of Kāma.' I could not follow him, but the treatment of the words in the vulgate as a compound, kushṭhakāmyaḥ, 'women fond of kushṭha,' is also doubtful. Perhaps the use of the plants in unguents (AV. VI, 102, 3) is in the mind of the poet. Professor Whitney in the Index Verborum assumes a nominative singular masculine kushṭhakāmyaś. Ludwig, 'der den kushṭha liebt (besser, der sohn derer, die den kushṭha liebt).'

c. The text as translated is, yám vāyasó yám mātśyās.

<sup>1</sup> Ludwig in the same sense suggests putrá íkshvākor, 'the son of Ikshvāku.' But why should this lectio facillima have been completely lost?

The MSS. have *yám vá váso* (or *váso*) *yám átsyas*. *Sâyana*, moreover, comments upon *yamásyah*, as follows : *yamasya ásyam iva ásyam yasya sa tâdriso* (*vasah*) *etannâmâ devo veda*. *Mâtsya* is the name of a royal sacrificer in *Sat. Br. XIII*, 5, 4, 9, and of a *Rîshi* skilled in special practices in *Tait. Br. I*, 5, 2, 1 ; and *Vâyasa*, though not quotable as a proper name, might yet be such a one. But *vâyasâ* ordinarily means 'large bird,' and *mâtsyâ* suggests *mâtsya*, 'fish.' I see nothing good to be done with this suggestion. The translation of the *Pâda* is altogether problematic.

#### Stanza 10.

a. The vulgate emends *sîrshalokám* to *sîrshasokám*, 'that burns the head' (inadvertently omitted in the text). To be convinced, we need but watch *Sâyana*'s contortions, when once he is misguided by the traditional text. He refers *sîrshalokám* to the *kúshtha*-plant instead of the *takmán* : 'your head (O *kushtha*) is in the third heaven.' But every epithet in *Pâdas a, b* refers to the *takmán*, as may be seen by comparing *V*, 22, 13 ; see the note to the passage.

b. For *sadamdí*, see the note on *V*, 22, 13 b. *hâyanâ* either sums up the varieties of the *takmán* which are described in *V*, 22, 13 as *sâradâ*, *grâishma*. and *vârshika*, and would then have to be translated 'occurring through the year ;' or it means simply 'yearly,' i. e. occurring (at a given time) every year ; cf. *visvâsârada* at *IX*, 8, 6 ; *XIX*, 34, 10. Involuntarily one thinks, too, of *Zend zayana*, 'winter' (*Yasna* 64, 20, *Yasht* 13, 8), and asks whether Vedic *hâyanâ* does not primarily mean 'winter' and 'wintery ;' afterwards poetically 'year' and 'yearly.' Then *hâyanâ* here might be added as a fourth variety of the *takmán* to the *sâradâ*, *grâishma*, and *vârshika*. Scarcely probable.

c. For *visvadhâvîrya*, see *V*, 22, 3.

#### XIX, 53. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 224.

This and the following hymn, being theosophic and cosmogonic in character, play no part in the practices of the *Atharvan*, except that they are recited (under the

designation *kâlasûkta*) along with the *kâmasûkta* (AV. IX, 2), and the *purushasûkta* (AV. XIX, 6=RV. X, 90) in the tenth Atharva-parisishṭa, the *Bhûmidâna*. *Sâyana* has the following statement in his introduction to this and the following hymn : ‘*kâlo asvo vahati*’ iti sûktadvayasya sauvarnabhûmidâne âgyahome viniyogaḥ, uktam hi parisishṭe, anvârabhyâ\*tha guhuyât *kâmasûktam* *kâlasûktam* *purushasûktam* (Ath. Paris. 10, 1).

The hymn has been treated many times: Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V, 407; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 191; Monier Williams, *Indian Wisdom*<sup>3</sup>, p. 25; Lucian Scher- man, *Philosophische Hymnen aus der Rig- und Atharva-Veda-Sanhitâ* (Strassburg, 1887), p. 78 ff.; Grill<sup>2</sup>, pp. 73, 193 ff.; cf. also Hillebrandt’s *Vedachrestomathie*, p. 41. The *Anukramanî* ascribes the authorship of the hymn to *Bhrîgu*, and defines stanzas 6–10 as, mantroktasarvâtmakakâladevatyâ anushṭubha iti.

#### Stanza 1.

a. *Sâyana* imagines the seven rays as being tied to the mouth, neck, and feet of the steed, and explains them as being the six seasons, each of two months, the thirteenth (lunar) month of the intercalary year being the seventh<sup>1</sup>. This is the same explanation as is offered by *Sâyana* at RV. I, 164, 2 for *sâpta yuṅganti*, and *Sâyana* to our passage offers further in support of his interpretation RV. I, 164, 15, where the thirteenth month is probably described; see Haug, *Vedische Räthselfragen und Räthselfprüche*, p. 23 (*Proceedings of the Bavarian Academy*, 1876). *Sâyana* here, as well as at RV. I, 164, 2, suggests the seven rays of the sun (cf. AV. VII, 107; X, 8, 9; XIII, 3, 10) as an alternate explanation, relying upon *Yâska*’s *Nirukta* IV, 27. The occidental interpretations of this expression—

<sup>1</sup> For the thirteenth month, see Sat. Br. II, 2, 3, 27, and Professor Eggeling’s note on his translation, *Sacred Books*, vol. xii, p. 321, note 6. Also, especially, Professor Weber’s learned note in ‘*Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Nakshatra*,’ II, p. 336, note.

none of them satisfactory—are enumerated by Scherman, pp. 78, 81, and Grill, p. 193. I am inclined to believe in the kinship of our passage with RV. I, 164, 2, and also in a semi-lucid blending of the attributes of time with those of the sun. Cf. AV. XIII, 2, 39, where Rohita, a form of the sun, is identified with time; see Henry, *Les Hymnes Rohitas*, pp. 13, 44, and *Contributions*, Fourth Series, Amer. Journ. Phil. XII, p. 430. The Maitri-Upanishad states distinctly that the sun is the source of time, *sūryo yoniḥ kâlasya* (VI, 14).

b. *sahasrākshá* is an attribute of a great variety of divinities, and it does not, therefore, contribute to the definition of the passage, see the note on IV, 20, 4; *Sâyana*, *sahasrakiraṇopetaḥ*, i.e. the sun. *agára* and *bhūriretaḥ* are attributes of the two Ushas at AV. VIII, 9, 12. The latter, in the RV., only of heaven and earth; the former, again, of an almost complete assortment of divinities. One must not be too insistent with a later Atharvan production, the poet makes draughts upon the entire stock of mythic and cosmogonic ideas; the poetic past is his *kāmadhuk*; he cares not for nicety of distinction.

c. *Sâyana*: 'The *Rishis* mount (i. e. control) time,' *svādhīnam kurvanti*, *svādhīnakâlā bhavanti*.

### Stanza 2.

a. The MSS. have *kakrān* which Roth and Whitney emend to *kakrá*; Shankar Pandit adheres to the MS. reading. *Sâyana* comments upon *kakrá+nu vahati* (*sapta rītūn anu anukramena . . . dhārayati*). The seven wheels occur again at RV. I, 164, 3. 12, where *Sâyana* refers them to the seven modes of subdividing the year. But the scholiast to the present passage, again, as in st. 1, has in mind the seven seasons (*sapta rītūn*), i. e., the six seasons and the intercalary month. A wagon with seven wheels occurs also at RV. II, 40, 3, where it is employed by Soma and *Pūshan* to carry the gods. Cf. also the *Bṛihaddevatā*, IV, 32.

b. *Sâyana* comments upon *amṛitam tanv akshah*, to wit :



asya akshaḥ tanu samtatam sūkshmam amṛitam amarana-dharmakam avinasvaram tattvam.

c. The MSS. have *amgát*, *amgat* (enclitic), and *anyát*. Shankar Pandit relying upon Sáyana adopts *aṅgat*, which the latter renders by *aṅgan . . . vyaktikurvan*. I do not see how we can well escape Roth and Whitney's emendation to *arvān* in the light of *pratyān* in the next stanza, and in that case it seems desirable to supply *vahati*, 'carries,' from Páda a. But we may render also, 'he turns towards all these beings.' Muir, 'he is at present all these worlds;' Grill, 'er fährt herbei mit jenen wesen allen;' Ludwig, 'er (fährt) herwärts alle diese welten;' Scherman, 'er (fährt) herwärts kommend alle diese wesen.'

d. All translators, except Scherman, render *iyate* as a verb of motion (Sáyana, *in gatau*)<sup>1</sup>; Scherman, 'Kála wird als der erste gott angefleht.' Cf. Tait. Br. III, 12, 9, 1, *rigbhiḥ pūrvāhne divi deva iyate* (schol. *gakkhati*), *yagurvede tishṭhati madhye ahnaḥ, sāmavedenā-stamaye mahiyate*. Read *seyate* with crasis.

### Stanza 3.

a. Ludwig explains the full jar as the sun: Sáyana, better, as the year with its days and nights, months and seasons. The Páda is an irregular *gagati* (read *pūrnáḥ* as three syllables).

b. The MSS. of the vulgate, *sántaḥ*, which is emended to *sántam*. Shankar Pandit gives *santáḥ* (accent!) as the reading of both *Samhitā* and *Padapāṭha*; Sáyana translates it by 'good men,' *satpurushāḥ*. The emendation can be avoided: 'him we see being in many places'

c. Ludwig, 'er (führt) hinweg alle diese welten;' Scherman, 'er (Kála) [fährt] zurückgewandt alle diese Wesen.' The Páda is antithetical to st. 2 c, and indicates decay and death as over against life and growth. Cf. Mait. Up. VI, 14 (end), 'From Time all beings flow, from Time they grow, and into Time they set.' Possibly we may render, 'he turns away from all these beings.'

<sup>1</sup> So also Ludwig here, but in the almost identical passage, XIX, 54, 6, 'wird angefleht.' It seems impossible to decide.

## Stanza 4.

a, b. In both Pâdas the caesura is after *evá*, the passage before the caesura being defective; the first Pâda is a *gagatî*. Grill, p. 195, by way of amending the metre, goes far in the direction of composing the Pâdas anew. Ludwig reads *sán* for *sám* in both Pâdas, and his suggestion is supported by one of Shankar Pandit's MSS. of the *Pada-pâtha*. He translates: 'er allein ist, und als solcher hat er die welten gebracht, er allein ist, und als solcher kam er um alle welten herum.'

c. The caesura again after the first three syllables.

## Stanza 5.

The metre is irregular, especially in the first Pâda: the *Anukramanî, nivṛit (nikṛit) purastâdbṛhatî*. Read *prithvîr* in Pâda b, and possibly *dívâganayat* in Pâda a.

b. The 'three earths' are meant; see IV, 20, 2, and our note on the same. *Sâyana*, *sarvaprânyâdhârabhûtâh prithivîh*; he also quotes RV. I, 108, 9.

c. The MSS., both *Samhitâ* and *Padapâtha*, *kâlê ha*. I follow Roth and Whitney in reading *kâlena*.

d. The MSS. unanimously, *havis tishthate*, which is emended by the same editors to *ha ví tishthate*. In this they were forestalled by *Sâyana*, *vi tishthate viseshena âsritam vartate*. Grill, 'auf grund des Kâla steht es fest,' a translation that seems less probable than ours.

## Stanza 6.

a. The MSS. have *bhûtim* which Roth and Whitney have changed to *bhûmim*. *Sâyana* also comments upon *bhûtim*, but he approaches closely to the value of *bhûmim*, *bhavanavag gagat*. We with the vulgate.

## Stanza 7.

In Tait. Âr. IX, 3-6=Tait. Up. III, 3 ff. the fundamental principles *prâna*, *manas*, *vigñâna* (similar to *nâma* in this stanza), and *ânanda* are described; cf. especially the expression, *ânandâd dhy eva khalv imâni bhûtâni*

*gâyante* with the second half of our stanza. See also AV. XI, 4, 4 ff., and Scherman, l. c., p. 71. For the position of *nâma* in philosophical cosmogony, cf. also Tait. Âr. III, 12, 7.

#### Stanza 8.

For discussions of *tâpas* and *brâhma*, see Scherman, l. c., p. 2 (note on RV. X, 129, 3), and Grill, p. 196, both containing references to previous efforts in behalf of these words. *Sâyana* well translates *tâpas* by, *gagatsargana-vishayam paryâlokanam*. In explanation of *gyéshtha* he has, *hiranyagarbhâkhyam tattvam*. His translation for *brahma* is mechanical: *sângo vedaḥ*, 'the Veda and its Ângas.' For *Pâda d*, cf. our notion of 'Father Time.'

#### Stanza 9.

d. *Parameshthin* is one of the numerous designations of the supreme being, almost monotheistic in character, which serves to form a transition stage from the earlier polytheism to the pantheism of the Upanishads. Essentially the same idea is incorporated above in the term *gyéshtha*, which *Sâyana* fitly explains as *hiranyagarbha*, 'golden embryo,' another embodiment of the same idea. Similarly *visvakarman*, 'fabricator of the universe,' *svayambhû*, 'self-existing;' cf. the next stanza, and AV. X, 7, 17.

#### Stanza 10.

d. *Kasyapa* is a divine being identical or parallel with *Pragâpati*. This style of literature is likely ever to have in mind the pun of the Tait. Âr. I, 8, 8, *kasyapaḥ paryako bhavati*, 'Kasyapa is a seer,' and this leads to the suspicion that the name is merely a personification of the sun; cf. our note on AV. IV, 20, 7. The epithet 'self-existing' must not be taken too literally: *svayambhū* is one of the many names of the supreme being (see the preceding note), and as such is mentioned along with the others. Muir, l. c., p. 408, note, suggests in the light of this passage the unlikely theory that, 'this word must therefore be regarded as not necessarily meaning anything more than one who

comes into existence in an extraordinary and supernatural manner.'

### XIX, 54. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 225.

The hymn has been rendered by Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, V, 408; Ludwig, Der Rigveda, III, 191; Scherman, Philosophische Hymnen, pp. 80, 82. Cf. also the introduction to XIX, 53.

#### Stanza 1.

See the *Kaṭha-Upanishad* IV, 9: 'Both whence the sun rises, and where he sets—on him all the gods are placed; no one whatsoever goes beyond that. This truly is that.' Cf. also AV. X, 8, 16; Sat. Br. XIV, 4, 3, 34 = *Br̥h. Ār. Up.* I, 5, 23; and Tait. *Ār.* VIII, 8.

#### Stanza 2.

The MS. tradition reports this stanza as consisting of three (gāyatrī) Pādas. But a better division of the remainder of the hymn results if we add two Pādas of the third stanza (making a pañkti), fuse the remaining two Pādas of stanza 3 with the first two of stanza 4, and the remaining two of stanza 4 with the first two of stanza 5. This leaves the last two (trishūbh) Pādas of stanza 5 to make up one (our fifth) stanza, along with the two (trishūbh) Pādas printed in Roth and Whitney's edition as the sixth stanza<sup>1</sup>—an arrangement in form and sense manifestly superior to the traditional one. Sāyana makes this arrangement and deserves credit for it.

d, e (= 3 a, b in the MSS.). The MSS. have *kāló ha bhūtám bhávyam ka putró aganayat púrah* (one of Shankar Pandit's Pada-MSS. *púrá*). Roth and Whitney emend, *kálé ha bhūtám bhávyam ka mántro aganayat purá*. We adopt this text with the exception of *mántro*, for which we have retained the original *putró*. Sāyana reads and

<sup>1</sup> Not so in Shankar Pandit's MSS. of the text, where the arrangement is that of the vulgata, except that the last two trishūbh Pādas are added to stanza 5, making it to consist of six Pādas.

comments, *kálenai·va pitrá prerakena putrah pragâpati/*  
*bhûtam, &c.*

### Stanza 3.

Made up of st. 3 c, d and 4 a, b in the MSS. With it cf. Tait. Br. III, 12, 9, 1 and AV. XIX, 6, 13=RV. X, 90, 9=Vâg. S. XXXI, 7=Tait. Âr. III, 12, 4.

c (=4 a in the MSS.). The MSS. read *kâló yagñám sám airayan*; one MS. of the Padapâtha corrects *airayan* to *airayat*, as also Sâyana, who reads and comments, *sam-airayat udapâdayat*. Shankar Pandit adopts this reading, and it is at the base of our translation. Roth and Whitney, on the other hand, restore *kâlé yagñám sám airayan*, which is the text translated by all our predecessors.

### Stanza 4.

Made up of 4 c, d and 5 a, b of the MSS.

c (=5 a of the MSS.). Sâyana reads *devó* for *divó*, which leaves *kâlé* to depend upon *ádhi tish/ata/*, to wit: *aṅgirâ nâma deva/ . . . so·yam atharvâ atharvavedasrash/â devas ka kâle svaganake adhi tish/ati*. Shankar Pandit adopts Sâyana's text.

### Stanza 5.

Made up of 5 c, d and 6 of the vulgata.

b. *vidhrīti/* is translated by Sâyana futilely, *lokadhârakân*. Muir's 'ordinances' is untenable in the light of the remaining occurrences of the word (cf. Pet. Lex.); Ludwig, 'die reinen vidhrīti (zwischenräume, weltgegenden).' Scherman cites *Khând. Up. VIII, 4, 1* and AV. IV, 35, 1 in support of the rendering 'zwischenräume.' Perhaps 'boundary-line' comes nearest to the sense of the original.

d. For *iyate*, cf. the note on XIX, 54, 2 d.

## XX, 127. COMMENTARY TO PAGE 197.

The Vedic hymns furnish the germs of a not inconsiderable part of the themes of the later epic narratives, notably in the Mahâbhârata and the Purânas. Especially the *dânastutis*, 'gift-praises,' either independent hymns, or

stanzas at the end of hymns, lauding the generosity of kings or sacrificers to the officiating Brahmans, appear as preliminary stages in the development of epic narratives in praise of warlike kings and heroes. Closely allied with these are the so-called *gâthâ nârâsamsyah*<sup>1</sup>, 'stanzas which sing the praises of men,' slokas which occur in the Brâhmaṇa-texts, dealing with this theme in exorbitant terms. The Brahmanical authorities agree in assigning the so-called *kuntâpa*-hymns, XX, 127-136, to this kind of literature, and the opening stanza of XX, 127 leaves no room for doubting their correctness. The Ait. Br. VI. 32 ff.<sup>2</sup> works up the material of the *kuntâpa*-hymns at the *sattras*, the 'soma-sessions,' or prolonged soma-sacrifices, at which seventeen priests perform their functions. See Roth, *Über den Atharva-veda* (Tübingen, 1856), p. 6 ff.; Max Müller, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 493; Haug's translation of the Ait. Br., p. 430 ff., and Weber, *Episches im vedischen Ritual*, *Proceedings of the Royal Prussian Academy*, July 23, 1891, XXXVIII, p. 770 ff. (p. 4 ff. of the reprint).

AV. XX, 127 consists of four pieces, dealing with different themes; the ritual employs each of them distinctively under the names *nârâsamsî*, *raibhî*, *pârikshitî*, and *kâravyâ*. Two of these names, *nârâsamsî* and *raibhî*, occur as early as RV. X, 85, 6; Tait. S. VII, 5, 11, 2. Quite a number of the stanzas of *kuntâpa*-hymns are quoted in the Brâhmaṇas, exhibiting essentially the same textual corruption as the Atharvan version. The Sâṅkh. Sr. XII, 14 ff. exhibits them in full: AV. XX, 127 = Sâṅkh. Sr. XII, 14-17.

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes *gâthâh* (*indragâthâh*) and *nârâsamsyah* are differentiated, being mentioned separately, Tait. S. VII, 5, 11, 2; Kaush. Br. XXX, 5; Ait. Br. VI, 32, 3. 25; Sat. Br. XI, 5, 6, 8; Âsv. Gr̥h. III, 3, 1 ff.; Yâgñav. I, 45. The *Bṛhaddevatâ*, III, 154, states explicitly that the *nârâsamsî*-verses are of the nature of *dânastutis*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Kaush. Br. XXX, 5; Sâṅkh. Sr. XII, 14; Âsv. Sr. VIII, 3, 7 ff.; Vait. Sû. 32, 19 ff.; Gop. Br. II, 6, 12 ff.

## A.

The first three stanzas, known in the ritual (Ait. Br. VI, 32, 4 ff.; Kaush. Br. XXX, 5; Gop. Br. II, 6, 12) as the *nârâsamsyah* (sc. *rikah*), contain a *dânastuti*. Their application, especially in the Ait. Br., contributes nothing to their elucidation. At Tait. S. VII, 5, 11, 2 the commentator defines them as *manushyavishayâkhyânaparâ rikah*, 'stanzas devoted to the narration of human affairs.' But *nârâsamsâ* can scarcely fail to allude in some manner to *nârâsâmsa* (Agni); cf. the next two parts.

## Stanza 1.

The *Rusamas* are praised as liberal bestowers of *dakshinâ* in RV. V, 30, 12-15; cf. also RV. VIII, 3, 12; 4, 2. See Zimmer, p. 129. The stanza is quoted Âsv. Sr. VIII, 3, 10; Sâñkh. Sr. XII, 14, 1.

## Stanza 2.

Cf. Sâñkh. Sr. XII, 14, 2; RV. VIII, 5, 37; 6, 48; 46, 22; and Pischel, Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. XXXV, 712. The second hemistich is textually corrupt and obscure. The sense seems to be that the chariot presented by *Kaurama* as part of the *dakshinâ* is so high that it seems to just dodge the heavens which in their turn flee from its contact. I read *îshamânâ(h)* with the Pet. Lex., and Whitney in the Index. The MSS. have *îshâmânâ(h)*; the edition *îshamâna(h)*. The word *upasprîsah* I have taken as an ablative from the abstract *upasprîs*, 'touch, contact.' The Pet. Lex. takes it as an adjective, 'the touching heavens as they recede.' The text of Sâñkh. Sr. XII, 14, 2 has *gihilate* for *gihishate*.

## B.

The next three stanzas are known in the ritual as *raibhyah* (sc. *rikah*); see Ait. Br. VI, 32, 7 ff.; Kaush. Br. XXX, 5; Gop. Br. II, 6, 12. At Tait. S. VII, 5, 11, 2 the commentator explains them as referring to *Rebha* (Agni), *rebhaḥ sabdakrid agniḥ tadvishayâ rikah*; Sâyana at Ait.

Br.—where, as well as at Gop. Br., the treatment of them suggests nothing—defines them more vaguely as rebhasa-bdopetâ *rikah*. Agni is unquestionably spoken of as rebhá, e. g. RV. I, 127, 10; VI, 3, 6; II, 3; it is therefore not easy to decide whether he, the divine chanter, is addressed here, or whether the poet, the human chanter, is urged to perform his function. I incline to the former view, having in mind especially the parallelism of st. 4 with RV. III, 6, 2. The text is very corrupt.

#### Stanza 4.

Cf. Sâṅkh. Sr. XII, 15, 1, and RV. III, 6, 2, *divás kīd agne mahinā prithivyā vakyāntām te vāhnayah saptāghvāh*, 'by the greatness (Ludwig, 307, along the greatness) of heaven and earth may thy seven-tongued flames disport themselves, O Agni!' For *kshuró bhurīgōr*, cf. the interesting *kshuro bhrigvān*, Tait. S. IV, 3, 12, 3 (*bhrigvān* for *bhurigvān*, not in the lexicons), and Pischel in *Vedische Studien*, I, 240, 243.

#### Stanza 5.

Cf. Sâṅkh. Sr. XII, 14, 4. I have translated rebhāso of the MSS.; the edition has the vocative rebhāso. The text of the second hemistich is very corrupt; its emended form in the edition is at the base of our rendering.

#### Stanza 6.

Cf. Sâṅkh. Sr. XII, 14, 5, with important variants.

#### C.

The next four stanzas are known in the ritual as the *pārikshityah* (sc. *rikah*); see Sâṅkh. Sr. XII, 17; Ait. Br. VI, 32, 10 ff.; Kaush. Br. XXX, 5; Gop. Br. II, 6, 12. The Ait. Br. and Gop. Br. advance as one of two expositions the theory that Agni is *parikshīt*, 'since he lives about among the people, and the people live around him.' The text itself admits of no doubt: Agni Vaisvānara, the typical god of Brahmanical piety (Sat. Br. I, 4, 1, 10–18), is a kindly ruler among men, and his presence secures the



prosperity of the golden age. In the later legends Parikshit is propagated variously as a terrestrial king.

#### Stanza 7.

Cf. Sāṅkh. Sr. XII, 17, 1. In Pāda d we have translated *śrinotā* of the edition; the MSS. read *śsunótā* (cf. the Prākṛit root *su*, 'hear').

#### Stanza 10.

The first hemistich is problematic, the comparison of the overflow of the grain with the bursting forth of the light is bold, nay bizarre. The MSS. do not read *svāh*, as does the edition with Sāṅkh. Sr. XII, 17, 4. Perhaps *svāh* is to be read instead of *svāh* (cf. Bloomfield and Spieker in the Proc. Amer. Or. Soc., May, 1886; Journ., vol. xiii, p. cxvii ff.): 'On the morrow the ripe barley bursts forth from the opening of the ground,' i. e. grain planted to-day ripens on the morrow. The second hemistich occurs in a different connection at Vait. Sū. 34, 9; here also the MSS. read *edhati* for *edhate*, as emended in the edition.

#### D.

The last four stanzas are designated in the ritual as *kāravṛāh* (sc. *rikah*), 'referring, or pertaining to the poet;' see Sāṅkh. Sr. XII, 15, 2-4; Ait. Br. VI, 30, 16 ff.; Kaush. Br. XXX, 5; Gop. Br. II, 6, 12. The expositions contain nothing but a worthless pun with derivatives of the root *kar*, 'make.' The general sense of the stanzas is clear. Stanza 12 occurs with variants at Hir. Gr̥h. I, 22, 9; Pār. Gr̥h. I, 8, 10; Gobh. Gr̥h. II, 4, 6 (*pratika*); SV. Mantra-br. I, 3, 13.

#### Stanza 14.

d. For the skilfully emended *kāno dadhishva*, cf. Geldner, Studien zum Avesta, p. 58 ff.; Roth, Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. XLVIII, 110.

# I. INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

- Abhayagana, a list of hymns that secure immunity from danger, pages 398, 486, 542, 571, 576, 663.
- abortion, and abortionist, 165, 521, 524, 527.
- adaptation of mantras, lxiii, 297, 365, 372, 380, 484, 525 n, 541, 548-9, 563, 665.
- adhvaryu-priest, 184, 243; cf. *ritvig*.
- Aditi, 50-1, 97, 166, 179, 181, 183, 186, 206, 212, 502, 610, 613, 629, 647.
- Âditya, 126-7, 192, 499, 661 n.
- Âdityas (plural), 6, 12, 55, 57, 89, 116, 119, 135, 161, 163, 191, 230, 443-4.
- adrishṭa, and drishṭa, designations of worms, 315, 351.
- Aga Ekapâd, and Ekapâda, 208, 625, 664.
- Agastya, a sage, 23-4, 33.
- Agni, 1, 3, 12, 14, 18, 24, 32, 35-6, 40, 42-3, 47-9, 50, 52-3, 55-6, 58, 60, 64-5, 75, 77-81, 85, 90, 94, 104-5, 109-10, 112-3, 116-7, 120-2, 126, 128, 134-5, 139, 141, 146-9, 151, 154, 160, 163-6, 170, 173, 175, 179-80, 182, 184-5, 188, 190, 192, 194-5, 201, 205, 208-11, 221-2, 226, 231, 241, 249, 254, 270-2, 308-9, 323, 325-6, 328, 342, 353, 359, 365, 373, 402, 408, 422, 443, 447, 449, 454, 475, 478, 485, 498, 501, 518, 525, 528, 533, 545 n, 552, 554, 580, 592, 600, 612 n, 620, 622, 627, 641, 645, 661, 664, 690, 691; Agnis, two, 216; cf. Gârhapatya, Gâtavedas, and Vairvânara.
- agnihotra-sacrifice, 84, 122, 145, 227.
- agnishṭoma-sacrifice, 189, 226, 458, 589.
- âgrahâyani-ceremony, 365, 551, 639.
- Âkûti, a goddess, 104, 535.
- algandu, designation of worms, 22, 314-5.
- âligî, designation of a serpent, 28; cf. viligî.
- alikhava, designation of birds of prey, 124, 155.
- All gods (*visve devâḥ*), 6, 33, 39, 103, 105, 113, 116, 119, 184.
- alliteration, 273, 345, 388, 576, 642, 646, 663; cf. puns, and double meaning.
- amholingagana, designation of certain lists of mantras, 321, 509, 600, 628.
- amrita (ambrosia), 4, 6, 10, 26, 43, 53, 86, 135, 141, 147, 162, 185, 190, 229.
- Amsa, a divinity, 160.
- amulet of the antelope's skin and horn, 336; of aralu, 339; of the arvathṭha-tree, 334; of barley, 285, 507, 541, 546; of a bracelet, 96; of darbha-grass, 480; defensive, 394, 576; of the hairs of a Brahman, 477; of the gaṅgida-tree, 281, 669; of gold, 63, 668; of herbs, 42; of karîra-grass, 452; of khadira-wood in the shape of a ploughshare, 84 ff., 608; of krishṇala-berries, 239; of licorice, 275, 276; of a lute-string, 561; to cause micturation, 236; of mud, 287; of mud sewn up in the skin of a newly-slain animal, 553; of

- muṅga-grass, 234; of the parṇa-tree, 114, 332; of the pārā-plant, 305; of pearl, 62, 383; of the pūtudru-tree, 573; of the sadampushpā-plant, 339; of salve, 381; of the skin of a bull pierced by a peg (?) 263; of the sraktya-tree, 79, 575; of a spear, 506; of tārka, 476; of ten kinds of holy wood, 34, 291 ff., 477, 578; of a thread that is red, 67; of the varṇa-tree, 81, 402, 505, 605.
- Andhaka (Ardhaka), 155, 619.
- Āngas, a people, 2, 446, 449.
- anger, charms against, 136 ff., 479 ff.
- Āṅgiras and Āṅgirasā, mythic personages, xxx ff., 38, 43, 73, 80, 86, 89, 119, 127-8, 161, 163, 171, 191, 225, 280, 433, 484, 576, 673, 678; special meaning in contrast with Atharvan and Ātharvaṇa, xviii ff., xxi ff., xxiii ff., xxxi, 219, 576, 580, 603, 624.
- Āṅgirasab, designation of the Atharva-veda, xviii, xxxi; cf. Atharvāṅgirasab, Bhrigvāṅgirasab.
- annaprāṇa, ceremony at the first feeding of a child, 575.
- antelope, buck, 32; horn of, 15, 336; skin of, 132, 215, 336, 439.
- ants (and earth from an ant-hill, cure poison), 27, 234, 287, 511, 552 ff.; produce water ('piss-ant'), 9, 278; devour scorpions, 30.
- Anumati, a female divinity, 98, 104, 109, 143, 173, 304, 461, 535.
- Apām napāt, a divinity, 589.
- aphrodisiaca, 370.
- Āprī-hymns, 228.
- Apsaras and Apsarā, 32, 80, 104, 119, 125-6, 149, 160, 202, 205, 225, 229, 324, 370, 408 ff., 414, 425, 518, 520-1, 534-6; names of, 33, 409 ff., 534.
- Āptyas, three water-divinities, 521 ff.
- Āpvā, divinity of evacuation from fright, 122, 325-7, 601; cf. Sakambhara.
- Araru, a divinity, 167, 485.
- Arāti, demon of avarice and grudge, 15, 57, 82, 109, 172 ff., 187, 261, 423.
- Arāya and Arāyī, male and female demons, 66, 69, 70, 162, 205.
- Arbudi, name of a battle-divinity, 123 ff., 631 ff.; cf. Nyarbudi.
- Ardhaka (Andhaka), 155, 619.
- arka and arka-songs, 112, 226.
- arrow, of love, 102, 358; parts of, 432; poisoned, as a homoeopathic cure for poison; 'white-footed, four-footed,' 127, 129; -wounds, charm against, 120.
- arteries, 11, 22, 259.
- Ārya, 68, 72, 402.
- Aryaman, 20, 94-5, 99, 109, 143, 160, 243, 323, 333, 491.
- Āśā and Āśāpati, divinities, 486.
- Asita, a sage, 31, 107, 255.
- assembly and assembly-hall, 136, 138, 191-2, 206; charm to obtain influence in, 134 ff., 138, 543; spell in, 76.
- assignation, charm at, 105, 371.
- astrologers and fortune-tellers, 1.
- Asura (sing.), 111, 241, 380 (Indra); Asurī (fem.), 16, 103 (Siren), 268 ff.; Asuras (plural), 9, 11, 21, 27, 62, 67, 71, 79, 80, 82-3, 85-6, 127-8, 137, 199, 215, 222-3, 268, 279, 341, 398, 500, 516, 572.
- Asvins, 48, 52, 85, 95, 100-1, 112-13, 142, 160, 200, 229 ff., 310, 312, 329, 389, 486, 503, 512, 581, 587-9.
- Atharvan and Ātharvaṇa, mythic sages, xxx ff., 148, 225, 588 n, 688; Atharvans (plural), 33, 86, 161; special meaning in contrast with Āṅgiras and Āṅgirasā xviii ff., xxiii ff., xxxi, 219, 603, 624; derivatives from the stem atharvan, xxiv; schools, relation of to one another, lxi; teachers, xlii, lviii.
- Atharvāṅgirasab, designation of the AV., xvii, xxx, xxxii, xlvii, 433; cf. Āṅgirasab, Bhrigvāṅgirasab.
- Atharva-veda, names of and their meanings, xvii; position of in Hindu literature, xxviii; in the RV., xxx ff.; in the Saunakīya-saṃhitā, xxxi ff.; in the ṛṛti in general, xxxiii; in the Tait. S., xxxvi; in the Sat. Br., xxxvi; in the Tait. Br., xxxvii; in the Upanishads, xl ff.; in the Grihya-

- sûtras, xliii ff.; in the law-books, xlv ff.; in the Mahâbh., li ff.; in classical literature in general, liv ff.; in Gâna and Baudhdha-texts, lvi; in its own ritual literature, lvii; relation of to the trayî vidyâ, xxxi, xxxv, lvi ff.; *śrauta*-practices in, lxx.
- Atri, a sage, 23-4, 294, 319.
- Atrin, devouring demon, 37, 62, 64-5.
- attractio similium, 241, 249, 270, 443, 468, 542, 561, 564; cf. homoeopathy.
- auksha, a salve, 276, 324, 410; cf. the next.
- Aukshagandhi, name of an Apsaras, 33, 324, 410.
- avarice against priests condemned, 423.
- Balhikas, a people, 2, 446, 449.
- bali-offerings, 367, 473, 491.
- balsam, 94.
- barber, 57.
- barley, 13, 40, 43, 57, 87, 110, 162, 204, 219, 232, 540; as an amulet, 285; with water as a universal remedy, 507.
- battle-charms (*sāmgrāmikāni*), xliii, xlv, 117 ff., 233, 262, 404, 510, 545, 582; addressed to Arbudi and Nyarbudi, 631 ff.; to Trishamdi, 637; -fire 325; -machines, 632-4.
- bdellium (*guggulu*), 94, 303, 322, 324, 409, 548; healing properties of, 40, 675; cf. *Guggulū*.
- beans, 110, 536 n; inflammatory, 534; 'bean-loves,' 534.
- beasts of prey, 155-7, 161.
- Bhaga, a god, 33, 53, 94-5, 101, 135, 140, 160, 173, 204, 312-13, 324, 495.
- Bharadvâga, a sage, 89, 295 ff., 319; -*pravrasa*, 'cleaver of Bharadvâga,' designation of a staff used in witchcraft, 295.
- Bharatasvâmin, a scholar, 340.
- Bhârati, a female divinity, 512.
- Bhava, a god, 56, 75, 118-9, 155 ff., 175, 402, 406, 585, 604, 618.
- Bheda, a royal sacrificer, 179.
- bheshagâni, designation of the auspicious parts of the Atharva-veda, xviii, xxi, xxxi ff., 628.
- Bhishag Âtharvana in contrast with Ghora Ângirasa, xxi.
- Bhrigu, a mythic personage, xxx ff., xxxii, xxxiv, 171, 433.
- Bhrigvângirasab, designation of the Atharva-veda, xxvi, 433, 616; cf. Ângirasab and Atharvângirasab.
- bhûsamskâra, a ceremony, 640.
- birds of prey, 124-9, 155, 157, 205; nests, fire made of, 458; ominous and defiling, 82, 166 ff., 186.
- Bishkalâ, 99, 245.
- 'biting rope' (serpent), 147, 368.
- 'black food,' 536.
- blood, charms against the flow of, 22, 45, 174, 234, 257, 385, 483, 531.
- blue and red (threads), magic colours, 69, 120, 348, 395, 564, 566-7, 583, 587.
- boar (finds plants), 43, 77, 137, 306.
- bodily characteristics, auspicious and evil, 109, 168, 260, 564.
- bracelet, as an amulet to secure conception, 96, 501-2.
- brahma, spiritual exaltation (neut.), 87, 199, 202, 208, 211, 215-7, 220, 224-6, 623, 627-30, 686.
- brahma-graha and brahma-râkshasa, designations of demons, 290-1.
- Brahmaârîin (Brahmanic disciple), deified and glorified, 214, 626.
- Brahman, the god, 94, 127, 592.
- Brâhmana, cosmic, 25.
- Brahmanaspati, a divinity: see *Brihaspati*.
- brâhmanoktam (ceremony), 569, 623.
- Brahman-priests, designated as gods, 529, 616, 652, 659; as thieves(?), 372; prayers in the interest of, 169 ff.; invective against oppressors of, 169 ff., 430 ff., 522; inviolableness of their cows, 169 ff., 430 ff.; as fourth priests in the Vedic sacrifices, lviii, lxii, lxv, lxviii.
- brahmaudana (Brahman's porridge), preparation of, 179 ff., 185 ff., 528, 610, 645 ff., 653.
- Brahma-veda, designation of the Atharva-veda, xxvii, xliii n, lix, lxii ff.
- brahmodya, Vedic charades, lx, lxiv, 398, 625, 644, 667-8.
- brandy (*surâ*), 84, 231, 362, 493, 534, 578, 591; cf. *liquor*.

breath of life, deified, 218 ff., 622 ff., 629; cf. *Prâṇa*.

bridal couple, love charms spoken by, 96, 546; cf. wedding.

*Bṛihaspati* (*Brahmanaspati*), a god, xxiii, 29, 32, 44, 47, 49, 50, 52, 63, 65, 79, 85 ff., 110, 119, 126-8, 135, 140, 143, 160, 163, 178, 193, 211, 213, 485, 541, 552, 554, 596, 610, 660.

*Bṛihasāman*, a Brahman, 171.

broom-straw (?), 26.

brotherless maidens, 22, 258.

bull's skin, 379 ff.

burial ground, practices at, 77, 431.

business, practices preparatory to, 148, 349 n, 352, 490, 532, 619.

Calamity, protection against, 158, 406; charm against, addressed to the Vedic pantheon, 160, 628; cf. misfortune.

calf: see cows.

calumny, charm against, 481.

castration, 406, 545.

cattle, charms for their prosperity, 142 ff., 303, 351, 412 ff., 490; charm to restore strayed, 150, 496; marking of, 174, 658; naming of, 317; sacrifice of, 226, 228; worms in, 317; cf. cows.

cave of animals, 322.

chariot, divine, 120; -builder, 144; cf. wagon.

child-birth, ceremonies at (*gâtakarma*), 293.

chiromancy (*sâmdrika*), 260.

cleft ground, scene of witchcraft, 288 n.

conception, charm to secure it, 96, 501.

consecration: see king; for the soma-sacrifice, 498.

'consecration, great:' see *mahârânti*.

constellation, lucky, 110; unlucky, 109, 517; charm for a child born under an unlucky, 109, 517; male, 356; fading away of (symbolic fading of disease), 16. Names of: *ashâdbâb*, 412; *gyeshibaghnî*, 109; *mûla* and *mûlabarhanî*, 288, 517-8, 525; *vikritau*, 13, 15, 110, 288, 517-8;

*saptarshayab*, 52, 161, 179 ff., 390, 563.

cosmogonic hymns, 199 ff.

couch, symbolic of possession, 327.

cows, charm to secure their return, 150, 414; of the Brahmins inviolable, 169 ff., 430 ff.; kicking of sinful, 214; slain by Rudra (*îrânahatâ*), 253; and calves attached to each other, 108, 144, 190, 493; with a calf of the same colour, 240, 303, 356, 367; cf. cattle.

creators, ten, 226.

creeper, symbol of a loving woman, 100.

cross-roads, 292, 448, 473, 519, 542; cf. fork of the road.

curses, charms to obviate them, 91, 93, 285, 556.

Daksha, 444.

Dânava, 85.

dancing sprites, 33, 149, 410, 413.

danger, protection from, 155 ff., 160, 618 ff.

dâsî, non-Āryan servant-woman: see slave-girl.

Dasyus, 67, 83, 86, 203, 222.

death, from hunger and thirst, 69; messengers of (cf. dogs of Yama), 118; of a teacher, expiation of, 528; personified as a teacher, 216; tracks of effaced, 436.

debate, charm to secure success in, 137, 275, 304 ff., 644.

debts, discharge of, 528.

defilement by black birds, 167, 555.

demons, charms to drive them away, 1 ff., 33-9, 64 ff., 66, 290, 298, 339, 407-8, 669 ff.; female, varieties of, 636, 638.

Deshrî, a goddess that guides, 219.

desires, charms for their fulfilment: see wishes.

Dhâtar, a god, 20, 54, 81, 86, 94-5, 126, 160, 324, 387, 389.

dice, 88, 116, 144, 149-51, 169, 391, 470, 493; ill-luck at, 69; cf. gambling.

dîkshâ, consecration for sacrifice, 227.

directions, and regions of space, 14, 39, 86, 161, 203, 223, 225, 380, 647, 650, 655; enumerated, 188,

- 192, 196; four, 120, 156, 199, 206, 216, 222, 367; five, 113, 162; six, 68, 207, 222; intermediate, 120, 212, 223; distant regions, 304; distances, three, 92; of heaven and earth, 99; north-eastern direction (*aparāgitā*), 305, 379, 644.
- disaffected people, loyalty of restored, 240.
- discord: see strife.
- diseases, charms against, 1 ff. Enumeration of: abscess (*vidradha*), 40, 47, 531, 602; *agnāyākshma*, 'unknown disease', 40, 342, 531; ague, 448; *akshata* (tumour), 488, 562; *alagi*, 602; *apakit* (scrofula), 17 ff., 472 ff., 503, 558-9; *arishṭa*, 513; *āvarika*, 280, 637; *āsrāva* (excessive discharges), 483; *balāsa*, 2, 8, 39, 40, 42, 46, 57, 61, 280, 383, 442, 450, 463, 531, 575, 601, 674; blood, flow of, 40, 531, 657; 'breaking disease', 38; of children, 341, 343; colic, 11, 283, 506; constipation, 10, 233, 235; consumption, 49, 247, 415, 442 n, 450, 463; convulsions, 37, 55, 283, 467; cough, 2, 7, 8, 247-8, 442, 513; deformity, 72; demons of disease, 33-9, 339; diarrhoea, 46, 233, 325, 327, 445, 483, 601; discharges, excessive, 8 ff., 277, 481, 672; dropsy, 11 ff., 42, 89, 241, 450, 471, 509, 530, 562; ear-ache, 40, 44-5; epilepsy, 264, 513; of the eye, 5, 12, 24, 30, 40, 47, 415, 454, 464; fever (*takman*; cf. *takmanāṣana*), of all sorts, 1 ff., 39, 46, 60, 157, 218, 233, 246, 270, 273 ff., 280, 415, 441-2, 445, 451, 468, 470, 569, 676, 681; fractures (cf. wounds), 19, 384; *galunta* (swelling), 17, 505; *gambha*, 280, 283, 467, 572; *gâyānya* (tumour), 17, 560-1; gout (in heels and toes), 12; *grāhi* (fit, seizure): see the word; head-ache (*jīrshakti*), 5, 7, 45-6, 248, 252, 415, 442, 657; heart-disease, 7, 12, 40, 264, 471; hemiplegia, 500 n; hereditary disease (*kshetriya*), 13 ff., 47, 67, 286 ff., 293, 302, 336; inflammation, 531; jaundice, 7, 8, 46, 61, 263, 442, 445, 471, 566; leprosy (*kilāsa*), 16, 266, 415, 441, 450; mania: see the word; of nails, 521; neuralgia, 40, 45-7, 506; *pāman* (eruption), 2, 442, 450; paralysis, 13, 500; *prishṭyāmaya*, 280; *rāgayakshma*, 'king's evil' (syphilis?), 342, 415, 561; rheumatism, 282, 506; *samskandha* (disease or demon), 38, 280, 283, 672; scrofula and scrofulous sores (cf. *apakit*), 17 ff., 472, 488 ff., 503 ff., 558-9; spasm, 2; St. Vitus dance, 513; transmission of, 47, 309; of teeth, 24, 72, 454, 521; tumours, 17, 19; *udyuga*, 450; *vātikāra*, *vātikṛita* (inflation, winds), 10, 22, 246, 483, 516, 602; venereal disease, 341; *viklindu*, 174, 658; *vilohita*, 600, 657; *visara*, *visarika*, 280, 284, 673; *visarpaka* (*visalpaka*), 531, 601; *vishkhanda* (cf. *samskandha*), 37-9, 61, 65, 67, 257, 280, 282, 339, 382, 672; worms in all parts of the body, 22-24, 313 ff.; worms in children, 23, 452; wounds (cf. fractures), 20-1, 419, 516; *yakshma*, 247, 291, 337, 416, 463, 468, 505, 507.
- dogs, 106 (watch-dog?); as beasts of prey, 129; heavenly (sun and moon), 13, 500; bitch, four-eyed, 68; of Rudra, 158; of Yama (messengers, four-eyed), 54, 59, 60, 167, 318, 404, 422, 500, 571.
- double meaning, 238, 250, 254, 259, 306, 313, 346, 381, 386, 544, 549, 645, 664; cf. alliteration and puns.
- dreams, evil, 12, 61, 69, 82, 167, 221, 394, 483 ff., 592, 605, 642.
- dridbhikarmāni*, a ceremony, 640.
- driveling woman, 109.
- Druh, demon of deceit, 14-5.
- drum (hymns to), 117, 130 ff., 204, 436 ff.; spell in, 77.
- Dvita, a water-god, 521-2.
- 'dwelling, mistress of,' 140, 194-5, 346; cf. house.
- Dyu, a sky-god, 50; female of Sūrya, 661, 665.

- Eagle, 16, 77, 132, 137, 146, 190, 306; finds healing plants, 306, 375; heavenly (lightning), 68, 241, 401, 581.
- ears of cattle, pierced, 174, 658.
- earth, mother of plants, 235; goddess, 180, 199 ff., 639 ff.; lump of (curative), 234, 287, 475, 552; from a bee-hive, 427; from a mole-hill, 427; -quake, 640; earths, three in number, 30, 68, 400, 471, 631, 686; earths, nine in number, 228, 631.
- eclipse of moon, 533; of sun, 294, 662 n.
- effigy, human, in witchcraft, 72, 359, 534.
- Ekata, a water god, 521-2.
- elephant, 76, 116, 144, 195 (female), 202.
- enema, 236.
- enemies, charms against, 89, 92-3, 325, 334, 484, 544, 557.
- eunuch, 108, 130, 538.
- evil, charms against, 163, 509; eye, 61, 91, 285-6, 474 (cf. *pāpma-gana*); deposited in a garment, 654; qualities, personified as divinities, 423; thoughts, elimination of, 594. Cf. *sin*.
- Fathers, 10, 54, 59, 60, 73, 87, 119, 126, 138, 161-2, 166, 170-1, 175, 180, 183-4, 186, 196, 223, 229, 254, 384, 456, 544, 585, 603-4, 612, 660.
- fire, charm for security against, 147, 514; battle-fire (*senâgni*), 325; in a battle-charm, 121; digestive (*gatbarâgni*), 242; forest-fire, 107, 443, 468; funeral-fire, 77.
- fish and fishermen, 154.
- five peoples (races), 92, 201, 204.
- fork of the road, 163; cf. cross-roads.
- fortune, charm to procure it, 253.
- frog (symbol of water and coolness), 4, 348, 350, 514-5, 565.
- funeral practices in sorcery and imprecations, 254, 297, 435; funeral-fire, spell in, 77; funeral-cow (*anustaranî*), 253.
- Gamadagni, a sage, 23-4, 31, 319.
- Gambling, gamester, and gambling-place, 76, 88, 144, 149-50, 191, 391, 412, 544, 548; cf. *dice*.
- Gâmi, a goddess, 323.
- Gandhârî, a people, 2, 446.
- Gandharvas, 31, 33-4, 43, 80, 119, 125-6, 160, 202, 205, 210, 214, 225, 229, 254, 323, 370, 408 ff., 413, 520-1, 534, 536; names of, 534; Gandharvî, 520-1.
- Gârhapatya (Agni), 165, 167.
- Garuda and Garutmant, 25, 268 ff., 306, 401; cf. eagle.
- Gâtavedas (Agni), 18, 54, 57, 64-5, 83, 88, 98, 106, 110, 116, 121, 149, 168, 180, 183, 208, 541, 545 n; (*Âditya*), 127.
- gathâ *nârâmsyab*, a class of mantras, 689.
- Gaya, a sage, 107, 255.
- gâyatri, a metre, 112, 208; in relation to Agni, 664.
- gharma, 119; three gharmanas, 230, 590.
- Ghora Ângirasa in contrast with Bhishag Âtharvana, xxi.
- gifts, prayer at the receipt of, 196; praise of him that bestows them (*dânastuti*), 197, 688; three, 181, 613.
- glory, prayer for, 117, 478; cf. lustre.
- goat-footed woman, 109.
- godâna-ceremony, 307, 574, 665.
- gods, ageless, 365; sinful: see *sin*; sleepless, 200.
- gold, 94, 116, 183, 192, 196, 264, 322, 348, 384, 477, 617, 654, 668 ff.; as an amulet, 63.
- golden age, 198, 692.
- golden ship (*soma*, the moon?), 4, 6, 415, 680.
- Gotama, a sage, 319.
- gourd used in charm against serpents, 428.
- Grâhi (fit, seizure), a female demon, 15, 34, 49, 57, 165, 187, 525.
- grain, charm to produce increase of, 141, 499; expiatory offering of, 528.
- grâmayâgin, -yâgaka, and pûgaya-gñiya, an inferior kind of priest, xl n, li, 580.
- greed and worldliness, expiation of, 494.
- Guggulû, an Apsaras, 33; cf. bdellium.
- Hair, charms to promote the growth of, 30 ff., 470, 536.

- hamṣa*, a bird (the sun), 28, 462.  
 haplogy, 398.  
 happy kingdom, 198, 692.  
*hâidrava*, yellow wagtail, 8, 266.  
 harmony, agreement, peace, charms to secure them (*sâṃmanasyâni*), xxix, xliv n, 134 ff., 492, 494-5, 508, 550; between cow and calf, 493.  
*havis* (technical), 479, 492, 496 n, 498, 500.  
 health, charms to secure it, 44-5, 49 ff.  
 heat, fever cured by (attraction), 270.  
 heavens, three, 68, 400, 416, 631; nine, 228, 631; cf. oceans, nine.  
 hell (nethermost darkness), 177, 191, 211, 221-3, 242, 301.  
 hemp (fastens amulets), 37, 162, 281, 284, 582.  
 herald, 131.  
 hermit, personification of the sun, 403.  
 Himavant-mountains (*Himâlaya*), 4-6, 12, 61, 415, 679.  
*Hiranyagarbha*, the supreme god, 629, 686.  
 holiness and beneficence, female personifications of, 602.  
 holy work thwarted, 89; 'holy water,' 379, 393, 504, 540.  
 homoeopathy, 264, 443, 481, 506, 566; cf. *attractio similitum*.  
 honey, mixture of, for guests, 84; symbol of agreeableness, 277 (cf. licorice, and sugar-cane); honey-lash of the *Asvins*, hymn to, 229, 587.  
 hook, to rake in wealth with, 503.  
 horse, charm to endow it with swiftness, 145, 507; of *Pedu*, 152 ff., 605, 607 (cf. *Pedu*, and *Paidva*-ceremony); sacrifice of, 662, 666; of *Yama*, 21, 422.  
 hostile powers, charm for exposing hidden, 398.  
 house, prayers and practices at the building of, 140, 343, 494; parts of, 140, 193 ff., 243, 343, 497, 596-8; purification of the entrance of, 298; presented as a gift to *Brahmans*, 193, 595, 598; removal of, 193, 595; varieties of, 597.  
*Hrîḍu*, designation of fever, 3, 273.  
 human sacrifice, ransomed, 360.  
 hundred and one, 50, 162, 168, 170, 307, 433, 565; cf. ninety-nine.  
 husband, charms to obtain one (*pativedanâni*), 94-5, 217, 322, 491.  
 hymns of the *Atharva-veda*, arrangement of, 247.  
*Ichneumon* (and serpent), 43, 103, 540, 580; cf. porcupine.  
*Idâ*, a goddess, 512.  
*Ikshvâku*, a king, 6, 679-80.  
*Indra*, 18, 22, 24, 32-4, 38-9, 48-9, 51, 53-5, 58, 63-6, 71, 75, 77-81, 85, 89-92, 95, 103, 105-6, 108, 112-17, 119-23, 125-33, 136-40, 143, 145-6, 148-9, 151-3, 160, 162-3, 169-70, 173, 179, 183, 188, 192-3, 195-6, 198, 200-1, 203-4, 207, 210, 213-15, 217, 221-3, 226, 231, 241, 256-7, 268, 280, 294, 311, 315, 324, 328-9, 331, 342, 349-50, 353, 367, 370, 380, 402, 433, 440, 454, 476, 478, 500, 503, 522, 547-9, 551, 554, 583, 596, 627, 633, 655, 663; *Indra Brahmanaspati*, 163; seduced by an *Âsuri*, 103, 268, 547; his mother, 116, 478. Cf. *Maghavan*, and *Sakra*.  
*indramaha* and *-mahotsava*, a festival, 353, 405, 510.  
*Indrânî*, 105, 354, 536; *indrânîyâ* *ârsham*, and *indrânîy-upanishad*, 354.  
*îṅgida*, and *îṅgida*-oil, used in sorcery, 334, 476, 496, 582.  
 insects, in the field, 142, 485; poisonous, 29.  
 intercalary month and year, 682-3.  
 inundation, charm to prevent it, 349 n.  
 investiture with the holy cord (*upanayana*), 240, 364, 381, 383, 551, 569, 574, 623.  
*Îrâna*, a god, 253 n, 618.  
*ishrâ-pûrtam*, 297.  
 Jackal, 306.  
 jealousy, charms against, 18, 106 ff., 467, 547, 559.  
 'jewels' of the king's court, 333.



**Kâbava** (demon?), 67, 339-40.  
**kairâta**, designation of a serpent, 28, 427; cf. **Kirâta**-maiden.  
**Kâla** (time) personified, 224 ff., 629, 681, 687.  
**kâlakâṅga**, three (heavenly phenomenon), 13, 500.  
**Kâma**, love personified, 102, 175, 220 ff., 311, 359, 591, 629, 682; myth of, 535.  
**kanaknaka**, designation of poison, 154, 608.  
**Kanda**, a demon, 66, 301.  
**kândâ-poison**, 154, 608.  
**Kandra**, and **Kandramas** (moon-god), 10, 17, 85, 120, 128, 161.  
**kaṅkaparvan** (scorpion), 29, 553.  
**Kanva**, demon of disease, 36, 302; name of a sage, 23-4, 33, 71, 315, 318-9, 397.  
**kâravyâb**, designation of certain stanzas, 689 ff.  
**karkî**, designation of a white calf, 150, 413-4.  
**karapha** (a demon?), 67, 339.  
**kasarnîla** (**kasarnîra**), designation of a serpent and serpent-*rishi*, 152, 607.  
**Karyapa**, a sage, 33, 45, 80, 107, 225, 255, 322, 577, 686; eye of (the sun), 68, 403; **Karyapas** (plur.), 210.  
**âtaturthî-karma**, a wedding-practice, 276, 546.  
**Kaurama**, a tribe, 197.  
**Kesaraprâbandhâ**, a woman, 170, 432.  
**Kesin**, a divinity, 157, 620.  
**kîlâla**, a sweet drink, 206.  
**Kimidin**, a kind of demon, 64, 68, 205, 238, 403.  
**king**, practices pertaining to the, li, 111 ff., 404, 477 (cf. sovereign power); consecration of (*râga-sûya*), 111, 226, 239, 333, 346, 378, 405, 661, 663; election of, 113, 330; restoration of an exiled, 112, 327, 330; marriage of, 498; charm to ensure him superiority, 115, 404; compared with **Indra**, 112; with a leopard, 112; with a lion and tiger, 115; and **purohita**, mutual rites between, lxi, 379.  
**kinswoman**, curse of, 14.  
**Kirâta**-maiden, 153; cf. **kairâta**.

**âtirâkarma**, a ceremony, 666.  
**kṛiṣa**, designation of a bird, 352.  
**Kṛiṣân**, a heavenly archer, 401.  
**kshatram**, represents the **Atharvan** and its practices (?), xxv.  
**Kshetrapati**, a divinity, 486.  
**âûdâkarana**, a ceremony, 309, 574.  
**Kumâra**, a god, 326; cf. **Skanda**.  
**kuntâpa-hymn**, 197, 688.  
**Kuru**, a country, 198.  
**Lakshmî**, 261, 565.  
**Lalâmî** (woman with spot on the forehead), 109, 261-2.  
**lash** (whip), parts of, 231 ff., 591.  
**lead**, in sorcery, 65, 256 ff., 299.  
**legends**, 268 ff., 270 ff., 535, 537, 604, 629, 679.  
**leopard**, 112.  
**licking** the young, sign of affection, 101.  
**licorice** (imparts attractiveness, and persuasiveness), 99, 101, 275-6, 311, 415, 552; cf. honey, and sugar-cane.  
**lightning**, 193; charm to protect grain from, 142, 543; cause of fever, &c., 7, 246; cures fever (attraction), 271; as 'honey-lash,' 588.  
**lion**, 112, 115-6, 130, 132, 205, 380, 477.  
**liquor**, 141, 144; cf. brandy, and **kîlâla**.  
**locust**, 142.  
**longevity**, charms and prayers to secure it, 49 ff., 52, 55-6, 58, 60, 114, 239 n, 306, 309, 321, 342, 418, 455, 551-2, 569 ff., 573, 623, 668.  
**lost** property, charm to find it, 159, 542.  
**lotus**, **lotus-root**, 147, 236.  
**love-charms**, 99 ff., 103 ff., 274, 311, 358, 415, 459, 512, 534 ff., 539.  
**lustre** and strength, charms to secure them, 116, 477, 612.  
**Madhubrahmaṇa**, 587 n.  
**madhugraha**, 589.  
**madhusûkta**, 589.  
**Magadha**, a country and tribe, 2, 446, 449.  
**Maghavan** (**Indra**), 94, 121, 151, 324.

- magic identification of two persons, 310.  
 Maguñḍi, daughters of (demons), 66, 301.  
 Mahādeva (Rudra), 133.  
 mahānāmñi-verses, 226, 631.  
 mahāānti, 'great consecration,' 393, 446, 448, 474, 602, 669.  
 Mahāvṛsha, a tribe, 1, 2.  
 maiden, mythical first husbands of, 323.  
 male child, rite for begetting one (pumsavana), 97, 356, 460.  
 mania, charms to secure it, 32, 417, 518.  
 Manmatha, god of love, 311.  
 Manu, 67, 96, 679.  
 Manyu, wrath personified, 223, 594.  
 Marīṭi, an Apsaras, 414.  
 Marka, a demon, 301.  
 marks of the body, good and evil : see bodily characteristics.  
 married couple, blessing for, 96, 546.  
 marrows, eight, 90.  
 Maruts, 48, 53, 90, 104, 112-3, 121-2, 126, 132, 135, 140, 146, 151, 183-4, 188, 207, 230, 266, 328, 548, 663.  
 Mātali, 162, 629.  
 Mātariśvan, 53, 205, 216, 219.  
 mātṛināmāni and mātṛigava, designation of certain mantras, 399, 518-9; cf. mothers.  
 Mātsya, a sage, 6, 681.  
 messengers of death, two, 167; cf. dogs.  
 metal-worker, 114.  
 metres, 112, 186, 208-9, 227, 345, 664.  
 micturation towards the sun, sinful, 214, 668.  
 miscarriage, charms to prevent it, 97-8, 298, 302.  
 misfortune, removal of, 364; cf. calamity.  
 Mitra, 10, 37, 39, 50-1, 91, 102, 105, 109, 113, 116, 122, 126, 153, 160, 172, 175, 195, 210-1, 216, 331, 349, 436, 557.  
 mixed grain, spell in, 76.  
 mole, 142; mole-hill, earth from, 427.  
 mosquitoes, buzzing of, 36.  
 'mothers,' divinities, 644; cf. mātṛināmāni.  
 mourners, female, 55, 124-5, 127, 156, 634, 638.  
 mṛigārasūktāni, designation of certain hymns, 252, 298.  
 Mrityu, death personified, 133.  
 Mūgavant, a tribe, 1, 2, 446, 448.  
 mule, symbolic of sterility, 120, 545.  
 Muṅgavant, a mountain, 278.  
 mustard against ophthalmia, 464.  
 Nabhasaspati, a god, 142, 499.  
 nadi, 'river,' etymology of, 349.  
 nakedness of man, 192.  
 Nāketas, 424.  
 Naladi, name of an Apsaras, 33.  
 name-giving (nāmakarana), ceremony of, 573.  
 Namuṭi, a demon, liv, 256-7, 583.  
 Nārada, a sage, 172, 175 ff., 435, 658, 660.  
 nārāmsi, designation of certain stanzas, 689 ff.  
 Nardabuda, 634; cf. Nyarbudi.  
 Nārshada, a patronymic, 397; cf. Nṛshad.  
 new-moon, night of, fit for sorcery, 256, 408.  
 new-moon and full-moon sacrifices, 559.  
 Night, personified, 20.  
 ninety-nine, 172, 433; cf. hundred and one.  
 nirvayana-ceremony, 574.  
 Nirriti, demon of destruction and misfortune, 14 ff., 36, 49, 52-3, 57, 82, 90, 92, 166 ff., 173, 183, 187, 423, 474, 556-7, 564, 617.  
 Nissālā, a female demon (?), 66, 300.  
 nīvid-formulas, 228.  
 Nṛshad, a sage, 71; cf. Nārshada.  
 Nyarbudi, a battle-god, 123 ff., 631 ff.; cf. Nardabuda, and Arbudi.  
 Oceans, nine, 228; cf. heavens, nine.  
 ominous birds, charms against, 166, 474 ff., 619; ominous sneezing, 82.  
 oracles, 243, 295, 303, 323, 491.  
 ordeals, with fire, 294 ff.  
 ox (anadvān), apotheosized, 624.  
 Paidva-practice, 357, 460, 605 ff.; cf. Pedu, and horse of Pedu.

panaceas, 40-1, 252, 302, 321, 406, 473, 507, 509, 530, 578, 600.  
*paññakalpa*, and -kalpin, a priest who practices Atharvan sorcery, xxviii, liii.  
*pañkti*, a metre, 186, 209, 212.  
*pantheon*, Vedic, addressed in prayer, 160, 628.  
*panther*, 116.  
*pāpmagana*, a certain list of mantras, 474.  
*Parameshthin*, the supreme god, 80, 84, 208-10, 215, 225, 629, 665, 686.  
*Parganya*, a rain-god, 8, 10, 43, 52, 116, 153, 161, 200, 204, 233-6, 588, 623-4.  
*parigrīhyā*, designation of a fire-altar (vedi), 379, 641.  
*Parikshit*, a king (Agni), 197 ff., 691 ff.  
*pārikshiti*, designation of certain stanzas, 689 ff.  
*parrots*, 8, 144, 264 n.  
*parturition*, charm to make it easy, 99, 242.  
*Parushni*, a river, 29, 462.  
*Parupati*, a form of Rudra, 155 ff., 161, 618.  
*Pathyā Svasti*, a divinity that protects travel, 331; cf. roads.  
*pea-hen* (devours serpents), 30, 555.  
*pearl and its shell as an amulet*, 62, 383 ff.  
*pebbles*, 250.  
*Pedu*, a king, 152 ff., 605, 607; cf. horse, and Paidva-ceremony.  
*physician*, social position of, xxxix, xlviii, l, liv; divine, 389, 454.  
*pigeon*, bird of omen, 474.  
*Pilā*, name of an Apsaras, 33.  
*pindadāna*, a ceremony, 259.  
*Pisākas*, a class of demons, 34-7, 57-8, 65, 68, 187, 190, 205, 281-2, 290, 302, 339, 407-9, 475; *Pisāki*, the female, 301.  
*plants and trees*, in general, as healing agents, 41 ff., 44, 578; used in sorcery, xix; against a rival woman, 107; to deprive of virility, 108; arouses love, 102-3; five kingdoms of, 162; names of their fathers and mothers, 419, 421. Names and epithets: *ābayu* (mustard?), 30, 465; *adhyandā*, 356; *agasriṅgi* (me-

*shasriṅgi*), 33, 408; *āhva*, 118; 582, 584; *āla*, 30, 236, 358; *ālākā*, 536; *alasāla*, 30; *amūlā* (?), 457; *apāmarga*, 69 ff., 305 n, 393 ff., 429, 487, 556; *arāraḥ* (*agasriṅgi*), 33; *arka-tree*, 250; *arundhatī*, 19-21, 40-1, 144, 289, 305 n, 385, 419, 490-1, 579, 676-7; *āsuri-tree*, 267; *asvattha-tree*, 4, 6, 21, 33, 43, 91, 97, 117, 334 ff., 415-6, 460, 496, 505, 582 ff., 585; *avakā-reed*, 33-4, 42, 349, 410, 462, 515, 579; *bamboo* (staff of), 248, 256-7; *bānāparṇi*, 355; *banyan-tree* (*nyagrodha*), 21, 33, 147, 367; *barley*: see the word; *beans*: see the word; *camphor*, 236 n; *curcuma*, yellow (*haridra*), 374; *darbhagrass*, 43, 137, 152-3, 162, 241, 286, 317, 480, 519, 606, 615; *dark plant*, cures leprosy, 16, 267, 270; *dhava-tree*, 21; 'displacer' (*vaibādha*), epithet of the *arvattha-tree*, 91-2, 335; *dividhuvaka* (reed), 348; *dūrvā-plant* (millet), 147, 258, 515; 'even-colour', epithet of a plant to cure leprosy, 16; *gāṅgida-tree*, 37-9, 280 ff., 403, 443, 670 ff.; *gayanti*, 420; *ghritāki* (?), 154, 608; *gīvalā*, 5, 41, 56, 491, 677; *gīvanta*, 5, 678; *gīvanti*, 41, 56, 420, 536 n; *gīvi*, 536; *gourd*, 428; *haridra*: see *curcuma*; *haritaki*, 'gall-nut', 236 n; *induka*=*pramanda*, 236 n; *kadvindu* (reed?), 496; *kākamāki* (?), 536 n; *kāmpila* and *kāmpila*, 240, 292, 406; *karīra* (reed), 452; *kāsa* (reed), 348; *kerā-tree*, 250; *khadira-tree*, 21, 84, 91, 118, 334 ff., 367, 505, 582, 608; *khalva* and *khalvanga*, 'lentils', 314-5; *kīpudru-tree*, 40, 530 ff.; *krimuka-tree*, 374; *krishnala-berries*, 239; *kūdi-plant*, 172, 358; *kudrīki-tree* (*gudūki*), 487; *kushtha-plant*, 'costus speciosus', 4 ff., 101, 311, 358, 414-5, 436, 441 ff., 448, 451, 676; *lākshā*, 'lac', 19-21, 385, 387, 419; *madāvatī*, an epithet, 26, 30, 374-5, 465; *māmparya*, an epi-

- thet, 399; millet: see *dûrvâ*;  
*muñga*-grass, 9, 234-5, 242,  
 248, 278, 519, 523; mustard,  
 464; *naghamâra* and *naghârisha*,  
 epithets of the *kushtha*-plant,  
 5, 41, 56, 677; *nârâkî* (?), 457;  
*nikarâ* (?), 470; *nilâgalasâlâ*, 30;  
*nirdahantî*, xix; *nitatnî*, 31, 346,  
 536; *nyastikâ* (?), 539; *palâsa*-  
 tree, 295, 299, 356, 530, 584;  
*paraśu* (tree, or plant?), 295,  
 472; *parivyâdha*-plant, 369;  
*parva*-tree, 331 ff., 581; *pârâ*-  
 plant, 137, 305, 354; *pāvika* =  
*ula*, 236 n; pepper, 21, 516;  
*plaksha*-tree, 21; *pramanda*,  
 236, 253 n, 410; *prisiniparnî*,  
 36, 302; *pûtika*, 236; *pûtudru*-  
 tree, 58, 573; reeds (*vetasa*),  
 various sorts of, 308, 348, 464;  
 rice: see the word; *rohanî*, 19,  
 385-6; *sadampushpâ*, 67, 399;  
*sahadevî*, 490; *saivâlâ*, a water-  
 plant, 245; *saka*-tree, 464;  
*samî*, a creeper, 97, 409, 460;  
*saṅkha*pushpî, 539 n; *sara*-  
*punkhâ*, 355; sesame: see the  
 word; *sigru*-tree, 250, 453;  
*silâkî*, 20-1, 385, 419 ff.; *silâ*  
*ngâlâ*, 30, 420, 465-6; *sims*-  
*apâ*, 299; *soma*, the plant, 6,  
 43-4; *sra*kyta-tree, 79, 575;  
*sûryavallî*, 539 n; *suvarâkalâ*, 539;  
*syâmâ* (*śâmâ*), a black plant,  
 270; *tâgadbhaṅga*-tree, 118,  
 505, 582 ff.; *târka*=*palâsa*,  
 476; *taudî* (plant?), 154, 608;  
*tilaka*-tree, 575; *trisamdhyâ*,  
 399, 539 n; *udumbara*-tree,  
 299; *ukkbushmâ*-plant, 369;  
*ula*, 205, 236; *urîra*, 436, 453;  
*utpala* (?), 497; *vadhaka*-tree,  
 118, 476, 505, 582, 584; *varana*-  
 tree, 39, 81, 505; *vibhîdaka*-  
 tree (*vibhîdaka*), 470, 505; *vi*-  
*bhindant*, and *vibhindatî*, 71;  
*vidarî*, 356; *vihalha*, 30, 465;  
*virîna*, 561; *vishânakâ* (?), 10,  
 482 ff.  
 plough and ploughshare, 84, 287 ff.,  
 356, 608-9.  
 poison, charms against, 25 ff., 27 ff.,  
 42, 154, 373 ff., 511.  
 porcupine, hostile to serpents, 28,  
 428; cf. *ichneumon*.  
 porridge (gruel), 26, 30; for the  
 Brahmins, preparation of, 179 ff.,  
 185 ff., 610 ff., 645 ff.; porridge-  
 man, 240 n.  
 portentous occurrences, 262.  
 post, sacrificial, 201, 203, 213.  
 Pragâpati, 31, 55, 84, 97-8, 126, 138,  
 149, 161, 179, 194, 204, 206,  
 215-9, 224-8, 230-2, 461, 592,  
 627, 629, 686.  
 Praketas (*Āṅgīrasa*), a divine per-  
 sonification, 163, 484.  
 Pramandanî, an Apsaras, 33, 410;  
 cf. *pramanda*, under plants.  
 Prâna: see breath of life.  
 Pratîkṣa (*Āṅgīrasa*), a divine per-  
 sonification, xxiv, 73, 603.  
 pratyāṅgīrasa, 'counter-witchcraft,'  
 xix, xxiv; cf. *āṅgīras*.  
 precedence of younger brother,  
 expiation of, 164, 521.  
 pridâku, a kind of serpent, 553.  
 prishâtaka, mixture of ghee and  
 milk, 385.  
 Prîṣnî, a goddess, 43, 132, 207.  
 Prithivî (earth), personified, 8, 50.  
 prosperity, charms to procure it,  
 140 ff., 332.  
 protection from sorcery and hostility,  
 prayer for, 575.  
 pûgayagñiya: see *grāmayâgin*.  
 puns, 95, 97, 116-8, 146, 153, 194,  
 205-6, 216, 218, 221, 225, 232,  
 243-4, 247 n, 249, 251-2, 266 n,  
 267, 280, 285, 287-8, 298, 322,  
 326, 336-7, 348 ff., 361, 370,  
 385, 393, 403, 408, 426 n, 427,  
 434, 446, 448, 480-1, 497, 505,  
 507, 518, 527, 551, 561 n, 575,  
 582-3, 594, 603, 609, 657, 661,  
 670, 673, 692; cf. alliteration,  
 and double meaning.  
 purâna, ancient legends, 228.  
 purification of the body, 642.  
 purikaya (with variants), a water-  
 animal, 157, 621.  
 purodâsa, sacrificial rice-cake, 120,  
 177.  
 purohita (chaplain of the king), 128;  
 office and character of, lviii,  
 lxi, lxii ff.; relation of to the  
*Atharva-veda*, lxvii; relation of  
 to the Brahman (fourth priest),  
 lxviii.  
 Purûravas, a mythical king, 521,  
 564 n.  
 Purusha, cosmic man, 186, 216, 629,

- 646-7; hymn to (purushasūkta), xxx, 682.
- Pûshan, 99, 116, 135, 143, 159-60, 165, 198, 243-4, 331, 421, 495, 526-8, 542.
- Races of men (peoples), five, 92, 201, 204.
- ragasa (a water-animal?), 157, 621.
- raghar (falcon?), 43, 580.
- raibhî, designation of certain stanzas, 689 ff.; cf. Rebha.
- rain-charm, addressed to the Maruts, 267.
- Rakshas (demons), 9, 32-4, 36-8, 42, 57, 62, 66, 69, 71, 80, 90, 96, 125-6, 162, 187, 190, 205, 282-3, 315, 408, 442, 458, 557, 572.
- ratna, 'jewels of the king's court,' 333.
- raudragana, designation of certain mantras, 367, 619, 643.
- Râvana, a demon, 374.
- raw meat, eaten by demons, 395; spell in, 76.
- razor and strop (kshuro bhrigvân), 197, 691.
- Rebha (Agni), 690.
- rectum, 47, 234.
- red colour, cures jaundice, 263.
- revatî-stanzas, 208.
- Rbhus, a kind of divinities, 20, 73, 231, 389, 603.
- rice, 43, 57, 87, 110, 204, 219, 232, 540.
- Rik, 161, 204, 225-6, 229.
- rishihasta, a certain ceremony, 569, 623.
- Rishis, personifications of qualities, 571; seven: see constellations.
- rita, order of the universe, 15, 228.
- ritvig, a priest, 204; cf. adhvaryu.
- rival, woman's incantation against, 107, 253, 355.
- river, charm for conducting it into a new channel, 146, 348; navigable, 74, 80.
- roads, divinities of, 113; cf. Pathyâ Svasti.
- robbers, charm against, 147.
- Rohinî, designation of female divinities, 7, 207, 210, 265, 661 ff., 665-6.
- Rohita, a sun-god, 207 ff., 265, 661 ff., 683.
- rohitâni (sc. sūktâni), designation of the hymns to Rohita, 662.
- roots, practices with, xliii n, l, liv, 407, 458.
- ropânâka, thrush, 8, 264 n, 266.
- rope full of teeth (serpent), 368.
- rotten fish, cures certain diseases, 342.
- rotten grain, 345.
- rotten rope in battle-practices, 117, 582.
- Rudra, 3, 10, 11, 19, 37, 66, 80, 120, 138, 144, 155 ff., 161, 179, 253, 302, 326, 389-90, 402, 406, 422, 446 n, 488-9, 495, 506, 581, 586, 604, 618-9, 621, 637; Rudras (plural), 119, 135, 161.
- runaway woman, charm to capture her, 106, 496.
- Rûpakas, certain phantoms, 125, 636.
- rûra, epithet of takman (fever), 273, 449, 568.
- Ruvasas, a people, 197, 690.
- Sacrifice, of an enemy frustrated, 90, 557; expiation of imperfections in, 164, 528; human (ransomed), 360; leavings of (*ukkbishra*) apotheosized, 226 ff., 588, 629 ff.; sacrifices and liturgical terms catalogued, 226 ff., 631; sacrificial post (*yûpa*), 201, 203, 213; sacrificial seat (*sadas*), 203, 210.
- Sadânvâb, demons, 62, 66-7, 301, 384.
- Sâdhyas, certain divine beings, 119, 585.
- Sahasrâksha, a god, 473; cf. thousand-eyed.
- sakâ-bird, 143, 351 ff.
- Sakadhîma (weather-prophet), 160, 532.
- Sakambhara, personification of abnormal evacuation, 1, 445; cf. *Apvâ*.
- Sakî, Indra's female, 95, 125-6, 440, 503.
- Sakra, 117-8, 203; cf. Indra, Mahâghavan, and Mahâdeva.
- sakvarî-stanzas, 157, 208.
- sâlâsava, ceremony of giving away a house, 595; cf. house, and sava.
- Sâlâvrikas, jackals, 138, 306.
- salt (rock-salt), 303, 504, 534, 548.

- salve (*āṅgana*), 61, 101, 311, 381, 401, 409, 415.
- Sâman, 161, 204, 226-7, 229; singers of, eighty-three, 89.
- Sâmbu (*Āngiras*), and Sâmbavya, 6, 678.
- samsrâvya (*havis*), 303.
- samsthitahomâb, final oblations, 496.
- samtânakarma, a certain rite, 259.
- sâmdra and sâmdrika (*chiro-mancy*), 260.
- Saramâ, 404; cf. dogs of Yama.
- Sârameya, 636; cf. dogs of Yama.
- Sarasyû, marriage of, 364.
- Sarasvatî, 23, 32, 139, 173, 329, 389, 424, 454, 512, 581; Sarasvatîs, three, 27, 512.
- sâri-birds (*Jârikâ*), 144, 266, 352.
- Jarkota: see scorpion.
- sarpâhuti, a certain ceremony, 655.
- Sarva, a god; 56, 75, 119, 155 ff., 161, 175, 402, 406, 604, 618.
- saraya *mrigab*, a wild animal (?), 368.
- Satarudriya, a litany, 586.
- satra-offerings, 204, 207.
- sautrâmanî-sacrifice, 112, 328, 578, 591.
- sava and savayagña (solemn bestowal of *dakshinâ*), 414, 528, 595, 610; cf. *Jâlâsava*.
- Savitar, a god, 32, 48-9, 54, 79, 80, 85, 95, 109, 111, 123, 140, 143, 149, 160, 168, 210, 212, 221, 403, 422, 503.
- scorpion (*Jarkota*), 29, 30, 153, 553.
- sea-animals and monsters, 157, 621.
- seasons, five, 209; six, 203; and their lords, 162.
- seduction of Indra by an *Āsurî*, 103, 268, 547.
- serpents (*snakes*), charms against, 151 ff., 425, 461, 487, 552 ff., 605; rites to on the full-moon day of the month *Mârgaśrîsha*, 640; names and varieties of, 27-9, 152-4, 192, 193, 425, 427, 488, 553, 608, 655; as gods, 43, 119, 126, 162 (cf. *Takshaka*); rope full of teeth, 147.
- sesamum, sesame-oil, as a remedy, and against demons, xlviii, 13, 64, 110, 238, 248, 258, 427, 540.
- seven priests, 204; seven *Rishis*: see constellations.
- shavings of wood, 236, 261.
- shepherd's charm against wild beasts and robbers, 147, 366.
- ship of fortune, 94; golden, 4, 6, 415, 680 (*soma*, the moon?).
- shouting, hostile, 408.
- sieve (*scatters disease symbolically*), 248, 473, 519.
- simantonnayana, a ceremony, 545.
- sin, expiation and prayer for-remission of, 122, 163 ff., 165; 'deadly sins,' 521 ff., 545; mental, 163; 'original,' 293; sins of relatives, 59, 82; sins of the gods, 73, 363, 520 ff., 581, 604. Cf. evil.
- Sindhu (*Indus*), a river, 12, 40, 62, 107.
- Sinivâlî, a goddess, 98, 143, 304, 461, 538.
- Sîpâla, a river, 29, 462.
- Siva, a god, 326, 506, 620.
- Skanda, a god, 326; cf. *Kumâra*.
- slave-girl, 2, 174, 186, 448, 647.
- sleeping-charm, 106, 372.
- sneezing, ominous, 82.
- soma, three daily pressings of, 590; midday-pressing of, 562; rape of, 241; king of the plants, 55. Cf. ship.
- Soma, a god, 1, 5, 14, 30, 32, 53, 62, 65, 75, 79, 85, 90, 94, 103, 112, 117, 122-3, 133, 135, 147-9, 154, 161, 170, 175, 183, 186, 188-9, 193-5, 216, 222, 250, 254, 312, 323, 329, 350, 431, 443, 503, 570.
- sons, rite for begetting them: see male child (*pumsavana*).
- sorcerers and sorceries, charms and practices against, xxii, 13, 38, 42, 58-9, 61, 64-5, 82, 159, 237-8, 280, 285, 393 ff., 403, 475, 495, 592, 602; consecration for, 296.
- soshyanti-karma, a ceremony, 243.
- sovereign power, prayer for, 207, 661; cf. king.
- sowing of seed, blessing during, 141, 541.
- speckled ghee, 129, 632, 639.
- spectres and spooks, 5, 6, 125-6.
- spells (*krityâ*), charms to counteract them, 70 ff., 393, 429, 456, 556, 602, 604; objects living and lifeless into which they are put

- (*marmâni*, 457), 69, 72, 74, 76-7; spell-figures of mud, wood, &c., 671 n.
- spies of Varuna, 88, 391, 402; cf. thousand-eyed spies.
- spikenard, 101, 415.
- splinters of wood, 292.
- spot on the forehead of a woman, 109.
- spring-water, cures excessive discharges (homoeopathy), 9, 12, 277, 471.
- śraddhâ, defined as faith and works, 424.
- śrauta-practices in the Atharva-veda, lxx.
- Sriṅgaya, a people, 171, 433 ff.
- stable, rites for prosperity in: see cattle.
- staff for witchcraft, 295.
- stars, Varuna's spies, 391.
- sterile cows, necessity of giving them to the Brahmans, 174 ff., 360, 656 ff.; varieties of, 178 ff.; sterility, charm to cause it, 98, 545; sterility of cattle obviated, 299.
- sthakara-powder (with variant forms), 311, 436.
- sthapati, derivation of, 319.
- storm, four component parts of, 251, 623; charm against, 248 ff.
- streams, navigable, 74, 80.
- strife, charms to allay it, 135 ff., 362.
- St. Vitus dance, 513.
- submission to one's will, charm to bring it about, 138, 508.
- success, prayer and practice to obtain it, 116, 239.
- Sûdra, 68, 72, 402; -women, 2.
- sugar-cane, symbolic of attractiveness, 100, 277; cf. honey, and licorice.
- suitors, 94.
- sun, personified as *aga ekapād*, 625, 664; as an eagle, 652; as a *hansa*-bird, 28, 462, 623-5; as a hermit, 403, 621, 626; as a Brahman disciple, 214, 403, 626 ff.; as Rohita (cf. the word), 661 ff.; as a tortoise, 403; sun and moon as two heavenly dogs (dogs of Yama), 13, 404, 500; related to time, 683, 686; to brahma, 628; sun-charades, 212, 220 (stanza 21; cf. *brahmodya*); sun's steed, personified as the white horse of Pedu, 605.
- Sunabrepa, legend of, 241.
- Suparna: see Garuḍa and Garutmant.
- Sûrya, 10, 17, 31, 47, 53, 60, 85, 103, 116, 160, 203, 205, 210-12, 214, 373, 403, 620, 622, 668; *sûrya-sûkta*, 243 n; Sûryâ, the sun-female (Sâvitri), 95, 202, 312, 503, 661, 666.
- Sûshan (Sûshanâ), a divinity of parturition, 99, 243-5.
- svaga, designation of a serpent, 152-3, 193.
- Svarbhânû, demon of eclipses, 294.
- svastyayanagana, a certain list of mantras, 641.
- Svayambhû, the supreme being, 592, 686.
- syenayâga, or syenegyâ, a certain rite, 343.
- syeneshu, a witchcraft practice, 577 n.
- symbolism, 236, 240-1, 243 n, 248-9, 261, 263, 277, 287, 311, 321, 324-5, 327 n, 355, 357 n, 367 n, 369, 371-2, 374, 407, 412, 425, 427, 443, 445, 457, 460, 467-8, 470, 473, 476, 479, 481, 497, 500 n, 501, 519, 537, 545, 548, 551, 558, 561, 564, 567, 582 n.
- Tâbuvā, a remedy against snake-poison, 28, 428; cf. *tastuva*.
- tagara: see sthakara.
- taimâta, designation of a serpent, 28, 169.
- takmanâsana and takmanâsanagana, a series of hymns against fever and kindred diseases, 247, 291, 293, 342, 406, 416, 418, 441, 443-4, 469, 474, 505, 507, 568, 676; cf. fever.
- Takshaka (Vaisaleya), a serpent-god, 374, 425, 462, 606.
- tapas (creative fervour), 199, 204, 208, 214-7, 224-5, 228, 686.
- tarda (tardâ), an insect of the field, 142, 486.
- tastuva, a remedy against snake-poison, 28, 428; cf. *tâbuvā*.
- Tauvilikâ, a certain female demon of disease, 30, 466.
- teeth, diseases of, 24, 72, 454, 521;

- expiation of irregular appearance of, 110, 540.  
 ten friends (Brahmans), 291-2.  
 theosophic hymns, 199 ff.  
 thieves, 198, 205.  
 thirst, charm against, 308.  
 thirty-three gods, 187.  
 thousand-eyed divinities and objects, 68, 82, 88, 93, 155, 157-8, 163, 224, 286, 342, 402-3, 473-4, 476, 586, 598, 605, 619, 683; cf. *Sahasrāksha*.  
 Thraētaona Āthwya, an Avestan divinity, 523; cf. *Trita*.  
 Three-named (Agni), 135, 495.  
 tiger, 111, 115-6, 205, 368, 380, 477, 518; tiger-like day, 110; tiger-like first teeth, 110; tiger-skin, 111, 378 ff.  
 Time, personified: see *Kāla*.  
 tonsure, ceremony of preparation: see *kūḍākarana*.  
 tortoise, personification of the sun, 403.  
 transference of disease, 47, 309.  
 traps and nets in battle, 118-9, 582, 632.  
 traveller's charm, 644.  
 treachery, protection against, 88, 389.  
 Triakud, a mountain, 61-2, 381.  
 Trishandhi, a battle-god, 126 ff., 632, 637 ff.  
*Trita*, a divine being, 165, 521-2, 528.  
 Tvashrar, a god, 18, 48, 51, 96-7, 143, 146, 160, 189, 365-6, 502, 522, 651.  
 twin-calves, expiation of their birth, 145, 360.  
 Udarvit, a certain mixture of food, 509.  
 Ugra, a god (*Rudra*), 156 ff., 618.  
*ukbisha*, apotheosis of: see sacrifice.  
 unburned vessel, sorceries with, 69, 75, 395, 397, 457.  
 upagikā (with many variants), a certain kind of ant, 268, 280, 511.  
 upakvasa, a certain field-insect, 142, 486.  
 upatrinaya, a kind of serpent, 28, 427.  
 urine, as a cure for sores, 19, 489; *Rudra*'s remedy, 138, 306; excessive, 234; retention of, 10, 233, 235; cf. micturation.  
 urugūlā, a serpent, 28.  
*Urvarī*, a divine female, 411, 521.  
*Ushas* (*Aurora*), 31, 161, 318, 503, 661.  
 Vāgapeya-ceremony, 226, 508.  
 vāgha, designation of an animal, 223; vāghā, its female, 142.  
 Vaisrāleya: see *Takshaka*.  
 Vairvānara (*Agni*), 12, 54, 58, 80, 149, 197, 200, 242, 580, 691.  
 Vaitahavya, a people, 170-1, 432 ff.; cf. *Vitahavya*.  
 Vāk (speech personified), 120, 437; Vāk *Sarasvatī*, 173, 424; Vāk *Virāg*, 221, 593; Vākspati, the lord of speech, 209, 665.  
 Vala, a cloud demon, 193, 596; cf. *Vritra*.  
 Varanāvati, a river, 26, 375.  
 varṇasyagana, designation of certain mantras, 477, 589-90, 642.  
 Varuṇa, a god, 1, 3, 10-2, 14, 27, 30-1, 37, 40, 42, 44, 48, 50-1, 63, 65, 86, 88, 91, 102, 105, 109, 112-4, 116, 122, 133, 135, 146, 152-3, 160, 172, 175, 188, 193, 195, 210-1, 216, 221, 241-2, 273, 290, 329-31, 334, 349, 370, 390 ff., 402, 436, 443, 484-5, 535-6, 557, 563, 627; Varuṇas (plural), 113; Varuṇānī, his female, 167, 485.  
 varā: see sterile cow.  
 Vāsava (*Indra*), 95; cf. *Vasu*.  
 vashar-call, 84, 99, 128, 209, 243.  
 Vasishtha, a sage, 372; relation of to the *Atharva-veda*, lv ff., lxxv.  
 Vāstoshpati, genius of homestead, 135, 343 ff., 494-5, 640.  
 Vasu, a class of deities, 55, 89, 116, 119, 121, 135, 161, 230; cf. *Vāsava*.  
 Vāta, god of wind, 85 ff., 89, 153, 161, 219; cf. *Vāyu*.  
 Vāyasa, a sage, 6, 681.  
 Vāyu, personification of the wind, 51, 54, 128, 140, 142, 304, 402, 499, 620, 669; cf. *Vāta*.  
 Veda, practices preparatory to the study of, xlv, 233, 477, 487, 510, 543, 590, 606; relation of the three Vedas to the *Atharvan*, xxxi ff., xxxv ff., li ff., lv ff.,



- lxi; Vedic literary categories, xxxv ff.  
 vedi, fire-altar, 200; cf. *parigr̥hyā*.  
 veins, 22, 259.  
 vermin in the field, exorcism of, 142, 485; cf. worms.  
*vigr̥iva*, a demon, 70.  
*viligi*, designation of a serpent, 28; cf. *āligi*.  
 village, the scene of Atharvan performances: see *gr̥amayāgin*.  
*Virāg*, a female divinity, 80, 120, 186, 211, 215-6, 219, 221, 593, 647, 667.  
 virility, charm to increase it, 31, 369; charm to deprive a man of it, 108, 537.  
*virapha* (a demon?), 67, 339.  
*Vishnu*, a god, 80, 89, 160, 193, 200, 221, 251, 342, 655.  
*visikha*, a demon, 70.  
*Visvakarman*, the supreme god, 206, 209, 592, 629, 686.  
*Visvarūpa*, son of *Tvashṛar*, 318, 522.  
*Vivāvasu*, a demon, 319.  
*Vitahavya*, a people, 31; cf. *Vaitahavya*.  
*Vivasvant*, a god, 57, 160, 366.  
 vomiting as a cure for poison, 374.  
*vṛishākapi*-Brahmans, 532 n.  
*Vritra*, a cloud-demon, 18, 40, 62-3, 79, 81, 91-2, 95, 121, 126, 129, 158, 203, 310, 349, 370, 382, 384, 596; his eye becomes mount *Trikakud*, 382.  
 Wagon, parts of, 587; cf. chariot.  
 washerman, 188.  
 waters (divine), 14-5, 161; water, healing, 40-1, 48; produced by ants, 27; as a remedy against jealousy, 107; for the consecration of a king, 111; -animals, varieties of, 157, 621; -plants, 514, 579; -skin, 107; -sprites, 409.  
 weather-prophet, propitiation of, 159, 532.  
 wedding, charms used at, 502, 546; ceremony at the consummation, 276, 546; of a royal personage, 498.  
 weeds, charm to remove them, 465.  
 wheel, parts of, 493.  
 white-footed arrow, 633, 638; cow or she-goat, *ibid*.  
 wife, charm to obtain one, 95, 502 ff.; of the sacrificer, 180 ff., 185 ff., 610 ff., 645 ff.; wives of the gods, 162, 167.  
 wild beasts, charm against, 147, 366.  
 will o' the wisp, 411.  
 wishes, charm for obtaining one's, xlvii, 605; three wishes, 181, 613.  
 wolf and calves, 174; wolves and sheep, 132, 151.  
 woman, of the waters, 621; truant, charm to bring her back, 106, 496; women with evil bodily characteristics, 109, 260; fond of the *kushība*-plant, 6, 680; sleeping women, described, 105; charms pertaining to women (*stri-karmāni*), 94 ff., 275, 311, 371, 479-80.  
 womb, performances for steadying it, 284, 467.  
 worms of all sorts, in human beings and animals, 22-4, 223, 314 ff., 351.  
*Yagus*, 161, 204, 225-6, 229.  
*Yakshas*, a kind of divinities, 161.  
*Yama*, god of death, 37, 44, 52, 54, 57, 59, 60, 90, 107, 110, 118, 161, 167, 177, 185-6, 192, 195, 318, 361, 404, 416, 422, 456, 500, 585, 655; horse of, 21; cf. dogs of *Yama*.  
*Yamunā*, a river, 62.  
*yātu*, *yātuvid*, and *yātudhāna*: see sorcerers and sorceries.  
 yellow birds and objects for the cure of jaundice, 264.  
 younger brother's precedence over an older, expiation of, 164, 523.

## II. INDEX OF HYMNS IN THE ORDER OF THE ATHARVA-VEDA. .

PAGES			PAGES			PAGES		
I, 2	. .	8, 233	III, 4	. .	113, 330	V, 14	. .	77, 429
3	. .	10, 235	5	. .	114, 331	18	. .	169, 430
7	. .	64, 237	6	. .	91, 334	19	. .	171, 433
8	. .	65, 239	7	. .	15, 336	20	. .	130, 436
9	. .	116, 239	9	. .	67, 339	21	. .	131, 439
10	. .	11, 241	11	. .	49, 341	22	. .	1, 441
11	. .	99, 242	12	. .	140, 343	23	. .	23, 452
12	. .	7, 246	13	. .	146, 348	30	. .	59, 455
14	. .	107, 252	14	. .	143, 351	31	. .	76, 456
16	. .	65, 256	15	. .	148, 352	VI, 2	. .	66, 458
17	. .	22, 257	18	. .	107, 354	8	. .	100, 459
18	. .	109, 260	23	. .	97, 356	9	. .	101, 459
19	. .	120, 262	25	. .	102, 358	11	. .	97, 460
22	. .	7, 263	28	. .	145, 359	12	. .	28, 461
23	. .	16, 266	30	. .	134, 361	14	. .	8, 463
24	. .	16, 268	31	. .	51, 364	16	. .	30, 464
25	. .	3, 270	IV, 3	. .	147, 366	17	. .	98, 467
34	. .	99, 274	4	. .	31, 369	18	. .	106, 467
II, 3	. .	9, 277	5	. .	105, 371	20	. .	3, 468
4	. .	37, 280	6	. .	25, 373	21	. .	30, 470
7	. .	91, 285	7	. .	26, 376	24	. .	12, 471
8	. .	13, 286	8	. .	111, 378	25	. .	19, 472
9	. .	34, 290	9	. .	61, 381	26	. .	163, 473
10	. .	14, 292	10	. .	62, 383	27	. .	166, 474
12	. .	89, 294	12	. .	19, 384	29	. .	166, 475
14	. .	66, 298	16	. .	88, 389	32	. .	36, 475
25	. .	36, 302	17	. .	69, 393	37	. .	93, 475
26	. .	142, 303	18	. .	70, 396	38	. .	116, 477
27	. .	137, 304	19	. .	71, 397	39	. .	117, 478
28	. .	50, 306	20	. .	68, 398	42	. .	136, 479
29	. .	47, 308	22	. .	115, 404	43	. .	137, 480
30	. .	100, 311	28	. .	158, 406	44	. .	10, 481
31	. .	22, 313	36	. .	35, 407	45	. .	163, 483
32	. .	23, 317	37	. .	33, 408	46	. .	167, 485
33	. .	44, 321	38	. .	149, 412	50	. .	142, 485
36	. .	94, 322	V, 4	. .	4, 414	56	. .	151, 487
III, 1	. .	121, 325	5	. .	20, 419	57	. .	19, 488
2	. .	121, 327	7	. .	172, 423	59	. .	144, 490
3	. .	112, 327	13	. .	27, 425	60	. .	95, 491

	PAGES		PAGES		PAGES
VI, 64	. . 136, 492	VI, 127	. . 40, 530	VIII, 2	. . 55, 573
70	. . 144, 493	128	. . 160, 532	5	. . 79, 575
71	. . 196, 494	130	. . 104, 534	7	. . 41, 578
73	. . 135, 494	131	. . 104, 535	8	. . 117, 582
74	. . 135, 495	132	. . 104, 535	IX, 1	. . 229, 587
75	. . 92, 495	136	. . 31, 536	2	. . 220, 591
77	. . 106, 496	137	. . 31, 537	3	. . 193, 595
78	. . 96, 498	138	. . 108, 537	8	. . 45, 600
79	. . 141, 499	139	. . 102, 539	X, 1	. . 72, 602
80	. . 13, 500	140	. . 110, 540	3	. . 81, 605
81	. . 96, 501	142	. . 141, 541	4	. . 152, 605
82	. . 95, 502	VII, 9	. . 159, 542	6	. . 84, 608
83	. . 17, 503	11	. . 142, 543	XI, 1	. . 179, 610
85	. . 39, 505	12	. . 138, 543	2	. . 155, 618
90	. . 11, 506	13	. . 93, 544	4	. . 218, 622
91	. . 40, 507	35	. . 98, 545	5	. . 214, 626
92	. . 145, 507	36	. . 96, 546	6	. . 160, 628
94	. . 138, 508	37	. . 96, 546	7	. . 226, 629
96	. . 44, 509	38	. . 103, 546	9	. . 123, 631
97	. . 122, 510	45	. . 107, 547	10	. . 126, 637
99	. . 123, 510	50	. . 150, 548	XII, 1	. . 199, 639
100	. . 27, 511	52	. . 136, 550	3	. . 185, 645
102	. . 101, 512	53	. . 52, 551	4	. . 174, 656
105	. . 8, 513	56	. . 29, 552	XIII, 1	. . 207, 661
106	. . 147, 514	64	. . 167, 555	XIX, 26	. . 63, 668
109	. . 21, 516	65	. . 72, 556	34	. . 38, 669
110	. . 109, 517	70	. . 90, 557	35	. . 39, 674
111	. . 52, 518	74	. . 18, 557	38	. . 40, 675
112	. . 164, 521	76	. . 17, 559	39	. . 5, 676
113	. . 165, 527	83	. . 12, 562	53	. . 224, 681
114	. . 164, 528	115	. . 168, 564	54	. . 225, 687
115	. . 164, 529	116	. . 4, 565	XX, 127	. . 197, 688
120	. . 165, 529	VIII, 1	. . 53, 569		

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 2, stanza 7 : For the Mûgavants as the type of a distant people, see Sat. Br. II, 6, 2, 17.
- P. 5, stanza 2 : *read* 'na-gha-mâra' *for* 'na-ghâ-mâra.'
- P. 6, stanza 10 : *insert the words* 'that burns the head' *after* 'takman.'
- P. 16, hymns I, 23 and 24 : for symbolic removal of leprosy by the sacrifice of a white cow, see Kâty. Sr. XV, 3, 37.
- P. 20, stanza 6 : *read* 'felloe' *for* 'feloe.'
- P. 28, stanzas 10, 11 : cf. Weber, Proceedings of the Berlin Academy, 1896, pp. 681 ff., 873 ff.
- P. 37, line 8 : *read* 'did' *for* 'do.'
- P. 44, bottom : *read* 'II, 33' *for* 'II, 32.'
- P. 49, title : *read* 'âyushyâni' *for* 'âyushyâni.'
- P. 64, title : *read* 'âbhiârikâni' *for* 'âbhiârikâni.'
- P. 70, stanza 1 : *read* 'Light' *for* 'Night.'
- P. 84, in the title of X, 6 : *read* 'of an amulet' *for* 'of amulet.'
- P. 100, line 10 : *insert the words* 'woman, shalt love,' *after* 'thou.'
- P. 136, hymns VI, 42 and 43 : cf. Sat. Br. XI, 6, 1, 13.
- P. 173, line 2 : *read* 'dost' *for* 'didst.'
- P. 178, stanza 44 : *insert* 'O Brihaspati' *after* 'vilipî.'
- P. 190, line 6 : *read* 'stirring-stick' *for* 'stirring stick.'
- P. 238, stanza 2 : cf. Baudh. Dh. II, 8, 15, 4; Vishnu-smṛiti LXXIII, 11.
- P. 239, in the second line of the introduction to I, 9 : *read* 'consecration' *for* 'coronation.'
- P. 253, note : 'nishpramanda-dantadhâvana' may mean 'tooth-wash without the fragrant substance pramanda.' A symbolic interpretation of nishpramanda, 'bereft of delight,' seems to be implied with double meaning.
- P. 307, stanza 1 : cf. Susruta I, 22, 10.
- P. 531, stanza 1 : *for* vidradhâ cf. RV. IV, 32, 23 (Ludwig's commentary, vol. v, p. 93); AV. IX, 8, 20; Roth, Nirukta, Erläuterungen, p. 42 ff.



TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS  
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

1 Tenuis . . . . .  
 2 " aspirata . . . . .  
 3 Media . . . . .  
 4 " aspirata . . . . .  
 5 Gutturo-labialis . . . . .  
 6 Nasalis . . . . .  
 7 Spiritus asper . . . . .  
 8 " lenis . . . . .  
 9 " asper faucalis . . . . .  
 10 " lenis faucalis . . . . .  
 11 " asper fricatus . . . . .  
 12 " lenis fricatus . . . . .  
 Gutturales modificatae  
 (palatales, &c.)  
 13 Tenuis . . . . .  
 14 " aspirata . . . . .  
 15 Media . . . . .  
 16 " aspirata . . . . .  
 17 " Nasalis . . . . .

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 . . . . .	ñ (ng)	. . .	. . .	𐬪	𐬪	𐬪	𐬪	𐬪	𐬪	. . .
7 Spiritus asper . . . . .	h	. . .	. . .	ह	𐬫	𐬫	𐬫	𐬫	𐬫	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	. . .	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	k
14 " aspirata . . . . .	.	kh	. . .	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	kh
15 Media . . . . .	.	g	. . .	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	. . .
16 " aspirata . . . . .	.	gh	. . .	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	. . .
17 " Nasalis . . . . .	.	ṅ	. . .	𐬄	𐬄	𐬄	𐬄	𐬄	𐬄	. . .

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis . . . . .	y	...	...	य	𐬨 𐬨𐬨 𐬨𐬨𐬨 init.	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	י	y
19 Spiritus asper . . . . .	...	(y)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " lenis . . . . .	...	(y)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 " asper assibilatus . . . . .	...	s	...	श	𐬨𐬨	𐬨𐬨	𐬨𐬨	𐬨𐬨	...	...
22 " lenis assibilatus . . . . .	...	z	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Dentales.</b>										
23 Tenuis . . . . .	t	...	...	त	𐬨𐬨	𐬨𐬨	𐬨𐬨	𐬨𐬨	...	...
24 " aspirata . . . . .	th	...	...	थ	𐬨𐬨	...	...	...	...	...
25 " assibilata . . . . .	d	...	TH	द	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Media . . . . .	dh	...	...	ध	...	...	...	...	...	...
27 " aspirata . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
28 " assibilata . . . . .	...	...	DH	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
29 Nasalis . . . . .	n	...	...	न	...	...	...	...	...	...
30 Semivocalis . . . . .	l	...	...	ल	...	...	...	...	...	...
31 " mollis 1 . . . . .	...	l	...	ळ	...	...	...	...	...	...
32 " mollis 2 . . . . .	...	...	L	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
33 Spiritus asper 1 . . . . .	s	...	...	ष	...	...	...	...	...	...
34 " asper 2 . . . . .	...	...	s (s)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
35 " lenis . . . . .	z	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
36 " asperimus 1 . . . . .	...	...	z (z)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
37 " asperimus 2 . . . . .	...	...	z (z)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...







# SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED BY

VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER.

*\*\* This Series is published with the sanction and co-operation of the Secretary of State for India in Council.*

---

**REPORT** presented to the **ACADÉMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS**, May 11, 1883, by **M. HENRI RENAN**.

'M. Renan présente trois nouveaux volumes de la grande collection des "Livres sacrés de l'Orient" (Sacred Books of the East), que dirige à Oxford, avec une si vaste érudition et une critique si sûre, le savant associé de l'Académie des Inscriptions, M. Max Müller. . . La première série de ce beau recueil, composée de 24 volumes, est presque achevée. M. Max Müller se propose d'en publier

une seconde, dont l'intérêt historique et religieux ne sera pas moindre. M. Max Müller a su se procurer la collaboration des savans les plus éminens d'Europe et d'Asie. L'Université d'Oxford, que cette grande publication honore au plus haut degré, doit tenir à continuer dans les plus larges proportions une œuvre aussi philosophiquement conçue que savamment exécutée.'

## EXTRACT from the **QUARTERLY REVIEW**.

'We rejoice to notice that a second series of these translations has been announced and has actually begun to appear. The stones, at least, out of which a stately edifice may hereafter arise, are here being brought together. Prof. Max Müller has deserved well of scientific history. Not a few minds owe to his enticing words their first attraction to this branch of study. But no work of his, not even the

great edition of the Rig-Veda, can compare in importance or in usefulness with this English translation of the Sacred Books of the East, which has been devised by his foresight, successfully brought so far by his persuasive and organising power, and will, we trust, by the assistance of the distinguished scholars he has gathered round him, be carried in due time to a happy completion.'

**Professor H. HARDY**, Inaugural Lecture in the University of Freiburg, 1887.

'Die allgemeine vergleichende Religionswissenschaft datirt von jenem grossartigen, in seiner Art einzig dastehenden Unternehmen, zu welchem auf Anregung Max Müllers im Jahre 1874 auf dem

internationalen Orientalistencongress in London der Grundstein gelegt worden war, die Übersetzung der heiligen Bücher des Ostens' (*the Sacred Books of the East*).

**The Hon. ALBERT S. G. CANNING**, 'Words on Existing Religions.'

'The recent publication of the "Sacred Books of the East" in English is surely

a great event in the annals of theological literature.'

---

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS  
LONDON: HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AMEN CORNER, E.C.

## FIRST SERIES.

### VOL. I. The Upanishads.

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part I. The *Khândogya-upanishad*, The *Talavakâra-upanishad*, The *Aitareya-âraṇyaka*, The *Kaushîtaki-brâhmana-upanishad*, and The *Vâgasaneyi-samhitâ-upanishad*. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The Upanishads contain the philosophy of the Veda. They have become the foundation of the later Vedânta doctrines, and indirectly of Buddhism. Schopenhauer, speaking of the Upanishads, says: 'In the whole world there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanishads. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death.'*

[See also Vol. XV.]

### VOL. II. The Sacred Laws of the Âryas,

As taught in the Schools of Âpastamba, Gautama, Vâsishtha, and Baudhâya. Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. Part I. Âpastamba and Gautama. *Second Edition*. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The Sacred Laws of the Âryas contain the original treatises on which the Laws of Manu and other lawgivers were founded.*

[See also Vol. XIV.]

### VOL. III. The Sacred Books of China.

The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Part I. The *Shû King*, The Religious Portions of the *Shih King*, and The *Hsiâo King*. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

*Confucius was a collector of ancient traditions, not the founder of a new religion. As he lived in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. his works are of unique interest for the study of Ethology.*

[See also Vols. XVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXIX, and XL.]

### VOL. IV. The Zend-Avesta.

Translated by JAMES DARMESTETER. Part I. The *Vendîdâd*. *Second Edition*. 8vo, cloth, 14s.

*The Zend-Avesta contains the relics of what was the religion of Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes, and, but for the battle of Marathon,*

*might have become the religion of Europe. It forms to the present day the sacred book of the Parsis, the so-called fire-worshippers. Two more volumes will complete the translation of all that is left us of Zoroaster's religion.*

[See also Vols. XXIII and XXXI.]

**VOL. V. Pahlavi Texts.**

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part I. The Bundahis, Bahman Yast, and Shâyast lâ-shâyast. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

*The Pahlavi Texts comprise the theological literature of the revival of Zoroaster's religion, beginning with the Sassanian dynasty. They are important for a study of Gnosticism.*

**VOLS. VI AND IX. The Qur'ân.**

Parts I and II. Translated by E. H. PALMER. 8vo, cloth, 21s.

*This translation, carried out according to his own peculiar views of the origin of the Qur'ân, was the last great work of E. H. Palmer, before he was murdered in Egypt.*

**VOL. VII. The Institutes of Vishnu.**

Translated by JULIUS JOLLY. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*A collection of legal aphorisms, closely connected with one of the oldest Vedic schools, the Kathas, but considerably added to in later time. Of importance for a critical study of the Laws of Manu.*

**VOL. VIII. The Bhagavadgîtâ, with The Sanatsugâtiya, and The Anugîtâ.**

Translated by KÂSHINÂTH TRIMBAK TELANG. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The earliest philosophical and religious poem of India. It has been paraphrased in Arnold's 'Song Celestial.'*

**VOL. X. The Dhammapada,**

Translated from Pâli by F. MAX MÜLLER; and

**The Sutta-Nipâta,**

Translated from Pâli by V. FAUSBÖLL; being Canonical Books of the Buddhists. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The Dhammapada contains the quintessence of Buddhist morality. The Sutta-Nipâta gives the authentic teaching of Buddha on some of the fundamental principles of religion.*

**VOL. XI. Buddhist Suttas.**

Translated from Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. 1. The Mahā-parinibbāna Suttanta; 2. The Dhamma-kakka-ppavattana Sutta. 3. The Tevigga Suttanta; 4. The Ākaṅkheyya Sutta; 5. The Ketokhila Sutta; 6. The Mahā-sudassana Suttanta; 7. The Sabbāsava Sutta. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*A collection of the most important religious, moral, and philosophical discourses taken from the sacred canon of the Buddhists.*

**VOL. XII. The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa, according to the Text of the Mādhyandina School.**

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part I. Books I and II. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

*A minute account of the sacrificial ceremonies of the Vedic age. It contains the earliest account of the Deluge in India.*

[See also Vols. XXVI, XLI.]

**VOL. XIII. Vinaya Texts.**

Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part I. The Pātimokkha. The Mahāvagga, I–IV. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The Vinaya Texts give for the first time a translation of the moral code of the Buddhist religion as settled in the third century B.C.*

[See also Vols. XVII and XX.]

**VOL. XIV. The Sacred Laws of the Āryas,**

As taught in the Schools of Āpastamba, Gautama, Vāsishṭha, and Baudhāyana. Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. Part II. Vāsishṭha and Baudhāyana. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

**VOL. XV. The Upanishads.**

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part II. The Katha-upanishad, The Mundaka-upanishad, The Taittirīyaka-upanishad, The Brīhadāraṇyaka-upanishad, The Svetāsvatara-upanishad, The Prasṇa-upanishad, and The Maitrāyaṇa-brāhmaṇa-upanishad. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

**VOL. XVI. The Sacred Books of China.**

The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Part II. The Yì King. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

[See also Vols. XXVII, XXVIII.]

**VOL. XVII. Vinaya Texts.**

Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part II. The Mahāvagga, V–X. The Kullavagga, I–III. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

**VOL. XVIII. Pahlavi Texts.**

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part II. The Dâdistân-î Dînîk and The Epistles of Mânûskîhar. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

**VOL. XIX. The Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king.**

A Life of Buddha by Arvaghosha Bodhisattva, translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Dharmaraksha, A.D. 420, and from Chinese into English by SAMUEL BEAL. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*This life of Buddha was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese, A.D. 420. It contains many legends, some of which show a certain similarity to the Evangelium infantiae, &c.*

**VOL. XX. Vinaya Texts.**

Translated from the Pâli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part III. The Kullavagga, IV-XII. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

**VOL. XXI. The Saddharma-pundarîka ; or, The Lotus of the True Law.**

Translated by H. KERN. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

*'The Lotus of the true Law,' a canonical book of the Northern Buddhists, translated from Sanskrit. There is a Chinese translation of this book which was finished as early as the year 286 A.D.*

**VOL. XXII. Gaina-Sûtras.**

Translated from Prâkrit by HERMANN JACOBI. Part I. The Âkârânga-Sûtra and The Kalpa-Sûtra. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The religion of the Gainas was founded by a contemporary of Buddha. It still counts numerous adherents in India, while there are no Buddhists left in India proper.*

[See Vol. XLV.]

**VOL. XXIII. The Zend-Avesta.**

Translated by JAMES DARMESTETER. Part II. The Sîrôzahs, Yasts, and Nyâyis. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

**VOL. XXIV. Pahlavi Texts.**

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part III. Dînâ-î Mainôg-Khirad, Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr, and Sad Dar. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

## SECOND SERIES.

**VOL. XXV. Manu.**

Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. 8vo, cloth, 21s.

This translation is founded on that of Sir William Jones, which has been carefully revised and corrected with the help of seven native Commentaries. An Appendix contains all the quotations from Manu which are found in the Hindu Law-books, translated for the use of the Law Courts in India. Another Appendix gives a synopsis of parallel passages from the six Dharma-sûtras, the other Smritis, the Upanishads, the Mahâbhârata, &c.

**VOL. XXVI. The Satapatha-Brâhmaṇa.**

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part II. Books III and IV. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

**VOLS. XXVII AND XXVIII. The Sacred Books of China.**

The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Parts III and IV. The *Lî Kî*, or Collection of Treatises on the Rules of Propriety, or Ceremonial Usages. 8vo, cloth, 25s.

**VOL. XXIX. The Grîhya-Sûtras, Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies.**

Part I. Sâṅkhâyana, Âsvalâyana, Pâraskara, Khâdira. Translated by HERMANN OLDENBERG. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

These rules of Domestic Ceremonies describe the home life of the ancient Âryas with a completeness and accuracy unmatched in any other literature. Some of these rules have been incorporated in the ancient Law-books.

**VOL. XXX. The Grîhya-Sûtras, Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies.**

Part II. Gobhila, Hiranyakesin, Âpastamba. Translated by HERMANN OLDENBERG. Âpastamba, *Yagña-paribhâshâ-sûtras*. Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

**VOL. XXXI. The Zend-Avesta.**

Part III. The Yasna, Visparad, Âfrînagân, Gâhs, and Miscellaneous Fragments. Translated by L. H. MILLS. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

**VOL. XXXII. Vedic Hymns.**

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part I. 8vo, cloth, 18s. 6d.

- VOL. XXXIII.** The Minor Law-books.  
Translated by JULIUS JOLLY. Part I. Nārada, Brīhaspati.  
8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.
- VOL. XXXIV.** The Vedānta-Sūtras, with the Commentary by Saṅkarācārya. Part I.  
Translated by G. THIBAUT. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.
- VOLS. XXXV AND XXXVI.** The Questions of King Milinda.  
Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.  
Part I. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d. Part II. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.
- VOL. XXXVII.** The Contents of the Nasks, as stated in the Eighth and Ninth Books of the Dīnkaṛd.  
Part I. Translated by E. W. WEST. 8vo, cloth, 15s.
- VOL. XXXVIII.** The Vedānta-Sūtras. Part II. 8vo, cloth, with full Index to both Parts, 12s. 6d.
- VOLS. XXXIX AND XL.** The Sacred Books of China. The Texts of Tāoism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. 8vo, cloth, 21s.
- VOL. XLI.** The Satapatha - Brāhmaṇa. Part III.  
Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.
- VOL. XLII.** Hymns of the Atharva-veda.  
Translated by M. BLOOMFIELD. 8vo, cloth, 21s.
- VOLS. XLIII AND XLIV.** The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa. Parts IV and V. [In preparation.]
- VOL. XLV.** The Gaiṇa-Sūtras.  
Translated from Prakṛit, by HERMANN JACOBI. Part II. The Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra, The Sūtrakṛitāṅga Sūtra. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.
- VOL. XLVI.** Vedic Hymns. Part II. 8vo, cloth, 14s.
- VOL. XLVII.** The Contents of the Nasks. Part II. [In preparation.]
- VOL. XLVIII.**
- VOL. XLIX.** Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts. Buddha-karita, translated by E. B. COWELL. Sukhāvati-vyūha, Vagṛakkhe-dikā, &c., translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Amitāyur-Dhyāna-Sūtra, translated by J. TAKAKUSU. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.



## Anecdota Oxoniensia.

ARYAN SERIES.

### *Buddhist Texts from Japan. I. Vagrakkhedikā ; The Diamond-Cutter.*

Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A. Small 4to, 3s. 6d.

One of the most famous metaphysical treatises of the Mahâyâna Buddhists.

### *Buddhist Texts from Japan. II. Sukhâvatî-Vyûha : Description of Sukhâvatî, the Land of Bliss.*

Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A., and BUNYIU NANJIO. With two Appendices: (1) Text and Translation of Saṅghavarman's Chinese Version of the Poetical Portions of the Sukhâvatî-Vyûha ; (2) Sanskrit Text of the Smaller Sukhâvatî-Vyûha. Small 4to, 7s. 6d.

The *editio princeps* of the Sacred Book of one of the largest and most influential sects of Buddhism, numbering more than ten millions of followers in Japan alone.

### *Buddhist Texts from Japan. III. The Ancient Palm-Leaves containing the Prajñâ-Pâramitâ-Hridaya-Sûtra and the Ushnîsha-Vigaya-Dhâraṇî.*

Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A., and BUNYIU NANJIO, M.A. With an Appendix by G. BÜHLER, C.I.E. With many Plates. Small 4to, 10s.

Contains facsimiles of the oldest Sanskrit MS. at present known.

### *Dharma-Samgraha, an Ancient Collection of Buddhist Technical Terms.*

Prepared for publication by KENJIU KASAWARA, a Buddhist Priest from Japan, and, after his death, edited by F. MAX MÜLLER and H. WENZEL. Small 4to, 7s. 6d.

### *Kâtyâyana's Sarvânukramant of the Rîgveda.*

With Extracts from Shadgurushishya's Commentary entitled Vedârthadîpikâ. Edited by A. A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D. 16s.

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

LONDON: HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AMEN CORNER, E.C.



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

UC-NRLF



B 3 022 016



THE  
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND NEW YORK

THE  
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XLIII

Orford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1897

[*All rights reserved*]

REUSE

**Oxford**

**PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS**

**BY HORACE HART, M.A.**

**PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY**



THE  
SATAPATHA-BRÂHMANA

ACCORDING TO THE TEXT OF THE

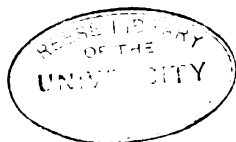
MÂDHYANDINA SCHOOL

TRANSLATED BY

JULIUS EGGELING

PART IV

BOOKS VIII, IX, AND X



©xford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1897

[ *All rights reserved* ]

685  
M94b  
v.43

# CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	xiii

## EIGHTH KÂṆDA.

### The Building of the Sacred Fire-altar (continued).

First Layer (continued):—	1
Prâṇabhṛt (5 sets of 10 each)	1
Lokamprînâ	22
Second Layer:—	22
Âsvinî (5)	23
Rîṭavyâ (2)	29
Vaisvadevî (5)	30
Prâṇabhṛt (5)	33
Apasyâ (5)	34
Kṛhandasyâ (19)	36
Lokamprînâ	41
Third Layer:—	41
Svayamâtrinnâ (1)	42
Diryâ (5)	43
Virvagyotis (1)	47
Rîṭavyâ (4)	48
Prâṇabhṛt (10)	51
Kṛhandasyâ (36)	51
Vâḷakhilyâ (14)	54
Lokamprînâ	58
Fourth Layer:—	58
Stoma (18)	59, 77
Sprîṭ (10)	66

	PAGE
<i>Ritavyâ</i> (2) . . . . .	70
<i>Srîshî</i> (17) . . . . .	71
<i>Lokamprînâ</i> . . . . .	82
Fifth Layer :— . . . . .	82
Asapatnâ (5) . . . . .	83
<i>Khandasyâ</i> , or <i>Virâg</i> (4 sets of 10 each) . . . . .	83, 87
Stomabhâgâ (29) . . . . .	92
Nâkasad (5) . . . . .	97
<i>Pañkatûdâ</i> (5) . . . . .	103
<i>Khandasyâ</i> (10 sets of 3 each) . . . . .	109
Gârhapatya hearth (8) . . . . .	117
Punaskiti (8) . . . . .	119
<i>Ritavyâ</i> (2) . . . . .	125
Virvagyotis (1) . . . . .	129
<i>Lokamprînâ</i> (1) . . . . .	131
Vikarnî (1) . . . . .	141
<i>Svayamâttrinâ</i> (1) . . . . .	142
Sâmans sung thereon . . . . .	145
Scattering of 100 chips of gold on altar . . . . .	146
Symbolical meaning of layers . . . . .	147

## NINTH KÂNDĀ.

Satarudriya . . . . .	150, 156
Oblations on three enclosing-stones . . . . .	158
Avatâna (unstringing) libations . . . . .	163
Pratyavaroha (redescending) libations . . . . .	164
Sprinkling of altar . . . . .	169
Throwing of stone towards Nirriti's quarter . . . . .	171
Taking possession of the bricks, as milch cows . . . . .	172
Drawing of frog, lotus-flower, and bamboo-shoot across the altar . . . . .	174
Sâmans sung round the altar . . . . .	177
Day of Preparation for Soma-sacrifice . . . . .	181
Libations on <i>Svayamâttrinâ</i> . . . . .	182
Sprinkling of altar with sour curds, honey and ghee . . . . .	184
Pravargya . . . . .	187
Leading forward of Agni to the Altar . . . . .	188
Oblations of ghee on udumbara logs . . . . .	189
Lifting of log, setting forth, Apratiratha hymn . . . . .	191

	PAGE
Setting up of variegated stone on Âgnîdhra site . . . . .	195
Mounting of Fire-altar . . . . .	198
Milk-offering on firebrand . . . . .	200
Laying down of, and putting logs on, Âhavanîya fire . . . . .	202
Oblations thereon . . . . .	204
Installation and Consecration of Agni . . . . .	207
Cakes to Vaisvânara and Maruts . . . . .	207
Vasor dhârâ, or shower of wealth . . . . .	213
Ardhendra and Graha oblations . . . . .	216
Yagñakratus . . . . .	217
Oblations to Stomas and age-grades . . . . .	217
Kalpa (prospering) libations . . . . .	220
Vâgaprasaviya libations . . . . .	223
Pârtha libations . . . . .	225
Consecration of Sacrificer . . . . .	226
Râsh/rabhrit oblations . . . . .	229
Oblations on head of chariot . . . . .	233
Yoking of chariot with oblations of air . . . . .	235
Ruñmatî (lightsome) oblations . . . . .	237
Arkâsvamedha-samtati oblations . . . . .	239
Preparatory Rites of Soma-sacrifice . . . . .	241
Building of Dhishnya hearths . . . . .	241
Agnîshomîya (animal) sacrifice . . . . .	245
Oblations to Regions . . . . .	245
Oblations to Divine Quickeners (devasû) . . . . .	246
Parupurodâsa-offering . . . . .	248
Sutyâ, or Day of Soma-sacrifice . . . . .	249
Agniyoga, or yoking of Fire-altar . . . . .	249
Pressing and offering of Soma . . . . .	251
Unyoking of Fire-altar . . . . .	252
Milk for fast-food . . . . .	255
Samish/ayagus oblations . . . . .	257
Udayanîyâ, and offering of barren cow . . . . .	263
Cake to Orderer (Pragâpati and the sun) . . . . .	264
Oblations to goddesses Anumati, Râkâ, Sinîvalî and Kuhû . . . . .	264
Parupurodâsa and concluding ceremonies of offering of barren cow . . . . .	265
Vaisvakarmâna oblations . . . . .	266
Payasyâ-offering to Mitra and Varuna . . . . .	270

	PAGE
Rules for a repeated Agnikayana . . . . .	271
Propitiatory hymn to Indra and Agni . . . . .	274

### TENTH KÂṆDA.

The Mystery of the Fire-altar . . . . .	281
The triad—Fire-altar, Mahad uktham, and Mahâvrata .	281
Parimâd sâmans . . . . .	288
Pragâpati made immortal . . . . .	290
Layers of altar partly mortal and partly immortal .	292
Agnikayana includes all sacrifices . . . . .	296
Contraction and expansion of wings of altar (bird) .	300
Dimensions of Fire-altar . . . . .	305
Sevenfold and hundred and onefold altars . . . . .	313
Time for building the altar . . . . .	316
Number of Upasad-days . . . . .	317
Pragâpati, the Altar and the Year (Time) . . . . .	321
The metres in relation to Pragâpati . . . . .	327
Dhîra Sâtaparmeya and Mahârâla Gâbâla on the knowledge of Agni . . . . .	331
Âruni on the mystery of the Arka . . . . .	333
Mystic import of the Yagus . . . . .	336
The sacred fire, the Arka, the one Akshara, the great Brahman . . . . .	343
Pragâpati, the year, is Agni, and King Soma, the moon . . . . .	349
Trayî vidyâ (the Vedas) . . . . .	352
Pragâpati, the year, as Death . . . . .	356
The Sacrificer is Pragâpati, and immortal . . . . .	357
Numbers of bricks in layers . . . . .	358
Session of a thousand years . . . . .	361
Mystic import of Agni, the Fire-altar . . . . .	363
The gold plate and gold man as sun and the man in the sun . . . . .	366
Death, the man in the right eye, and the man in the sun	371
Mind, the ultimate cause of the universe . . . . .	375
The Fire-altar, the universe . . . . .	381
Kurri Vâgasravasa on the construction of the altar .	390
Asvapati Kaikeya on the nature of Vaisvânara . . . . .	393

---

	PAGE
The Agni-like, Arka-like, Uktha-like Purusha . . .	398
The true Brahman, the Self, the golden Purusha . . .	400
The sacrificial horse (Pragâpati), the universe . . .	401
Death, the ultimate cause . . . . .	402
Death, the Arka and Arvamedha, conquered by knowledge . . . . .	404
Corrections . . . . .	405

---

Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the Trans- lations of the Sacred Books of the East . . . . .	407
---	-----





## INTRODUCTION.

THE present volume completes the exposition of the Agniṣayana, or construction of the sacred Fire-altar. Whilst to the general reader the section of the Brāhmaṇa treating of this ceremony, and extending over no less than five of its fourteen *kāṇḍas*—or rather more than one-third of the whole—will probably appear the least inviting part of the work, a special interest attaches to this ceremony, and the dogmatic explanation of its details, for the student of Indian antiquity. The complicated ritual of the Fire-altar, as has been pointed out before<sup>1</sup>, does not seem to have formed part of the original sacrificial system, but was probably developed independently of it, and incorporated with it at a comparatively recent period. There seems, indeed, some reason to believe that it was elaborated with a definite object in view, viz. that of making the external rites and ceremonies of the sacrificial cult the practical devotional expression of certain dominant speculative theories of the time. As a matter of fact, the dogmatic exposition of no other part of the sacrificial ceremonial reflects so fully and so faithfully as that of the Agniṣayana those cosmogonic and theosophic theories which form a characteristic feature of the Brāhmaṇa period. In the present work, that section commences with a cosmogonic account so elaborate as is hardly to be met with anywhere else in the Brāhmaṇa literature; and throughout the course of performance the symbolic import of its details is

---

<sup>1</sup> See part i, introduction, p. xxxi.

explained here, as in other Brāhmaṇas, on the lines of those cosmogonic speculations.

When, towards the close of the period represented by the Vedic hymns, inquiring minds began to look beyond the elemental gods of the traditional belief for some ulterior source of mundane life and existence, the conception of a supreme, primordial being, the creator of the universe, became the favourite topic of speculation. We accordingly find different poets of that age singing of this uncreate being under different names,—they call him Visvakarman, the ‘All-worker’; or Hiraṇyagarbha, the ‘golden Embryo’; or Puruṣa, the ‘Person’; or Ka, the ‘Who?’; or the heavenly Gandharva Visvāvasu, ‘All-wealth’; or Pragâpati, the ‘Lord of Creatures.’ Or they have recourse to a somewhat older figure of the Pantheon, likewise of abstract conception, and call him Brahmanaspati<sup>1</sup>, the Lord of prayer or devotion; a figure which would naturally commend itself to the priestly mind, and which, indeed, in a later phase of Hindu religion, came to supply not only the name of the abstract, impersonal form of the deity, the world-spirit, but also that of the first of its three personal forms, the creator of the Hindu triad. Amongst these and other names by which the supreme deity is thus designated in the philosophic hymns of the *Rîk* and *Atharva-veda*, the name of Pragâpati, the Lord of Creatures or generation, plays a very important part in the immediately succeeding period of literature, viz. that of the Brāhmaṇas.

In the so-called Puruṣa-hymn (*Rîg-veda* X, 90), in which the supreme spirit is conceived of as *the* Person or Man (Puruṣa), born in the beginning, and consisting of ‘whatsoever hath been and whatsoever shall be,’ the creation of the visible and invisible universe is represented as originating from an ‘all-offered’ sacrifice<sup>2</sup> (*yagñā*) in which the Puruṣa himself forms the offering-material (*havis*), or, as one might

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Rîg-veda* X, 22, 2.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, a sacrifice at which not only portions of the sacrificial dish, or the victim, are offered up to the deities, but where every single part of it is offered.

say, the victim. In this primeval—or rather timeless, because ever-proceeding—sacrifice, Time itself, in the shape of its unit, the Year, is made to take its part, inasmuch as the three seasons, spring, summer, and autumn, of which it consists, constitute the ghee, the offering-fuel, and the oblation respectively. These speculations may be said to have formed the foundation on which the theory of the sacrifice, as propounded in the *Brāhmaṇas*, has been reared. *Pragâpati*, who here takes the place of the *Purusha*, the world-man, or all-embracing Personality, is offered up anew in every sacrifice; and inasmuch as the very dismemberment of the Lord of Creatures, which took place at that archetypal sacrifice, was in itself the creation of the universe, so every sacrifice is also a repetition of that first creative act. Thus the periodical sacrifice is nothing else than a microcosmic representation of the ever-proceeding destruction and renewal of all cosmic life and matter. The theologians of the *Brāhmaṇas* go, however, an important step further by identifying the performer, or patron, of the sacrifice—the Sacrificer—with *Pragâpati*; and it is this identification which may perhaps furnish us with a clue to the reason why the authors of the *Brāhmaṇas* came to fix upon '*Pragâpati*' as the name of the supreme spirit. The name '*Lord of Creatures*' is, no doubt, in itself a perfectly appropriate one for the author of all creation and generation; but seeing that the peculiar doctrine of the *Purusha-sūkta* imparted such a decisive direction to subsequent dogmatic speculation, it might seem rather strange that the name there chosen to designate the supreme being should have been discarded, only to be employed occasionally, and then mostly with a somewhat different application<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, the term '*Pragâpati*' was manifestly a

<sup>1</sup> In its original sense it occurs at the beginning of the *Agnikāyana* section, VI, 1, 1, 2-5, in connection with what might almost be regarded as an exposition of the *Purusha-sūkta*. The seven original *purushas* out of which *the Purusha* comes to be compacted, are apparently intended to account for the existence of the seven *Rīshis* (explained in the *Brāhmaṇas* as representing the vital airs) prior to the creation of the one *Purusha*. It would seem that they themselves previously composed the as yet uncorporeal *Purusha*.

singularly convenient one for the identification of the Sacrificer with the supreme 'Lord of Creatures'; for, doubtless, men who could afford to have great and costly sacrifices, such as those of the Srauta ceremonial, performed for them—if they were not themselves Brāhmans, in which case the term might not be inappropriate either—would almost invariably be 'Lords of Creatures,' i.e. rulers of men and possessors of cattle, whether they were mighty kings, or petty rulers, or landed proprietors, or chiefs of clans. It may be remarked, in this respect, that there is in the language of the Brāhmaṇas a constant play on the word 'pragā' (progenies), which in one place means 'creature' in general, whilst in another it has the sense of 'people, subjects,' and in yet another the even more restricted one of 'offspring or family.'

How far this identification of the human Sacrificer with the divine Pragāpati goes back, and whether, when first adopted, it was applied at once to the whole of the sacrificial system, or whether it rather originated with a certain restricted group of ritualists in connection with some limited portion of the ceremonial such as the Agniṣayana, and became subsequently part and parcel of the sacrificial theory, it would probably not be easy to determine. As regards the symbolic connection of the Sacrificer himself with the sacrifice, there can at any rate be no doubt that it was an essential and an intimate one from the very beginning of the sacrificial practice. When a man offers to the gods their favourite food, it is in order to please them and to gain some special object of his own,—either to make them strong and inclined for fighting his battles, and to secure their help for some undertaking of his or against some danger by which he is threatened; or to deprecate their wrath at some offence he knows or fancies he has committed against them; or to thank them for past favours, with an eye, it may be, to new and still greater favours to come. Gradually, however, the connection becomes a subtler and more mystic one; the notion of substitution enters into the sacrifice: it is in lieu of his own self that man makes the

✓ offering. This notion is a familiar one to the theologians of the *Brāhmaṇas*, either in the sense that the oblation is sent up to the gods in order to prepare the way for the Sacrificer, and secure a place for him in heaven ; or in the sense that along with the burnt-offering the human body of the Sacrificer is mystically consumed, and a new, divine body prepared to serve him in the celestial abodes. Intimately connected with this latter notion we find another, introduced rather vaguely, which makes the sacrifice a mystic union in which the Sacrificer generates from out of the Vedi (f.), or altar-ground, his future, divine self. In this respect Agni, the offering-fire, also appears as the mate of Vedi<sup>1</sup> ; but it will be seen that Agni himself is but another form of the divine and the human *Pragâpati*.

With the introduction of the *Pragâpati* theory into the sacrificial metaphysics, theological speculation takes a higher flight, developing features not unlike, in some respects, to those of Gnostic philosophy. From a mere act of piety, and of practical, if mystic, significance to the person, or persons, immediately concerned, the sacrifice—in the esoteric view of the metaphysician, at least—becomes an event of cosmic significance. By offering up his own self in sacrifice, *Pragâpati* becomes dismembered ; and all those separated limbs and faculties of his come to form the universe,—all that exists, from the gods and Asuras (the children of Father *Pragâpati*) down to the worm, the blade of grass, and the smallest particle of inert matter. It requires a new, and ever new, sacrifice to build the dismembered Lord of Creatures up again, and restore him so as to enable him to offer himself up again and again, and renew the universe, and thus keep up the uninterrupted revolution of time and matter. The idea of the dismembered *Pragâpati*, and of this or that sacrificial act being required to complete and replenish him, occurs throughout the lucubrations of the *Brāhmaṇas* ; but in the exposition of the ordinary forms of sacrifice, this element can hardly be considered as

<sup>1</sup> See I, 2, 3, 15-16. From the woman Vedi (otherwise representing the earth) creatures generally are produced ; cf. III, 5, 1, 11.

one of vital importance ; whilst in the Agnikayana, on the contrary, it is of the very essence of the whole performance. Indeed, it seems to me by no means unlikely that the Purusha-Pragâpati dogma was first practically developed in connection with the ceremony of the Fire-altar<sup>1</sup>, and that, along with the admission of the latter into the regular sacrificial ceremonial, it was worked into the sacrificial theory generally. In the Agnikayana section (Kândas VI-X), as has already been stated<sup>2</sup>, Sândilya is referred to as the chief authority in doctrinal matters, whilst in the remaining portions of the Brâhmana, that place of honour is assigned to Yâgñavalkya. Now, it may be worthy of notice, in connection with this question of the Pragâpati dogma, that in the list of successive teachers<sup>3</sup> appended to the Agnikayana section, the transmission of the sacrificial science—or rather of the science of the Fire-altar, for the list can only refer to that section—is traced from Sândilya upwards to Tura Kâvasheya, who is stated to have received it from Pragâpati ; the Lord of Creatures, on his part, having received it from the (impersonal) Brahman. Does not this look almost like a distinct avowal of Sândilya and his spiritual predecessors being answerable for having introduced the doctrine of the identity of Pragâpati and the sacrifice into the sacrificial philosophy ? If such be the case, the adaptation of this theory to the dogmatic explanation of the other parts of the ceremonial, as far as the Satapatha-Brâhmana is concerned, might be supposed to have been carried out about the time of Samgîvi-putra, when the union of the two lines of teachers seems to have taken place<sup>4</sup>. But seeing that the tenth Kânda, called the Mystery, or secret doctrine, of the Fire-altar, was apparently not at first included in the sacrificial canon of the Vâga-

<sup>1</sup> VI, 2, 21, 'This performance (of the Agnikayana) assuredly belongs to Pragâpati, for it is Pragâpati he undertakes (to construct) by this performance.'

<sup>2</sup> Part i, introduction, p. xxxi.

<sup>3</sup> For this *Vamsa*, as well as that appended to the last book of the Brâhmana, see *ibid.* p. xxxiii, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. xxxiv ; Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 437.

saneyins<sup>1</sup>, the mystic speculations in which that section so freely indulges would seem to have been left apart from the regular canon, along with other floating material which was not considered suitable for practical purposes, or indispensable for an intelligent appreciation of the hidden import of the sacrificial rites.

Once granted that the real purport of all sacrificial performances is the restoration of the dismembered Lord of Creatures, and the reconstruction of the All, it cannot be denied that, of all ceremonial observances, the building of the great Fire-altar was the one most admirably adapted for this grand symbolic purpose. The very magnitude of the structure;—nay, its practically illimitable extent<sup>2</sup>, coupled with the immense number of single objects—mostly bricks of various kinds—of which it is composed, cannot but offer sufficiently favourable conditions for contriving what might fairly pass for a miniature representation of at least the visible universe. The very name ‘Agni,’ by which the Fire-altar is invariably designated, indicates from the very outset an identification of cardinal importance—that of Pragâpati with Agni, the god of fire, and the sacrifice. It is a natural enough identification; for, as Pragâpati is the arch-sacrificer, so Agni is the divine sacrificer, the priest of the sacrifice. Hence the constantly occurring triad—Pragâpati, Agni, and (the human) Sacrificer. The identity of the altar and the sacred fire which is ultimately to be placed thereon is throughout insisted upon. Side by side with the forming and baking of the bricks for the altar takes place the process of shaping and baking the fire-pan (ukhâ). During the year over which the building of the altar is spread, the sacred fire is carried about in the pan by the Sacrificer for a certain time each day. In the same way as the layers of the altar are arranged so as to represent earth, air, and heaven, so the fire-pan is fashioned in such a way as to be a miniature copy of the three worlds<sup>3</sup>. But, while this identity is never lost sight of, it is not an absolute

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. xxxii.

<sup>2</sup> See X, 2, 3, 17-18; 2, 4, 1 seqq.; 4, 3, 5-8.

<sup>3</sup> VI, 5, 2, 1 seq.; VII, 1, 2, 7-9.

one, but rather one which seems to hold good only for this special sacrificial performance. Though it may be that we have to look upon this identification as a serious attempt to raise Agni, the divine priest, to the position of a supreme deity, the creator of the universe, such a design seems nowhere to be expressed in clear and unmistakeable terms. Nor are the relations between the two deities always defined consistently. Pragâpati is *the* god above all other gods; he is the thirty-fourth god, and includes all the gods (which Agni does likewise); he is the three worlds as well as the fourth world beyond them<sup>1</sup>. Whilst, thus, he is the universe, Agni is the child of the universe, the (cosmic) waters being the womb from which he springs<sup>2</sup>. Whence a lotus-leaf is placed at the bottom of the fire-altar to represent the waters and the womb from which Agni-Pragâpati and the human Sacrificer are to be born. Agni is both the father and the son of Pragâpati: 'inasmuch as Pragâpati created Agni, he is Agni's father; and inasmuch as Agni restored him, Agni is his father<sup>3</sup>.' Yet the two are separate; for Pragâpati covets Agni's forms,—forms (such as Îsâna, the lord; Mahân Deva, the great god; Pasupati, the lord of beasts) which are indeed desirable enough for a supreme Lord of Creatures to possess, and which might well induce Pragâpati to take up Agni within his own self. Though, in accordance with an older conception, Agni is still the light or regent of the earth, as Vâyu, the wind, is that of the air, and the sun that of the heavens; it is now explained that really these are but three forms of the one Agni,—that Agni's splendour in heaven is Âditya, that in the air Vâyu, and that on earth the (sacrificial) fire<sup>4</sup>. When Pragâpati is dismembered, Agni takes unto himself the escaping fiery spirit of the god; and when he is set up again, Agni becomes the right arm, as Indra becomes the left one, of the Lord of Creatures. Upon the whole, however, the peculiar relations between the two gods may perhaps be defined best in accordance with the

<sup>1</sup> IV, 6, 1, 4.<sup>2</sup> VI, 1, 2, 26.<sup>3</sup> VI, 8, 2, 4-6.<sup>4</sup> VI, 7, 4, 4; VII, 1, 1, 22-23.



passage already referred to :—Agni is created by Pragâpati, and he subsequently restores Pragâpati by giving up his own body (the fire-altar) to build up anew the dismembered Lord of Creatures, and by entering into him with his own fiery spirit,—‘whence, while being Pragâpati, they yet call him Agni.’

The shape adopted for the altar is that of some large bird—probably an eagle or a falcon—flying towards the east, the gate of heaven. Not that this is the form in which Pragâpati is invariably conceived. On the contrary, he is frequently imagined in the form of a man, and symbolic features are often applied to him which could only fit, or would best fit, a human body. But, being the embodiment of all things, Pragâpati naturally possesses all forms ; whence the shape of a four-footed animal is likewise occasionally applied to the altar<sup>1</sup>. It was, doubtless, both traditional imagery and practical considerations which told in favour of the shape actually chosen. Pragâpati is the sacrifice and the food of the gods<sup>2</sup> ; and Soma, the drink of immortality and at the same time the Moon, is *the* divine food or offering *kar’ êξοχήν*, the *uttamam* havis<sup>3</sup>, or *paramâhuti*<sup>4</sup>, or supreme oblation : hence Pragâpati is Soma<sup>5</sup>. But Soma was brought down from heaven by the bird-shaped Gâyatrî ; and the sacrifice itself is fashioned like a bird<sup>6</sup>. In one passage<sup>7</sup>, certain authorities are referred to as making the altar (Agni) take the form of a bird in order to carry the Sacrificer to heaven ; but the author himself there insists dogmatically on the traditional connection of the altar with Pragâpati : that it was by assuming that form that the vital airs became Pragâpati<sup>8</sup> ; and that in that

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, VIII, 1, 4, 3.

<sup>2</sup> V, 1, 1, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Rîg-veda* IX, 107, 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Sat. Br.* VI, 6, 3, 7.

<sup>5</sup> See, for instance, VI, 2, 2, 16 ; X, 4, 2, 1.

<sup>6</sup> IV, 1, 2, 25.

<sup>7</sup> VI, 1, 2, 36 ; cf. XI, 4, 1, 16.

<sup>8</sup> This can only refer to the cosmological statement at the beginning of the same *Kânda*, where the seven *Rîshis*, or vital airs, are said to have combined to form the bird-shaped *Purusha* or Pragâpati. Though nothing is said there of their having themselves been shaped like birds, this might perhaps be inferred from the use of the term ‘*purusha*’ with reference to them. In the *Purusha-sûkta* nothing whatever is said of a birdlike form, either in regard to the *Rîshis*,

form he created the gods who, on their part, became immortal by assuming the birdlike form—and apparently flying up to heaven, which would seem to imply that the Sacrificer himself is to fly up to heaven in form of the bird-shaped altar, there to become immortal. It is not, however, only with the Moon, amongst heavenly luminaries, that Pragâpati is identified, but also with the Sun; for the latter, as we have seen, is but one of the three forms of Agni, and the fire on the great altar is itself the Sun<sup>1</sup>; whilst the notion of the sun being fashioned like a bird flying through space is not an unfamiliar one to the poets of the Vedic age. More familiar, however, to the authors of the Brâhmanas, as it is more in keeping with the mystic origin of Pragâpati, is the identification of the latter, not with the solar orb itself, but with the man (purusha) in the sun, the real shedder of light and life. This gold man plays an important part in the speculations of the Agnirahasya<sup>2</sup>, where he is represented as identical with the man (purusha) in the (right) eye—the individualised Purusha, as it were; whilst his counterpart in the Fire-altar is the solid gold man (purusha) laid down, below the centre of the first layer, on a gold plate, representing the sun, lying itself on the lotus-leaf already referred to as the womb whence Agni springs. And this gold man in the altar, then, is no other than Agni-Pragâpati and the Sacrificer: above him—in the first, third, and fifth layers—lie the three naturally-perforated bricks, representing the three worlds through which he will have to pass on his way to the fourth, invisible, world, the realm of immortal life. We thus meet here again with the hallowed, old name of the Lord of Being, only to be made use of for new mystic combinations.

As the personified totality of all being, Pragâpati, however, not only represents the phenomena and aspects of space, but also those of time,—he is Father Time. But just as, in the material process of building up the Fire-altar, the infinite dimensions of space require to be reduced to

or the Purusha; the latter being, on the contrary, imagined in the form of a gigantic man.

<sup>1</sup> VI, 1, 2, 20; 3, 1, 15.

<sup>2</sup> X, 5, 2, 1 seqq.

finite proportions, so, in regard to time, the year, as the lowest complete revolution of time, is taken to represent the Lord of Creation :—he is Father Year ; and accordingly Agni, the Fire-altar, takes a full year to complete. And, in the same way, Agni, the sacrificial fire, from the time of his being generated in the fire-pan, as the womb, requires to be carried about by the Sacrificer for a whole year, to be matured by him before the child Agni can be born and placed on the Fire-altar. The reason why the Sacrificer must do so is, of course, that Agni, being the child of the universe—that is of Pragâpati and the Sacrificer,—the latter, at the time when the fire is kindled in the fire-pan, has, as it were, to take Agni within his own self<sup>1</sup>, and has afterwards to produce him from out of his own self when mature.

But whilst, in regard to Agni-Pragâpati, the year during which the altar is erected represents the infinitude of time, to the mortal Sacrificer it will not be so until he shall have departed this life ; and, as a rule, he would probably not be anxious there and then to end his earthly career. Nor is such an effort of renunciation demanded of him, but, on the contrary, the sacrificial theory holds out to the pious performer of this holy ceremony the prospect of his living up to the full extent of the perfect man's life, a hundred years ; this term of years being thus recognised as another unit of time, so to speak, viz. that of a complete lifetime. Yet, be it sooner or be it later, the life of every creature comes to an end ; and since time works its havoc on all material existence, and carries off generation after generation, the Supreme Lord of generation, Father Time, as he is the giver of all life, so he is likewise that ender of all things—Death. And so the Sacrificer, as the human counterpart of the Lord of Creatures, with the end of his present life, becomes himself Death,—Death ceases to have power over him, and he is for ever removed from the life of material existence, trouble, and illusion, to the realms of light and everlasting bliss.

---

<sup>1</sup> VII, 4, 1, 1.

And here we get the Supreme Lord in his last aspect ; nay, his one true and real aspect, in which the Sacrificer will himself come to share,—that of pure intellectuality, pure spirituality,—he is Mind : such is the ultimate source of being, the one Self, the Purusha, the Brahman. The author of the Mystery of Agni attempts to reveal the process of evolution by which this one true Self, through sacrifice carried on by means of the Arka-fires of his own innate fervour and devotion, comes to manifest himself in the material universe ; and—as the sum total of the wisdom of *Sândilya*—he urges upon the searcher after truth to meditate on that Self, made up of intelligence, and endowed with a body of spirit, a form of light, and an etherial nature, . . . holding sway over all the regions and pervading this All, being itself speechless and devoid of mental affects ;—and bids him believe that ‘ even as a grain of rice, or the smallest granule of millet, so is the golden Purusha in the heart ; even as a smokeless light, it is greater than the sky, greater than the ether, greater than the earth, greater than all existing things ; that Self of the spirit is my Self : on passing away from hence I shall obtain that Self. And, verily, whosoever has this trust, for him there is no uncertainty.’

As the practical application of the Agni-Pragâpati mystery to the sacrificial ritual consists mainly in the erection of the Fire-altar and the ceremonies connected with the fire-pan, which fell almost entirely within the province of the Adhvaryu priest, it is naturally in his text-books, in the Yagur-veda, that the mystic theory has become fully elaborated. Yet, though the two other classes of priests, the *Hotris* and *Udgâtrîs*<sup>1</sup>, take, upon the whole, a comparatively subsidiary part in the year’s performance symbolising the reconstruction of the Lord of Creatures, they have found another solemn opportunity, subsequently to the completion of the Fire-altar, for making up for any

---

<sup>1</sup> They take part, however, in such ceremonies as the doing homage to the completed Fire-altar by means of the *Parimâds* ; cf. p. 288, note 2 of this volume.

shortcomings in this respect, viz. the Mahâvrata, or Great Rite.

The brick altar, when complete, might apparently be used at once for any kind of Soma-sacrifice<sup>1</sup>; but whether, if this were to be merely a one-day performance, it might be made a Mahâvrata day (in which case it must be an Agnishôma), seems somewhat doubtful<sup>2</sup>. As a rule, however, at any rate, the Mahâvrata was performed in connection, not with an ekâha or ahîna, but with a sacrificial session (sattra); and since sacrificial sessions, it would seem, could only be undertaken by Brâhmanas who would at the same time be the Sacrificers—or rather *Grîhapatis* (masters of the house or householders) as the *Sattrins* are called—and their own officiating priests, the Mahâvrata would thus generally, if not invariably, be reserved for Brâhmanas<sup>3</sup>. Indeed, in our Brâhmana (IX, 5, 2, 12-13) the rule is laid down that no one may officiate for another person at the Agnikâyana, the Mahâvrata (sâman), and the Mahad Uktham; and dire consequences are predicted in the case of any one who does so;—‘for, indeed, these (rites) are his divine, immortal body; and he who performs them for another person, makes over to another his divine body, and a withered trunk is all that remains.’ And, though other authorities are then referred to who merely prescribe, as a penance for those who have officiated at these ceremonies for others, that they should either perform them for themselves or cause others to perform them again, the author

<sup>1</sup> Our Brâhmana, X, 2, 5, 16, says that, if a man cannot press Soma for a year, he should perform the *Virvagit Atirâtra* with all the *Prishthas*, and at that performance he should give away all his property. These, however, were doubtless by no means the only alternatives.

<sup>2</sup> See, however, *Sâyana* on Ait. Âr. V, 1, 1, 1, where it is distinctly stated that the Mahâvrata may either be performed as an Ekâha, or as part of either an Ahîna, or a Sattra.—Kâtyâyana, XVI, 1, 2, lays down the rule that (though the building of an altar is not a necessary condition for the performance of a Soma-sacrifice) it is indispensable in the case of a Soma-sacrifice performed with the Mahâvrata.

<sup>3</sup> That is to say, as Sacrificers. Persons of other castes of course took part in the proceedings of this day. In the various accounts of these proceedings, no alternative ceremonies seem anywhere referred to in case the Sacrificers themselves belong to different castes.

adheres to his opinion that there is no atonement for such an offence. There can be no doubt, however, that the Agnikâyana, at any rate, was not restricted to the Brâhmanical order<sup>1</sup>; and this passage, if it does not merely record a former sacrificial practice, has probably to be understood in the sense that one must not officiate for another at an Agnikâyana which is to be followed by a Soma-sacrifice with the Mahâvrata. If the Sattrâ performed was one of the shortest kind, viz. a Dvâdasâha, or twelve days' performance—consisting of a Dasarâtra, preceded and followed by an Atirâtra—the Mahâvrata was inserted, it would seem, between the Dasarâtra and the final Atirâtra. Usually, however, the Sattrâ, like the Agnikâyana, lasted a full year; the favourite form being the 'Gavâm ayanam,' arranged, in accordance with the progress of the sun, in two halves, an ascending and a descending one, divided by a central day, the Vishuvat. The Mahâvrata was performed on the last day but one of the year, the day before the final Atirâtra, being itself preceded (as it was in the case of the Dvâdasâha) by a Dasarâtra, or ten days' performance. Now, the chief feature of the Mahâvrata day is the chanting,—in connection with a special cup of Soma-juice, the Mahâvratîya-graha—of the Mahâvrata-sâman<sup>2</sup>, as the Hotri's *Prishtha*-stotra at the midday service; this chant being followed by the recitation of the Mahad Uktham<sup>3</sup>, or Great Litany, by the Hotri. The special feature, however, of these two ceremonies, which recalls the mystic Agni-Pragâpati doctrine, is the supposed birdlike form of both the chant and the litany. The Lord of Creatures, as the embodiment of all things, also represents the 'trayî vidyâ,' or sacred threefold science, the Veda. Accordingly, the Stomas (hymn-forms) of the single Sâmans (chanted

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, Sat. Br. VI, 6, 3, 12-15, where directions are given as to certain alternatives of performance at the initiation ceremony in case the Sacrificer is either a Kshatriya, or a Purohita, or any other person. The ceremonies connected with the consecration of the Sacrificer (IX, 3, 4, 1 seqq.) point chiefly to a king.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 282, note 5 of the present volume.

<sup>3</sup> See notes to pp. 110-113 of this volume.

verses) composing the Stotra or hymn of praise (the Mahâvrata-sâman), on the one hand, and the verses and metres of the recited litany, on the other, are so arranged and explained as to make up the different parts of a bird's body. It need scarcely be remarked that, whilst in the case of the altar the task of bringing out at least a rough resemblance to a flying bird offered no great difficulties, it is altogether beyond the capabilities of vocal performances such as the chant and the recitation of hymns and detached verses. But the very fact that this symbolism is only a matter of definition and make-believe, makes it all the more characteristic of the great hold which the Pragâpati theory had gained upon the sacerdotal mind.

The question as to whether these compositions themselves might seem to show any signs of comparatively recent introduction of this symbolism requires further investigation before it can be answered. Of the Mahâvrata-sâman we have virtually a single version, with only indications of certain substitutions which may be made in the choice of texts and tunes; the parts of the bird's body represented by the single Sâmans being in the order—head, right wing, left wing, tail, and trunk. Of the Mahad Uktham, on the other hand, we possess two different versions, those of the Aitareya and the Sâṅkhâya schools of *Rig-veda* theologians. Both of them start with the hymns representing the trunk of the bird; but otherwise there is so marked a difference between them, both as to arrangement and the choice of verses and hymns, that it seems pretty clear that, whilst there must have existed already a certain traditional form of the litany when these two schools separated, it was not yet of a sufficiently settled character to prevent such serious discrepancies to arise as those exhibited by the two rituals. This point being, however, of too technical a nature to be entered upon in this place, its further investigation must be reserved for some other opportunity.





# SATAPATHA-BRÂHMANA.

## EIGHTH KÂNDĀ.

---

### THE BUILDING OF THE SACRED FIRE-ALTAR (continued).

---

#### THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FIRST LAYER (continued).

#### FIRST ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. He lays down the *Prânabhṛitah* (breath-holders)<sup>1</sup>: now, the *Prânabhṛitah* being the vital

<sup>1</sup> The construction of the first of the five layers of the altar which, as far as the special bricks are concerned, is now nearing its completion, may be briefly recapitulated here. The altar (*agni*) is constructed in the form of a bird, the body (*âtman*) of which consists of a square, usually measuring four man's lengths, or forty feet (Indian=c. 30 ft. Engl.) on each side. The ground of the 'body' having been ploughed, watered, and sown with seeds of all kinds of herbs, a square mound, the so-called *uttaravedi*, measuring a *yuga* (yoke=7 ft. Ind.) on each side, is thrown up in the middle of the 'body,' and the whole of the latter then made level with it. In the centre of the 'body' thus raised, where the two 'spines'—connecting the middle of each of the four sides of the square with that of the opposite side—meet, the priest puts down a lotus-leaf, and thereon the gold plate (a symbol of the sun) which the Sacrificer wore round his neck during the time of initiation. On this plate he then lays a small gold figure of a man (representing *Agni-Pragâpati*, as well as the Sacrificer himself), so as to lie on his back with the head towards the east; and beside him he places two offering-spoons, one on each side, filled with ghee and sour curds

airs, it is the vital airs he thereby bestows upon (Agni). He lays them down in the first layer ;—that which is the first layer is the forepart (ground-part) of Agni : it is thus in front that he puts (into Agni) the vital airs, whence there are (in creatures) these (orifices of the) vital airs in front.

respectively. Upon the man he then places a brick with naturally-formed holes in it (or a porous stone), a so-called *Svayam-âtrinnâ* (self-perforated one), of which there are three in the altar, viz. in the centre of the first, third, and fifth layers, supposed to represent the earth, air, and sky respectively, and by their holes to allow the Sacrificer (in effigy) to breathe, and ultimately to pass through on his way to the eternal abodes. On this stone he lays down a plant of *dûrvâ* grass—with the root lying on the brick, and the twigs hanging down—meant to represent vegetation on earth, and food for the Sacrificer. Thereupon he puts down in front (east) of the central stone, on the 'spine,' a *Dvīyagus* brick ; in front of that, on both sides of the spine, two *Retaḥsik* ; then in front of them, one *Visvagyotis* ; then again two *Ritavyâḥ* ; and finally the *Ashâdhâ*, representing the Sacrificer's consecrated consort. These bricks, each of which is a *pada* (foot, Ind.) square, occupy nearly one-third of the line from the centre to the middle of the front side of the 'body' of the altar. South and north of the *Ashâdhâ*, leaving the space of two bricks, he places a live tortoise, facing the gold man, and a wooden mortar and pestle respectively. On the mortar he places the *ukhâ*, or fire-pan, filled with sand and milk ; and thereon the heads of the five victims, after chips of gold have been thrust into their mouths, nostrils, eyes, and ears. At each of the four ends of the two 'spines' he then puts down five *Apasyâḥ* bricks, the middle one lying on the spine itself, with two on each side of it. The last set of five bricks, those laid down at the north (or left) end of the 'cross-spine,' are also called *Khandasyâḥ* by the *Brâhmana*. He now proceeds to lay down the *Prâṇabhṛitâḥ*, meant to represent the orifices of the vital airs, in five sets of ten bricks each. The first four sets are placed on the four diagonals connecting the centre with the four corners of the body of the altar, beginning from the corner (? or, according to some, optionally from the centre), in the order S.E., N.W., S.W., N.E. ; the fifth set being then laid down round the central stone at the distance (or, on the range) of the *retaḥsik* bricks. See the diagram at p. 17.

2. He lays them down by ten and ten, for there are ten vital airs; and even though 'ten-ten' may mean many times, here they mean only ten. Five times he puts on ten (bricks) each time; for it is those five (kinds of sacrificial) animals he bestows, and there are ten vital airs in each animal: upon all of them he thus bestows the vital airs. He lays down (the bricks) so as not to be separated from the animals: he thus bestows vital airs not separated from the animals. He lays them down on every side: on every side he thus bestows on them (orifices of) the vital airs.

3. And again why he lays down the *Prānabhrītaḥ*. From *Pragâpati*, when relaxed (by producing creatures), the vital airs departed. To them, having become deities, he spake, 'Come ye to me, return ye unto me that wherewith ye have gone out of me!'—'Well then, create thou that food which we will await here looking on!'—'Well then, let us both create!'—'So be it!'—So both the final airs and *Pragâpati* created that food, these *Prānabhrīt* (bricks).

4. In front (of the altar) he lays down (ten bricks)<sup>1</sup>,—the first) with (*Vâg. S. XIII, 54*), 'This one in front, the Existent,'—in front, doubtless, is *Agni*; and as to why he speaks of him (as being) 'in front,' it is because they take out the fire (from the *Gârhapatya*) towards the front, and attend on *Agni* towards the front<sup>2</sup>. And as to why he says 'the

<sup>1</sup> Whilst standing in front (east) of the altar, he puts down the first set of ten bricks on the line from the south-west corner (or right shoulder) of the altar towards the centre. The formulas with which each set of ten bricks are deposited are spread over three paragraphs, the first of which gives that of the first brick, the second those for two to eight, the third for the last two.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. in taking out the fire from the *Gârhapatya* and transferring

existent (bhuva),’ Agni is indeed the existent, for it is through Agni that everything exists (bhû) here. Agni, indeed, having become the breath, remained in front<sup>1</sup>: it is that very form<sup>2</sup> he now bestows (on Agni).

5. [The others with], ‘His, the Existent’s son, the Breath,’—from out of that form, fire, he (Pragâpati) fashioned the breath;—‘Spring, the son of the breath,’—from out of the breath he fashioned the spring-season<sup>3</sup>;—‘The Gâyatrî, the daughter of the Spring,’—from out of the spring-season he fashioned the Gâyatrî metre;—‘From the Gâyatrî the Gâyatra,’—from out of the Gâyatrî metre he fashioned the Gâyatra<sup>4</sup> hymn-tune;—‘From the Gâyatra the Upâmsu,’—from out of the Gâyatra hymn-tune he fashioned the Upâmsu-graha<sup>5</sup>;—

it to the Âhavanîya, as well as in approaching the sacrificial fire for offerings. It should also be borne in mind that the altar (agni) is built in form of an eagle flying towards the east, or front.

<sup>1</sup> See VII, 5, 1, 7, ‘The breath is taken in from the front backwards.’—In the text ‘prâno hâgnir bhûtvâ purastât tasthau,’ I take ‘prânaḥ’ to be the predicate.

<sup>2</sup> At VII, 4, 1, 16, the vital air is called Pragâpati’s (Agni’s) pleasing form (or part).

<sup>3</sup> For a similar connection of the East with the Gâyatrî, the Rathantara, the Trivṛt, the Spring, and the Brahman (priesthood) see V, 4, 1, 3, (part iii, p. 91).

<sup>4</sup> The Gâyatra-sâman is the simplest, and by far the most common of all hymn-tunes. It is especially used in connection with the trivṛt-stoma, or nine-versed hymn, and is invariably employed for the Bahishpavamâna-stotra. It is also the tune of the first triplet both of the Mâdhyandina and Ârbhava-pavamâna; as well as for all the four Âgya-stotras.

<sup>5</sup> See part ii, pp. 238 seqq., where this soma-cup is repeatedly connected with the Gâyatrî. Though its pressing is performed by three turns of eight, eleven, and twelve beatings respectively, representing the three chief metres, it is expressly stated (IV, 1, 1, 14)

‘From the Upâmsu the Trivṛit,’—from out of the Upâmsu-graha he fashioned the nine-versed hymn-form;—‘From the Trivṛit the Rathantara,’—from out of the Trivṛit-stoma he fashioned the Rathantara-prishṭha<sup>1</sup>.

6. ‘The Rishi Vasishṭha<sup>2</sup>,’—the Rishi Vasishṭha, doubtless, is the breath: inasmuch as it is the chief (thing) therefore it is Vasishṭha (the most excellent); or inasmuch as it abides (with living beings) as the best abider (vāstri), therefore also it is Vasishṭha.—‘By thee, taken by Pragâpati,’—that is, ‘by thee, created by Pragâpati,’—‘I take breath for my descendants (and people)!’—therewith he introduced the breath from the front. Separately he lays down (these ten bricks): what separate desires there are in the breath, those he thereby lays into it. Only once he settles them<sup>3</sup>: he thereby makes it one breath; but were he to settle them each separately, he assuredly would cut the breath asunder. This brick is trivṛit (three-fold): the formula, the settling, and the sâdadohas<sup>4</sup>, that is threefold, and threefold is Agni,—as great as

that he who is desirous of obtaining holiness, should press eight times at each turn.

<sup>1</sup> For this and the other Prishṭha-sâmans see part iii, introd. pp. xvi, xx seqq.

<sup>2</sup> In Taitt. S. IV, 3, 2, 1, this formula is connected with the preceding one,—‘from the Rathantara (was produced) the Rishi Vasishṭha.’ Similarly in the corresponding passages of the subsequent sets of bricks.

<sup>3</sup> The sâdana, or settling, consists in the formula, ‘By that deity, Âṅgiras-like, lie thou steady!’ being pronounced over the bricks. See VI, 1, 2, 28.

<sup>4</sup> For the sâdadohas verse, the pronunciation of which, together with the ‘settling,’ constitutes the two necessary (nitya) ceremonies, see part iii, p. 307.

Agni is, as great as is his measure, so much he lays down (on the altar) by so doing.

7. And on the right (south) side<sup>1</sup>, with (Vâg. S. XIII, 55), 'This one on the right, the all-worker,'—the all-worker (*visvakarman*), doubtless, is this Vâyu (the wind) who blows here, for it is he that makes everything here; and because he speaks of him as (being) 'on the right,' therefore it is in the south that he blows most. Vâyu, indeed, having become the mind, remained in the right side (of the body): it is that form (part) he now bestows (on Agni).

8. 'His, the all-worker's child, the Mind,'—from out of that (all-working) form, the wind, he fashioned the mind;—'the summer, the son of the mind,'—from out of the mind he fashioned the summer season<sup>2</sup>;—'the Trishṭubh, the daughter of Summer,'—from out of the summer season he fashioned the Trishṭubh metre;—'from the Trishṭubh the Svâra tune,'—from out of the Trishṭubh metre he created the Svâra hymn-tune<sup>3</sup>;—'from

<sup>1</sup> Whilst standing on the right (south) side of the altar he lays down the third set of ten *Prâṇabhrītāḥ*, viz. those on the diagonal from the south-west corner (or right thigh) towards the centre. Whilst, in the actual performance, these bricks are only laid down after those referred to in paragraphs 1-3 of the next Brāhmaṇa, the author, in his explanation of the formulas, follows the course of the sun from left to right.

<sup>2</sup> For a similar combination of the south with the Trishṭubh metre, the *Br̥hat-sāman*, the *Pañkadasa-stoma*, the summer season, and the *Kshatra*, see V, 4, 1, 4 (part iii, p. 91).

<sup>3</sup> Svâra-sāman is called a chanted verse which has no special concluding *nidhana*, or finale, but in which the *svarita* (circumflex), or first rising then falling pitch (e.g., f-g-f) of the final vowel, takes the place of the finale; whence 'svâra' is often explained by 'svaranidhana,' i.e. having the *svara* (*svarita*) for its *nidhana*. See

the Svāra the Antaryāma,—from out of the Svāra-sāman he fashioned the Antaryāma-graha;—‘from the Antaryāma the Pañkādaśa,’—from out of the Antaryāma-cup he fashioned the fifteen-versed hymn-form;—‘from the Pañkādaśa the Brihat,’—from out of the Pañkādaśa-stoma he fashioned the Brihat-prishtha.

9. ‘The *Rishi* Bharadvāga,—the *Rishi* Bharadvāga, doubtless, is the mind;—‘vāga’ means ‘food,’ and he who possesses a mind, possesses (bharati) food, ‘vāga;’ therefore the *Rishi* Bharadvāga is the mind.—‘By thee, taken by Pragâpati,’—that is, ‘by thee, created by Pragâpati;’—‘I take the mind for my descendants!’—therewith he introduced the mind from the right side. Separately he lays down (these ten bricks): what separate desires there are in the mind, those he thereby lays into it. Only once he settles them: he thereby makes it one mind; but were he to settle them each separately,

Pañk. Br. IX, 3, 11, where a svāra-sāman is prescribed in case the Udgâtrīs have previously committed an excess in their chanting. The last tristich of the Mādhyandina-pavamānastotra of the Agni-shoma, the Ausana-sāman (to Sāma-v., vol. ii, pp. 27–29), is chanted in this way, probably in order to make good the excess committed in the preceding triplet, the Yaudhāgaya (ii, pp. 25, 26), in which each verse is chanted with three nidhanas, one at the end, and two inserted inside the sāman. Lāty. Śrautas. VI, 9, 6, the svāra-sāmans thus treated are called ‘padānusvārāni;’ whilst those with which the musical syllables ‘hā-i’ are used with a similar effect, are called ‘hāikārasvārāni.’ As an instance of the former, the Ausana (Sāma-v., vol. iii, p. 81) is adduced, and of the latter the Vāmadevya (iii, p. 89). It is not only the final syllable of a sāman, however, that may be modulated in this way, but also that of a musical section of the sāman; cf. Pañk. Br. X, 12, 2, where the Udgîtha is to be so treated to make up for the preceding Prastāva, chanted without a Stobha. Sacrificial calls such as the ‘Svāhā’ and ‘Vashat’ are also modulated in this way,’ ib. VII, 3, 26; XI, 5, 26.

he assuredly would cut asunder the mind. This brick is threefold: the meaning of this has been explained.

## SECOND BRĀHMANA.

1. And at the back (western part of the altar), with (Vâg. S. XIII, 56), 'This one behind, the all-embracer;'—the all-embracer, doubtless, is yonder sun, for as soon as<sup>1</sup> he rises, all this embracing space comes into existence. And because he speaks of him as (being) 'behind,' therefore one sees him only when he goes towards the back (west). The Sun, indeed, having become the eye, remained behind: it is that form he now bestows (on Agni).

2. 'His, the all-embracer's child, the Eye,'—from out of that (all-embracing) form, the Sun, he fashioned the eye;—'the rains, the offspring of the eye,'—from out of the eye he fashioned the rainy season;—'the Gagatî, the daughter of the rains,'—from out of the rainy season he fashioned the Gagatî metre;—'from the Gagatî the *Rik-sama*,'—from out of the Gagatî metre he fashioned the *Riksama* hymn-tune<sup>2</sup>;—'from the *Riksama*

<sup>1</sup> Or, perhaps, 'only when' (yadâ-eva).

<sup>2</sup> No explanation of this sâman has been found anywhere. Sâyana, on the corresponding formula, Taitt. S. IV, 3, 4, 2 (where the term is spelt *rikshama*), merely remarks that it is 'a kind of sâman.' The meaning of the term 'similar to a *rik*' would seem to indicate a hymn-tune involving little, or no, modification of the text chanted to it. At V, 4, 1, 5 it is the Vairûpa-sâman which (together with the Gagatî, the Saptadâsa-stoma, the rainy season, and the Vis) is in this way connected with the West. Now the textual parts of the *Pañkanidhanam* Vairûpam (Sâma-v., vol. v, pp. 387, 575-6), ordinarily used as a *prishtha-sâman*, show



the Sukra,'—from out of the *Riksama-sâman* he fashioned the Sukra-graha ;—'from the Sukra the Saptadasa,'—from out of the Sukra cup he fashioned the seventeen-versed hymn-form ;—'from the Saptadasa the Vairûpa,'—from out of the Saptadasa-stoma he fashioned the Vairûpa-*prishtha*.

3. 'The *Rishi Gamadagni*,'—the *Rishi Gama-dagni*, doubtless, is the eye : inasmuch as thereby the world of the living (*gagat*) sees and thinks, therefore the *Rishi Gamadagni* is the eye.—'By thee, taken by *Pragâpati*,'—that is, 'by thee, created by *Pragâpati*,'—'I take the eye for my descendants,' therewith he introduced the eye from behind. Separately he lays down (these ten bricks) : what separate desires there are in the eye those he thereby lays into it. Only once he settles them : he thereby makes this eye one ; but were he to settle them each separately, he assuredly would cut the eye asunder. This is a threefold brick : the meaning of this has been explained.

4. And on the left (upper, north) side, with (*Vâg*: S. XIII, 57), 'This, on the upper side, heaven,'—in the upper sphere, doubtless, are the regions (quarters) ; and as to why he speaks of them as being 'on the upper (left) side,' the regions, indeed,

---

hardly any modifications on the original verses (*Sâma-v.*, vol. ii, p. 278), even less so indeed than the simple Vairûpa-sâman (*Sâma-v.*, vol. i, p. 572), and possibly '*riksama*' (if it does not apply to a whole class of *sâmans*) may be another name for the Vairûpa (of which there are two other forms, *Sâma-v.*, vol. i, pp. 425, 438) in its simplest form. The Vairûpa, in its *prishtha* form, would in that case, indeed, have originated from the *Riksama-sâman*. It is true, however, that there is no special connection between the other *Prishtha-sâmans* and the respective hymn-tune with which they are symbolically connected in the foregoing formulas.

are above everything here. And as to why he says, 'heaven (or, the light),' the regions, indeed, are the heavenly world (or world of light). The regions, having become the ear, remained above: it is that form he now bestows (on Agni).

5. 'Its, heaven's, child, the Ear,'—from out of that form, the regions, he fashioned the ear;—'the autumn, the daughter of the ear,'—from out of the ear he fashioned the autumn season;—'Anushṭubh, the daughter of the autumn,'—from out of the autumn season he fashioned the Anushṭubh metre;—'from the Anushṭubh the *Aida*,'—from out of the Anushṭubh metre he fashioned the *Aida-sâman*<sup>1</sup>;—'from the *Aida* the Manthin,'—from out of the *Aida-sâman* he fashioned the Manthin cup;—'from the Manthin the *Ekavimsa*,'—from out of the Manthin-graha he fashioned the twenty-one-versed hymn-form;—'from the *Ekavimsa* the *Vairâga*,'—from out of the *Ekavimsa*-stoma he fashioned the *Vairâga-prishṭha*.

6. 'The *Rishi Visvâmitra*,'—the *Rishi Visvâmitra* ('all-friend'), doubtless, is the ear: because therewith one hears in every direction, and because there is a friend (*mitra*) to it on every side, therefore the ear is the *Rishi Visvâmitra*.—'By thee, taken by *Pragâpati*,'—that is, 'by thee, erected by *Pragâpati*;'—'I take the ear for my descendants,'

<sup>1</sup> *Aida-sâmans* are those *sâmans* which have the word '*idâ*' for their *nidhana*, or chorus. Such *sâmans* are, e.g. the *Vairûpa* (*Sâma-v.*, vol. v, p. 387) and the *Raurava* (iii, 83), the latter of which forms the central *sâman* of the *Mâdhyandina-pavamâna-stotra*. What connection there can be between the *Aida* and the *Vairâga-prishṭha* (*Sâma-v.*, vol. v, p. 391; cf. vol. i, pp. 814-5) it is not easy to see. In *Sat. Br. V*, 4, 1, 6 the North is connected with the Anushṭubh, the *Vairâga-sâman*, the *Ekavimsa* and the autumn.

—therewith he introduced the ear from the left (or upper) side. Separately he lays down (these bricks): what separate desires there are in the ear, those he thereby lays into it. Only once he settles them: he thereby makes the ear one; but were he to settle them each separately, he assuredly would cut the ear asunder. This is a threefold brick: the meaning of this has been explained.

7. Then in the centre, with (Vâḡ. S. XIII, 58), 'This one, above, the mind,'—above, doubtless, is the moon; and as to why he speaks of him as (being) 'above,' the moon is indeed above; and as to why he says, 'the mind,' the mind (*mati*), doubtless, is speech, for by means of speech everything thinks (*man*) here<sup>1</sup>. The moon, having become speech, remained above: it is that form he now bestows (on Agni).

8. 'Its, the mind's, daughter, Speech,'—from out of that form, the moon, he fashioned speech;—'Winter, the son of Speech,'—from out of speech he fashioned the winter season;—'Pañkti, the daughter of Winter,'—from out of the winter season he fashioned the Pañkti metre;—'from the Pañkti the Nidhanavat,'—from out of the Pañkti metre he fashioned the Nidhanavat-sâman<sup>2</sup>;—'from the Nidhanavat the Âgrayana,'—from out of the Nidhanavat-sâman he fashioned the Âgrayana cup;—'from the Âgrayana the Trinava and Trayastriṃsa,'—from out of the Âgrayana-graha he fashioned the thrice-nine-versed and the three-and-thirty-versed hymn-forms;—

<sup>1</sup> Or, perhaps, one thinks everything here.

<sup>2</sup> That is a sâman which has a special *nidhana*, or chorus, added at the end (or inserted in the middle) of it.

‘from the *Trinava* and *Trayastrimsa* the *Sâkvara* and *Raivata*,’—from out of the *Trinava* and *Trayastrimsa*-stomas he fashioned the *Sâkvara* and *Raivata-prishthas*<sup>1</sup>.

9. ‘The *Rishi Visvakarman*,’—the *Rishi Visvakarman* (‘the all-worker’), doubtless, is Speech, for by speech everything here is done: hence the *Rishi Visvakarman* is speech:—‘By thee, taken by *Pragâpati*,’—that is, ‘by thee, created by *Pragâpati*,’—‘I take speech for my descendants,’—therewith he introduced speech from above. Separately he lays down (these bricks): what separate desires there are in speech, those he now lays into it. Only once he settles them: he thereby makes speech one; but were he to settle them each separately, he assuredly would cut speech asunder. This is a threefold brick: the meaning of this has been explained.

10. This, then, is that same food which both the vital airs and *Pragâpati* created: just so great indeed is the whole sacrifice, and the sacrifice is the food of the gods.

11. He lays them down by ten and ten,—of ten syllables consists the *Virâg* (metre), and the *Virâg* is all food: he thus bestows on him (*Agni*) the whole food. He puts them down on every side: on every side he thus bestows the whole food on him. And verily these same *Virâg* (verses) sustain those vital airs, and inasmuch as they sustain (*bhṛi*) the vital airs (*prâṇa*) they are called *Prâṇabhrītāḥ*.

---

<sup>1</sup> For these *Prishtha*-sâmans see part iii, introd. pp. xx-xxi. In V, 4, 1, 7 the upper region is symbolically connected with the *Pañkti* metre, the *Sâkvara* and *Raivata*-sâmans, the *Trinava* and *Trayastrimsa*-stomas, and the winter and dewy seasons.

## THIRD BRĀHMANA.

1. As to this they say, 'What are the vital airs (*prāṇa*), and what the *Prāṇabhrītāḥ*?'—The vital airs are just the vital airs, and the *Prāṇabhrītāḥ* (holders of the vital airs) are the limbs, for the limbs do hold the vital airs. But, indeed, the vital airs are the vital airs, and the *Prāṇabhrīt* is food, for food does uphold the vital airs.

2. As to this they say, 'How do all these (*Prāṇabhrīt*-bricks) of him (Agni and the Sacrificer) come to be of *Pragāpati*'s nature?'—Doubtless in that with all of them he says, 'By thee, taken by *Pragāpati*:' it is in this way, indeed, that they all come to be for him of *Pragāpati*'s nature<sup>1</sup>.

3. As to this they say, 'As they chant and recite for the cup when drawn, wherefore, then, does he put in verses and hymn-tunes<sup>2</sup> before (the drawing of) the cups?'—Doubtless, the completion of the sacrificial work has to be kept in view;—now with the opening hymn-verse the cup is drawn; and on the verse (*rik*) the tune (*sāman*) is sung: this means that he thereby puts in for him (Agni) both the verses and hymn-tunes before (the drawing of) the cups. And when after (the drawing of) the cups there are the chanting (of the *Stotra*) and the recitation (of the *Sastra*): this means that thereby he puts in for him both the stomas (hymn-forms) and the *prishtha* (*sāmans*) after (the drawing of) the cups<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Or, come to be (Agni-) *Pragāpati*'s (*prāgāpatyā bhavanti*).

<sup>2</sup> In laying down the different sets of *Prāṇabhrīt*-bricks the priest is said (in VIII, 1, 1, 5; 8; 2, 2; 5; 8) symbolically to put into the sacrificial work (or into the altar, Agni) both verses or metres (as *Gâyatrī*, *Trishubh*, &c.) and hymn-tunes (as *Gâyatra*, *Svāra*, &c.).

<sup>3</sup> It is not quite clear whether this is the correct construction of

4. As to this they say, 'If these three are done together—the soma-cup, the chant, and the recitation,—and he puts in only the soma-cup and the chant, how comes the recitation also in this case to be put (into the sacrificial work) for him<sup>1</sup>?' But, surely, what the chant is that is the recitation<sup>2</sup>; for on whatsoever (verses) they chant a tune, those same (verses) he (the Hotri) recites thereafter<sup>3</sup>; and in this way, indeed, the Sastra also comes in this case to be put in for him.

5. As to this they say, 'When he speaks first of three in the same way as of a father's son<sup>4</sup>, how, then, does this correspond as regards the *rik* and *sâman*?' The *sâman*, doubtless, is the husband of the

---

the text, especially as, in the paragraph referred to in the last note, it is not only the metres and tunes that are supposed to be put in along with the *Prâṇabhrîta*, but also the stomas and *prishtha-sâmans*.

<sup>1</sup> Only soma-cups (*graha*) and hymn-tunes (*sâman*) and hymn-forms (*stoma*) are specially named in connection with these bricks, but no *sastras*.

<sup>2</sup> Every *stotra*, chanted by the *Udgâtri*s, is followed by a *sastra* recited by the *Hotri* or one of his assistants.

<sup>3</sup> Most chants (*stotra*) consisting of a single triplet (e.g. the *Prishtha-stotras* at the midday service) have their text (*stotriya-trîka*) included in the corresponding *sastra* recited by the *Hotri*, or one of the *Hotrakas*; it being followed, on its part, by the recitation of an analogous triplet (*anurûpa*, 'similar or corresponding,' i.e. antistrophe) usually commencing with the very same word, or words, as the *stotriya*.

<sup>4</sup> As in the case of the first (south-west) set of bricks, VIII, 1, 1, 4-6, he puts down the first four with 'This one, in front, the existent,' 'His, the existent's son, the breath,' 'Spring, the son of the breath,' and 'The *Gâyatri*, the daughter of spring,'—implying three generations from father to son (or daughter). In the formulas of the remaining bricks of each set referring to the metres (or verses, *rik*) and hymn-tunes (*sâman*) the statement of descent is expressed more vaguely by, 'From the *Gâyatri* (is derived) the *Gâyatra*,' &c.

*Rik* ; and hence were he also in their case to speak as of a father's son, it would be as if he spoke of him who is the husband, as of the son : therefore it corresponds as regards the *rik* and *sāman*. 'And why does he thrice carry on (the generation from father to son)?'—father, son, and grandson : it is these he thereby carries on ; and therefore one and the same (man) offers (food) to them <sup>1</sup>.

6. Those (bricks) which he lays down in front are the holders of the upward air (the breath, *prāna*) ; those behind are the eye-holders, the holders of the downward air (*apāna*) <sup>2</sup> ; those on the right side are the mind-holders, the holders of the circulating air (*vyāna*) ; those on the left side are the ear-holders, the holders of the outward air (*udāna*) ; and those in the middle are the speech-holders, the holders of the pervading air (*samāna*).

7. Now the *Karakādhvaryus*, indeed, lay down different (bricks) as holders of the downward air, of the circulating air, of the outward air, of the pervading air, as eye-holders, mind-holders, ear-holders, and speech-holders ; but let him not do this, for they do what is excessive, and in this (our) way, indeed, all those forms are laid (into Agni).

8. Now, when he has laid down (the bricks) in

---

<sup>1</sup> At the offerings to the Fathers, or deceased ancestors, oblations are made to the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather ; see II, 4, 2, 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Sāyana*, on *Taitt. S.* IV, 3, 3, explains '*prāna*' by '*bahiḥsam-kārarūpa*,' and '*apāna*' by '*punarantaḥsamkārarūpa* ;' see also part i, p. 120, note 2 ; but cp. *Maitry-up.* II, 6 ; H. Walter, *Haṭhayoga-pradīpikā*, p. xviii. Beside the fifty bricks called '*Prānabhṛtaḥ*,' the *Taittirīyas* also place fifty *Apānabhṛtaḥ* in the first layer of the altar.

front, he lays down those at the back (of the altar) ; for the upward air, becoming the downward air, passes along thus from the tips of the fingers ; and the downward air, becoming the upward air, passes along thus from the tips of the toes : hence when, after laying down (the bricks) in front, he lays down those at the back, he thereby makes these two breathings continuous and connects them ; whence these two breathings are continuous and connected.

9. And when he has laid down those on the right side, he lays down those on the left side ; for the outward air, becoming the circulating air, passes along thus from the tips of the fingers<sup>1</sup> ; and the circulating air, becoming the outward air, passes along thus from the tips of the fingers<sup>1</sup> : hence when, after laying down (the bricks) on the right side, he lays down those on the left side, he thereby makes these two breathings continuous and connects them ; whence these two breathings are continuous and connected.

10. And those (bricks) which he lays down in the centre are the vital air ; he lays them down on the range of the two *Retaḥsik* (bricks), for the *retaḥsik* are the ribs, and the ribs are the middle : he thus lays the vital air into him (Agni and the Sacrificer) in the very middle (of the body). On every side he lays down (the central bricks)<sup>2</sup> : in every part he thus

---

<sup>1</sup> ? Or, perhaps, the fingers and toes. The same word (*aṅguli*), having both meanings, makes it difficult exactly to understand these processes. The available MSS. of Harisvāmin's commentary unfortunately afford no help.

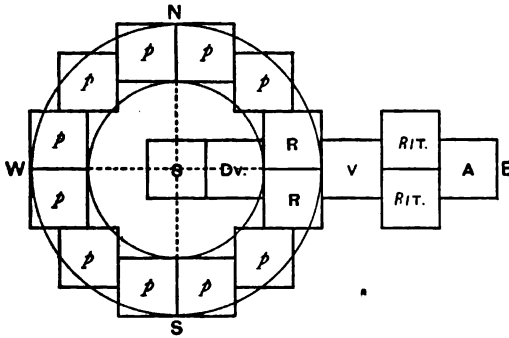
<sup>2</sup> That is to say, he lays down the fifth set round the (central) *Svayamātrinnā*, on the range of the two *Retaḥsik* bricks. It is,



lays vital air into him ; and in the same way indeed that intestinal breath (channel) is turned all round

however, not quite clear in what particular manner this fifth set of ten bricks is to be arranged round the centre so as to touch one another. The two *Retaḥsik* bricks, occupying each a space of a square foot north and south of the spine, are separated from the central (*Svayamātrinnā*) brick by the *Dviyagus* brick a foot square. The inner side of the *retaḥsik*-space would thus be a foot and a half, and their outer side two feet and a half, distant from the central point of the altar. The *retaḥsik* range, properly speaking, would thus consist of a circular rim, obtained by drawing two

THE CENTRAL PART OF THE FIRST LAYER.



concentric circles round the centre, with diameters of one and a half and two and a half feet respectively. On this rim (allowing for the corners of the bricks jutting out) room would have to be found for twelve bricks of a foot square, viz. the two *retaḥsik*, already lying on the eastern side, south and north of the spine, and ten *prāṇa-bhr̥ts*. The way in which these latter were arranged would probably be this : on each of the three other sides two bricks were laid down so as to join each other in a line with the respective 'spine,' similarly to the two *retaḥsik* bricks on the east side ; and the four remaining bricks would then be placed in the four corners—the twelve bricks thus forming, as nearly as could be, a circular rim. In the construction of the altar, this *retaḥsik* range is determined by a cord being stretched from the centre to the east end of the altar, after the special bricks of the first layer have

the navel. He lays them down both lengthwise and crosswise<sup>1</sup>, whence there are here in the body (channels of) the vital airs both lengthwise and crosswise. He lays them down touching each other: he thereby makes these vital airs continuous and connects them; whence these (channels of the) vital airs are continuous and connected.

#### FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Now some lay down (these bricks) so as to be in contact with the (gold) man, for he is the vital air, and him these (bricks) sustain; and because they sustain (*bhri*) the vital air (*prâna*), therefore they are called '*Prânabhritaḥ*.' Let him not do so: the vital air is indeed the same as that gold man, but this body of his extends to as far here as this fire (altar) has been marked out. Hence to what-

been laid down, knots being then made in the cord over the middle of each of the special bricks. The *retaḥsik* range is consequently ascertained, in subsequent layers, by a circle drawn round the centre, with that part of the cord marked by the central and the *retaḥsik* knot for the diameter. The foregoing diagram shows that portion of the first layer which contains the continuous row of special bricks laid down first, viz. *Svayamâtrinnâ*, *Dviyagus*, two *Retaḥsik*, *Visvagyotis*, two *Ritavyâ*, and *Ashâdhâ*; and further the central (or fifth) set of ten *prânabhritaḥ*, placed round the central brick on the range of the *retaḥsik*.

<sup>1</sup> Each special brick is marked on its upper surface with (usually three) parallel lines. Now the bricks are always laid down in such a way that their lines run parallel to the adjoining spine, whence those on the east and west sides have their lines running lengthwise (west to east), and those on the north and south sides crosswise (north to south). As to the four corner bricks there is some uncertainty on this point, but if we may judge from the analogy of the second layer in this respect, the bricks of the south-east and north-west corners would be eastward-lined, and those of the north-east and south-west corners northward-lined.

ever limb of his these (breath-holders) were not to reach, that limb of his the vital air would not reach ; and, to be sure, to whatever limb the vital air does not reach, that either dries up or withers away : let him therefore lay down these (bricks) so as to be in contact with the enclosing stones ; and by those which he lays down in the middle this body of his is filled up, and they at least are not separated from him.

2. Here now they say, 'Whereas in (the formulas) " This one, in front, the existent—this one, on the right, the all-worker—this one, behind, the all-embracer—this, on the left, heaven—this one, above, the mind"—they (these bricks) are defined as exactly opposite the quarters, why, then, does he lay down these (bricks) in sidelong places<sup>1</sup>?' Well, the *Prâṇabhr̥tāḥ* are the vital airs ; and if he were to place them exactly opposite the quarters, then this breath would only pass forward and backward ; but inasmuch as he now lays down these (bricks) thus defined in sidelong places, therefore this breath, whilst being a backward and forward one, passes sideways along all the limbs and the whole body.

3. Now that Agni (the altar) is an animal, and (as such) he is even now made up whole and entire,—those (bricks) which he lays down in front are his fore-feet, and those behind are his thighs ; and those

---

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, why does he not place them at the ends of the spines, but at the corners of the (square) body, i.e. in places intermediate between the lines running in the direction of the points of the compass ? When speaking of the regions, or quarters, it should be borne in mind that they also include a fifth direction, viz. the perpendicular or vertical line (both upward and downward) at any given point of the plane.

which he places in the middle are that body of his. He places these in the region of the two *retakṣik* (bricks), for the *retakṣik* are the ribs, and the ribs are the middle, and that body is in the middle (of the limbs). He places them all round, for that body extends all round.

4. Here now they say, 'Whereas in the first (four) sets he lays down a single stoma and a single *prishtha* each time, why, then, does he lay down here (in the centre) two stomas and two *prishthas*?' Well, this (central set) is his (Agni's) body: he thus makes the body (trunk) the best, the largest, the most vigorous of limbs<sup>1</sup>; whence that body is the best, the largest, and most vigorous of limbs.

5. Here now they say, 'How does that Agni of his become made up whole and entire in brick after brick?'—Well, the formula is the marrow, the brick the bone, the settling the flesh, the *sûdadohas* the skins, the formula of the *purisha* (fillings of earth) the hair, and the *purisha* the food: and thus indeed that Agni of his becomes made up whole and entire in brick after brick.

6. That Agni is possessed of all vital power: verily, whosoever knows that Agni to be possessed of all vital power (*âyus*), attains his full measure of life (*âyus*).

7. Now, then, as to the contraction and expansion (of the body). Now some cause the built (altar) in this way<sup>2</sup> to be possessed of (the power of) contraction and expansion: that Agni indeed is an animal;

<sup>1</sup> Or,—better, larger, and more vigorous than the limbs.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. by touching, or stroking along, the layer of the altar, and muttering the subsequent formulas.

and when an animal contracts and expands its limbs, it develops strength by them.

8. [Vâg. S. XXVII, 45] 'Thou art Samvatsara,—thou art Parivatsara,—thou art Idâvatsara,—thou art Idvatsara,—thou art Vatsara,—May thy dawns prosper<sup>1</sup>!—may thy days and nights prosper!—may thy half-months prosper!—may thy months prosper!—may thy seasons prosper!—may thy year prosper!—For going and coming contract and expand thyself!—Of Eagle-build thou art: by that deity, Aṅgiras-like, lie thou steady<sup>2</sup>!'

9. Sâtyâyani also once said, 'Some one heard (the sound)<sup>3</sup> of the cracking wings of the (altar) when touched with this (formula): let him therefore by all means touch it therewith!'

10. And Svargit Nâgnagita or Nagnagit, the Gândhâra, once said, 'Contraction and expansion surely are the breath, for in whatever part of the body there is breath that it both contracts and expands; let him breathe upon it from outside when completely built: he thereby lays breath, the (power of) contraction and expansion, into it, and so it contracts and expands.' But indeed what he there said as to that contraction and expansion, it was only one of the princely order who said it; and assuredly were they to breathe upon it from outside a hundred

<sup>1</sup> Or, perhaps, 'may the dawns chime in (fit in) with thee!'

<sup>2</sup> For this last part of the formula ('by that deity,' &c.), the so-called settling-formula, see part iii, p. 307, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Harisvâmin (Ind. Off. MS. 657) seems to supply 'sabdam;' the sound of the cracking being taken as a sign of the powerful effect of the formula. Unfortunately, however, the MS. of the commentary is hopelessly incorrect.

times, or a thousand times, they could not lay breath into it. Whatever breath there is in the (main) body that alone is the breath: hence when he lays down the *Prānabhrītāḥ* (breath-holders), he thereby lays breath, the (power of) contraction and expansion, into it; and so it contracts and expands. He then lays down two *Lokamprīṇā* (bricks) in that corner<sup>1</sup>: the meaning of them (will be explained) further on<sup>2</sup>. He throws loose earth (on the layer): the meaning of this (will be explained) further on<sup>3</sup>.

#### THE SECOND LAYER.

##### SECOND ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMANA.

1. He lays down the second layer. For now the gods, having laid down the first layer, mounted it.

<sup>1</sup> Viz. in the south-east corner, or on the right shoulder, of the altar. From these two *lokamprīṇās* (or space-fillers) he starts filling up, in two turns, the still available spaces of the 'body' of the altar, as also the whole of the two wings and the tail. For other particulars as to the way in which these are laid down, see VIII, 7, 2, 1 seqq. The 'body' of an ordinary altar requires in this layer 1028 *lokamprīṇās* of three different kinds, viz. a foot (Ind.), half a foot, and a quarter of a foot square, occupying together a space of 321 square feet, whilst the 98 special (*yagushmatī*) bricks fill up a space of 79 square feet. Each wing requires 309 *lokamprīṇās* of together 120 square feet; whilst the tail takes 283 such bricks, of together 110 square feet. The total number of *lokamprīṇās* in the layer thus amounts to 1929 of all sizes, equal to 671 square feet. If (as is done in *Kāty. Śrautas.* XVII, 7, 21) the 21 bricks of the *Gārhapatya* (part iii, p. 304) are added to this number, the total number of *lokamprīṇās* is 1,950. Similarly, in the second, third, and fourth layers; whilst the last layer requires about a thousand *lokamprīṇās* more than any of the others, viz. 2,922, or, including the special hearths, 3,000. The total number of such bricks required—including the 21 of the *Gārhapatya*—amounts to 10,800. Cp. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* XIII, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> See VIII, 7, 2, 1 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See VIII, 7, 3, 1 seq.

But, indeed, the first layer is this (terrestrial) world : it is this same world which, when completed, they mounted.

2. They spake, 'Meditate ye!'—whereby, doubtless, they meant to say, 'Seek ye a layer! Seek ye (to build) from hence upwards!' Whilst meditating, they saw this second layer: what there is above the earth, and on this side of the atmosphere, that world was to their mind, as it were, unfirm and unsettled.

3. They said to the Asvins, 'Ye two are Brahman and physicians: lay ye down for us this second layer!'—'What will therefrom accrue unto us?'—'Ye two shall be the Adhvaryus at this our Agnī-ḥityā.'—'So be it!'—The Asvins laid down for them that second layer: whence they say, 'The Asvins are the Adhvaryus of the gods.'

4. He lays down (the first Āsvin<sup>1</sup> brick, with

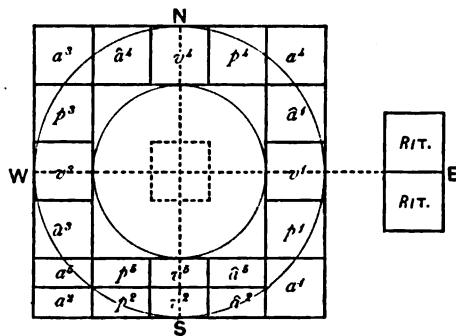
---

<sup>1</sup> The main portion of the special bricks of the second layer consists of five, or (if, for the nonce, we take the two southern sets of half-bricks as one) of four sets of four bricks each, or of together sixteen bricks, each measuring a foot square, placed on the range of the *retāḥsiḥ* bricks so as to form the outer rim of a square measuring five feet on each side, and having in the middle a blank square of nine square feet. Each of the four sides of the *retāḥsiḥ* rim contains a complete set of four bricks; but as there are five bricks on each side, the one in the left-hand corner (looking at them from the centre of the square) is counted along with the adjoining set. Each set, proceeding from left to right (that is, in sunwise fashion), consists of the following bricks,—*āsvinī*, *vaiśvadevī*, *prāṇabhṛt*, and *apasyā*, the last of these occupying the corner spaces. The southern bricks consist, however, of two sets of half-bricks (running with their long sides from west to east), counted as the second and fifth set respectively. The eastern and western bricks are laid down so that their line-marks (which, in the case of the bricks of the second and fourth layers, are of an indefinite number) run from west to east; whilst those of the southern

Vāg. S. XIV, 1), 'Thou art firmly-founded, firmly-seated, firm!' for what is steady and settled, that is firm. Now that world was to their minds, as it were, unfirm and unsettled: having thereby made it firm, steady, they (the Asvins) went on laying down (bricks).—'Seat thee fitly in thy firm seat!—that is, 'Seat thee fitly in thy steady seat;—'enjoying the first appearance of the Ukhya,'—the Ukhya, doubtless, is this Agni; and that first layer is indeed his first appearance: thus, 'enjoying that.'—'May the Asvins, the Adhvaryus, settle you here!' for the Asvins, as Adhvaryus, did lay down (this brick).

and northern ones run from south to north. All the five bricks of each class, beginning with the âsvinîs, are laid down at the same time, proceeding again in sunwise fashion (east, south, &c.); the

#### THE CENTRAL PART OF THE SECOND LAYER.



order of the procedure being only interrupted by the two *Ritavyâ* bricks being laid down, immediately after the placing of the five *âsvinî*, exactly over the two *ritavyâs* of the first layer, that is to say in the fifth (easterly) space from the centre, north and south of the spine. The only other special bricks of the second layer are nineteen *vayasyâs* placed at the four ends of the two spines, viz. four in the east, and five in each of the other quarters.



5. [The second Āsvintī he lays down, with Vāg. S. XIV, 2], 'Nest-like, fat, wise,'—a nest, as it were, is indeed the second layer<sup>1</sup>;—'seat thee in the soft seat of the earth!'—the second layer, no doubt, is the earth: thus, 'Sit on her pleasant seat!'—'May the Rudras, the Vasus sing thy praises!'—that is, 'May those deities sing thy praises!'—'Replenish them, O Brahman, for happiness!'—that is, 'Favour them, O Brahman, with a view to happiness.'—'May the Asvins, the Adhvaryus, settle thee here!' for the Asvins, as Adhvaryus, did lay down (this brick).

6. [The third Āsvintī brick he lays down, with Vāg. S. XIV, 3], 'By thine own powers seat thee here, a holder of powers,'—that is, 'By thy own energy seat thee here;'—'in the gods' favour for high joy!' that is, 'for the favour of the gods, for great joy<sup>2</sup>;'—'be thou kind, as a father to his son!'—that is, 'As a father is gentle, kind, to his son, so be thou kind!'—'rest thou readily accessible with thy form!'—the form, doubtless, is the body: thus, 'rest thou with readily accessible body!'—'May the Asvins, the Adhvaryus, settle thee here!' for the Asvins, as Adhvaryus, did lay down (this brick).

---

<sup>1</sup> This comparison doubtless refers to the way in which the central portion of the special bricks of this layer are arranged so as completely to enclose an empty space in the middle. In the first layer there was, no doubt, a similar enclosure of bricks as the *reta/sik* range, but the central space was not left quite empty. In the end, however, the empty spaces are in both cases filled up by 'space-fillers.'

<sup>2</sup> The author seems to take '*raṇa*' as an adjective (= *raṇatīya*), as does Mahidhara, who interprets the formula as meaning 'for the gods' great, cheerful happiness.'

7. [The fourth Āsvini he lays down, with Vâg. S. XIV, 4], 'Thou art the earth's soil-cover,'—the first layer, doubtless, is the earth, and this, the second (layer) is, as it were, its soil-cover (purîsha)—'her sap', in truth,'—that is, 'her essence, in truth,'—'May the All-gods sing thy praises!'—that is, 'May all the gods sing thy praises!'—'Seat thee here, laden with stomas, and rich in fat!'—whatever hymn-forms he will be spreading (constructing) thereon by them this (brick) is laden with stomas<sup>2</sup>;—'Gain for us by sacrifice wealth (dravinâ, pl.) with offspring (adj. sing.)!'—that is, 'Gain for us, by sacrifice, wealth (dravinam, sing.) with offspring!'—'May the Asvins, the Adhvaryus, settle thee here!' for the Asvins, as Adhvaryus, did lay down (this brick).

8. These (bricks) are those regions (quarters); he places them on the range of the two retakṣik (bricks), for the retakṣik are these two (worlds): he thereby places the regions within these two (worlds), whence there are regions within these two (worlds). He lays down (these bricks) in every direction: he thus places the regions in all (the four) directions, whence the regions are in all directions. [He places them] on all sides so as to face each other<sup>3</sup>: he thereby

<sup>1</sup> The word 'apsas,' which western philologists usually take to mean 'cheek,' is here apparently connected with 'ap,' water.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, 'having stomas on her back.' Mahidhara interprets 'stoma-prishthâ' by 'possessed of stomas and Prishthâs.' Sâyana, on Taitt. S. III, 7, 2, 7, by '(Prishtha-)stotras performed with stomas.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Samyāñk' may either mean 'tending to one and the same point,' or 'running in the same direction, parallel to each other.' It is probably in the former sense that we have to take it here, though not quite literally, but in so far as the line-marks of these

makes the regions on all sides face each other, and hence the regions on all sides face each other. He lays (the bricks) down separately, settles them separately, and pronounces the sûdadohas over them separately, for separate are the regions.

9. He then lays down the fifth regional (or Âsvinî brick). Now that region is the one above<sup>1</sup>; and that same region above, doubtless, is yonder sun: it is yonder sun he thus places thereon. He places this (brick) within the southern regional one<sup>2</sup>: he thus places yonder sun within the southern region, and therefore he moves within the southern region.

10. [He lays it down, with Vâg. S. XIV, 5], 'I settle thee upon the back of Aditi,'—Aditi doubtless is this (earth): it is upon her, as a foundation, that he thus founds him (Agni);—'the holder

---

bricks, if continued towards the centre of the altar, intersect one another. As applied to the quarters this meaning would then modify itself to that of 'facing each other.' On the other hand, it is quite possible that the meaning of 'tending in the same direction' is the one intended; and it would in that case probably apply to the fact that the sets opposite to each other have their line-marks running in the same direction, or are parallel to each other; and this meaning would seem to be implied to the quarters where the author supports his argument by the fact that the wind blows, and the rain falls, in the same direction in all the four quarters (VIII, 2, 3, 2; 5). It is curious that the expression is used by the author in connection with the âsvinî, prâṇabhṛt, and apasyâ, but not with the vaisvadevî, the line-marks of which all meet in one central point, which is not the case with the others. At VIII, 3, 1, 11, on the other hand, it is used again in connection with the Disyâ bricks, which, in the third layer, occupy exactly the same spaces as the Vaisvadevîs do here.

<sup>1</sup> Or, that direction is the one upward (from here).

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, he places it immediately north of the southern âsvinî, so as to fill up the unoccupied, inner half of the space (of a foot square).

of the air, the supporter of the regions, the ruler of beings,—for he (the sun) is indeed the holder of the air, the supporter of the regions, and the ruler of beings;—‘thou art the wave, the drop, of water,’—the wave, doubtless, means the essence;—‘Visvakarman is thy *Rîshi*!’—Visvakarman (the all-shaper), doubtless, is Pragâpati: thus, ‘Thou art fashioned by Pragâpati.’—‘May the Asvins, the Adhvaryus, settle thee here!’ for the Asvins, as Adhvaryus, did lay down (this brick).

11. Now as to why he lays down these Âsvini (bricks). When Pragâpati had become relaxed (dis-jointed), the deities took him and went away in different directions. Now what part of him there was above the feet and below the waist, that part of him the two Asvins took and kept going away from him.

12. He said to them, ‘Come to me and restore unto me that wherewith ye have gone away from me!’—‘What will accrue to us therefrom?’—‘That part of my body shall be sacred unto you!’—‘So be it!’ so the Asvins restored that (part) unto him.

13. Now these five Âsvini (bricks) are that same (part) of his (Agni’s) body; and when he now puts them into this (layer of the altar), he thereby restores to him what (part) of his body these (bricks) are: that is why he puts them into this (layer).

14. ‘Thou art firmly founded, firmly seated, firm,’ he says, for whatsoever is steady and established that is firm. Now that part of his (Pragâpati-Agni’s) body was, as it were, unsteady, unfirm; and having made it steady and firm they (the Asvins) restored it to him.

15. ‘Nestlike, fat, wise,’ he says, for this indeed

is as a nest for his body.—‘By thine own powers seat thee here, a holder of powers,’ he says, for they did make that (part) of him powerful.—‘Thou art the Earth’s soil-cover,’ he says, for that (lower part) of his body is, as it were, in connection with the soil-cover. At the range of the *Retaḥsik* (he places the bricks),—the *Retaḥsik* are the ribs, for level with the ribs, as it were, is that (part) of his body. He places them on every side, for on every side the Asvins restored that (part) of his (Pragāpati’s) body.

16. He then lays down two *Ritavyā*<sup>1</sup> (seasonal bricks);—these two, the *Ritavyā*, are the seasons (*ritu*): it is the seasons he thus bestows thereon. [He lays them down, with *Vāg. S. XIV, 6*], ‘*Sukra* and *Sukī*, the two summer-seasons;’—these are the names of these two: it is with their names that he thus lays them down. There are two bricks, for a season consists of two months. He settles them once only: he thereby makes (the two months) one season.

17. And as to why he lays down these two in this (layer):—this *Agni* (fire-altar) is the year, and the year is these worlds. Now that part of him which is above the earth and below the atmosphere, is this second layer; and that same part of him (*Agni*, the year,) is the summer season. And when he lays down those two in this (layer), he thereby restores to him (*Agni*) that part of his body which these two are: this is why he lays down these two (bricks) in this (layer).

---

<sup>1</sup> These two bricks are placed exactly upon the two *Ritavyās* of the first layer, that is, in the fifth space from the centre; see p. 1, note 1.

18. And, again, as to why he lays down these two in this (layer). This fire-altar is Pragâpati, and Pragâpati is the year. Now that (part) of him which is above the feet and below the waist is this second layer; and that same part of him is the summer season. Thus when he lays down those two in this (layer), he thereby restores to him that (part) of his body which these two are: this is why he lays down these two (bricks) in this (layer).

## SECOND BRĀHMANA.

1. He then lays down the Vaisvadevî (All-gods' bricks). For this second layer is that one which the Asvins at that time laid down for them (the gods); and by laying it down they became everything here whatsoever there is here.

2. The gods spake, 'The Asvins have become everything here: think ye upon this as to how we also may share in it!' They said, 'Meditate ye (kîti)!' whereby, no doubt, they meant to say, 'Seek ye a layer (kîti)! seek ye in what way we also may share in it!' whilst meditating, they saw these Vaisvadevî (All-gods') bricks.

3. They said, 'The Asvins have become everything here: with the help of the Asvins let us lay down (bricks) along with the Asvins' layer!' With the help of the Asvins they accordingly laid down (bricks) along with the Asvins' layer, whence they call this the Asvins' layer. Hence the end of these (bricks) is the same as that of the former ones; for they laid them down with the help of the Asvins along with the Asvins' layer.

4. And, again, as to why he lays down the All-

gods' (bricks). These indeed are those same All-gods who saw this second layer, and who came nigh with that life-sap: it is them he thereby bestows, that is, all these creatures. He lays them down in the range of the *Retaḥsik*; for the *Retaḥsik* are these two (heaven and earth): within these two (worlds) he thus places creatures; whence there are creatures within these two (worlds). He places (bricks) on every side: he thus places creatures everywhere, whence there are creatures everywhere. He places them alongside of the regional ones<sup>1</sup>: he thus places creatures in the regions (quarters); whence there are creatures in all the (four) quarters.

5. And, again, as to why he lays down the All-gods' (bricks). When *Pragâpati* had become relaxed, all creatures went forth from the midst of him, from that birth-place of theirs. When that (central part) of his body had been restored, they entered him.

6. Now the *Pragâpati* who become relaxed is this very *Agni* (fire-altar) that is now being built up; and the creatures who went forth from the midst of him are these same All-gods' bricks; and when he lays these down, he causes those creatures, which went forth from the midst of him, to enter him. In the range of the *Retaḥsik* (he places the *Vaisvadevî* bricks), for the *Retaḥsik* are the ribs, and the ribs

<sup>1</sup> The *Āsvini* (or *Disyâ*) bricks were placed in a circle round the centre, at the distance of a foot from where the central brick (*Svayamâtrinnâ*) was placed in the first layer,—that is to say, in the third place from the centre. They were, moreover, placed in the second space (or at the distance of half a foot) from the two spines, see p. 23, note 1. The five *Vaisvadevîs* are then placed alongside of the *Āsvinîs*, so as to fill up the 'first spaces,' that is to say, to lie on the spines themselves; each of the two half-foot bricks laid down in the south being, as it were, halved by the spine.

are the middle: he thus causes the creatures to enter him in the very middle. He places them on all sides: on all sides he thus causes the creatures to enter him.

7. And, again, as to why he lays down the Vaisvadevi (bricks). At that time, when that (part) of his body had been restored, Pragâpati desired, 'May I create creatures, may I be reproduced!' Having entered into union with the seasons, the waters, the vital airs, the year, and the Asvins, he produced these creatures; and in like manner does this Sacrificer, by entering into union with those deities, now produce these creatures. Hence with all (of these bricks, the word) *sagush* ('in union with') recurs.

8. [He lays down the Vaisvadevi bricks, with Vâg. S. XIV, 7], 'In union with the seasons,'—he thereby produced the seasons, and having entered into union with the seasons he produced (creatures);—'in union with the ranges,'—the ranges, doubtless, are the waters, for by water everything is ranged (distributed or produced) here: having entered into union with the waters he produced (creatures);—'in union with the gods,'—he thereby produced the gods,—those who are called 'gods<sup>1</sup>';—'in union with the life-sustaining gods,'—the life-sustaining gods, doubtless, are the vital airs, for by the vital airs everything living here is sustained; or, the life-sustaining gods are the metres, for by the metres (sacred writ) everything living is sustained here; having entered into union with the vital airs he produced creatures;—

---

<sup>1</sup> Lit. what they (viz. the Vedic hymns, according to the commentator) call gods:—*Yat kimîd ity eva vedavâdâ âtakshate*.



'for Agni Vaisvânara,'—Agni Vaisvânara ('belonging to all men'), doubtless, is the year: having entered into union with the year he produced creatures;—'May the Asvins, the Adhvaryus, settle thee here!'—having entered into union with the Asvins he produced creatures.

9. 'In union with the Vasus,' he says on the right side: he thereby produced the Vasus;—'in union with the Rudras,' he says at the back: he thereby produced the Rudras;—'in union with the Âdityas,' he says on the left side: he thereby produced the Âdityas;—'in union with the All-gods,' he says upwards: he thereby produced the All-gods. These (bricks) have the same beginning and end, but are different in the middle: as to their having the same beginning and end, it is because having become united with the deities in front and behind, he produced creatures; and as to their being different in the middle, it is that each time he produced different creatures from within him.

### THIRD BRĀHMANA.

1. He then lays down the Prâṇabhṛit (bricks). For at that time the gods said, 'Meditate ye!' whereby, doubtless, they meant to say, 'Seek ye a layer!' Whilst meditating, they saw even that layer, the wind: they put it into that (fire-altar), and in like manner does he (the priest) now put it therein.

2. He lays down the Prâṇabhṛits,—wind, doubtless, is breath: it is wind (air) he thus bestows upon him (Agni). On the range of the Retaḥsik (they are placed); for the Retaḥsik are these two (worlds): it is within these two (worlds) that he thus places the wind; whence there is wind within these two (worlds).

He places them on every side : he thus places wind on all sides, whence the wind is everywhere. [He places them so as] on every side to run in the same direction<sup>1</sup>: he thus makes the wind everywhere (to blow) in the same direction, whence, having become united, it blows from all quarters in the same direction. He lays them down alongside of the regional (bricks)<sup>2</sup>: he thereby places the wind in the regions, whence there is wind in all the regions.

3. And, again, as to why he lays down the *Prâna-bhrîts*;—it is that he thereby bestows vital airs on these creatures. He places them so as not to be separated from the *Vaisvadevîs*: he thereby bestows vital airs not separated from the creatures. [He lays them down with, *Vâg. S. XIV, 8*], ‘Preserve mine up-breathing! Preserve my down-breathing! Preserve my through-breathing! Make mine eye shine far and wide! Make mine ear resound!’ He thereby bestows on them properly constituted vital airs.

4. He then lays down the *Apasyâ* (bricks). For the gods, at that time, spake, ‘Meditate ye!’ whereby, doubtless, they meant to say, ‘Seek ye a layer!’ Whilst meditating, they saw even that layer, rain :

<sup>1</sup> That is, the bricks placed in opposite quarters, run in the same direction; see p. 26, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> The *Prâna-bhrîts* are placed beside the *Vaisvadevîs* so as to be separated from them by the respective section of the *anûkas* or ‘spines’ (dividing the square ‘body’ of the altar into four quarters). Each *Vaisvadevî* would thus be enclosed between an *Âsvinî* and a *Prâna-bhrît*; but whilst the *Âsvinî* and *Vaisvadevî* are placed in the same section (or quarter) of the altar, the *Prâna-bhrît* comes to lie in the adjoining section, moving in the sunwise direction from left to right.

they put it into that (fire-altar) and in like manner does he now put it therein.

5. He put on the Apasyâs; for rain is water (ap); it is rain he thereby puts into it (the altar; or into him, Agni). On the range of the Retaḥsik (he places them), for, the Retaḥsik being these two (worlds), it is on these two (worlds) that he thereby bestows rain, whence it rains therein. He places them on every side: he thus puts rain everywhere, whence it rains everywhere. [He places them] so as everywhere to run in the same direction<sup>1</sup>: he thereby bestows rain (falling) everywhere in the same direction, whence the rain falls everywhere, and from all quarters, in the same direction. He places them alongside of those referring to the wind<sup>2</sup>: he thereby puts rain into the wind, whence rain follows to whatever quarter the wind goes.

6. And, again, as to why he lays down Apasyâs,—he thereby puts water into the vital airs. He places them so as not to be separated from the Prâṇabhṛts: he thus places the water so as not to be separate from the vital airs. Moreover, water is food: he thus introduces food not separated from (the channels of) the vital airs. [He lays them down with, Vâg. S. XIV, 8], 'Make the waters swell! Quicken the plants! Bless thou the two-footed! Protect the four-footed! Draw thou rain from the sky!' He thereby puts water that is made fit, into those (vital airs).

<sup>1</sup> See p. 26, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> The five Apasyâ bricks are placed immediately to the right of the Prâṇabhṛts (looking towards the latter from the centre of the altar), so as to fill up the four remaining spaces between the four sets of bricks on the range of the Retaḥsik.

7. He then lays down the *Khandasyâ*<sup>1</sup> (bricks);—for the gods, at that time, spake, ‘Meditate ye!’ whereby, doubtless, they meant to say, ‘Seek ye a layer!’ Whilst meditating, they saw even that layer, cattle (or beasts): they put it therein, and, in like manner, does he now put it therein.

8. He lays down the *Khandasyâs*; for the metres (*khandas*) are cattle: it is cattle he thus puts into it (or, bestows on him, Agni). On every side (he places them): he thereby places cattle (or beasts) everywhere, whence there are cattle everywhere. He places them alongside of the *Apasyâs*: he thus establishes the cattle on (or, near) water, whence cattle thrive when it rains.

9. And, again, as to why he lays down *Khandasyâs*. When *Pragâpati* was relaxed, the cattle, having become metres, went from him. *Gâyatri*, having become a metre, overtook them by dint of her vigour; and as to how *Gâyatri* overtook them, it is that this is the quickest (shortest) metre. And so *Pragâpati*, in the form of that (*Gâyatri*), by dint of his vigour, overtook those cattle.

10. [He lays down four in front, with, *Vâg. S. XIV, 9*], ‘The head is vigour,’—*Pragâpati*, doubtless, is the head: it is he that became vigour;—‘*Pragâpati* the metre,’—*Pragâpati* indeed became a metre.

11. ‘The *Kshatra* is vigour,’—the *Kshatra*, doubtless, is *Pragâpati*, it is he that became vigour;—‘the pleasure-giving metre,’—what is unde-

---

<sup>1</sup> These are otherwise called *Vayasyâ* (conferring vigour, or vitality), each formula containing the word *vayas*, ‘vitality, force.’ There are nineteen such bricks which are placed on the four ends of the two ‘spines,’ viz. four on the front, or east end of the spine proper, and five on the hind end of it as well as on each end of the ‘cross-spine.’

finer that is pleasure-giving; and Praḡapati is undefined, and Praḡapati indeed became a metre.

12. 'Support is vigour,'—the support, doubtless, is Praḡapati: it is he that became vigour;—'the over-lord the metre,'—the over-lord, doubtless, is Praḡapati, and Praḡapati indeed became a metre.

13. 'The All-worker is vigour,'—the All-worker, doubtless, is Praḡapati: it is he that became vigour;—'the highest lord the metre,'—Praḡapati, the highest lord, doubtless, is the waters, for they (the waters of heaven) are in the highest place: Praḡapati, the highest lord, indeed became a metre.

14. These then are four kinds of vigour, and four metres; this (makes) eight,—the Gāyatrī consists of eight syllables: this, assuredly, is that same Gāyatrī in the form of which Praḡapati then, by his vigour, overtook those cattle; whence they say of worn-out cattle that they are overtaken by vigour (or, age), and hence (the word) 'vigour' recurs with all (these bricks). And those cattle which went away from him (Praḡapati) are these fifteen other (formulas): the cattle are a thunderbolt, and the thunderbolt is fifteenfold: whence he who possesses cattle, drives off the evildoer, for the thunderbolt drives off the evildoer for him. And in whatever direction, therefore, the possessor of cattle goes, that he finds torn up by the thunderbolt.

#### FOURTH BRĀHMAṆA.

1. 'The he-goat is vigour<sup>1</sup>,'—the he-goat he overtook by his vigour;—'gapless the metre,'—

<sup>1</sup> Mahīdhara, in accordance with the explanation added by the Brāhmaṇa to this and the corresponding formulas in the succeeding paragraphs, takes 'vayas' as a defective instrumental (vayasā). It is, however, very doubtful whether such an interpretation of the formula was intended by the author of the Brāhmaṇa.

the gapless metre, doubtless, is the Ekapadâ: in the form of Ekapadâ (metre) the goats indeed went forth (from Pragâpati).

2. 'The ram is vigour,'—the ram he overtook by his vigour;—'ample the metre,'—the ample metre, doubtless, is the Dvipadâ: in the form of the Dvipadâ the sheep indeed went forth.

3. 'Man is vigour,'—the man he overtook by his vigour;—'slow the metre,'—the slow metre, doubtless, is the Pañkti: in the form of the Pañkti the men indeed went forth.

4. 'The tiger is vigour,'—the tiger he overtook by his vigour;—'unassailable the metre,'—the unassailable metre, doubtless, is the Virâḡ, for the Virâḡ is food, and food is unassailable; in the form of the Virâḡ the tigers indeed went forth.

5. 'The lion is vigour,'—the lion he overtook by his vigour;—'the covering the metre,'—the covering metre, doubtless, is the Atikkhandas, for that covers (includes) all metres: in the form of the Atikkhandas the lions indeed went forth. And so he places undefined metres along with defined beasts.

6. 'The ox is vigour,'—the ox he overtook by his vigour;—'the Bṛihatî the metre,'—in the form of the Bṛihatî the oxen indeed went forth.

7. 'The bull is vigour,'—the bull he overtook by his vigour;—'the Kakubh the metre,'—in the form of the Kakubh the bulls indeed went forth.

8. 'The steer is vigour,'—the steer he overtook by his vigour;—'the Satobṛihatî the metre,'—in the form of the Satobṛihatî the steers indeed went forth.

9. 'The bullock is vigour,'—the bullock he overtook by his vigour;—'the Paṅkti the metre,'—in the form of the Paṅkti the bullocks indeed went forth.

10. 'The milch cow is vigour,'—the milch cow he overtook by his vigour;—'the Gagatî the metre,'—in the form of the Gagatî the milch cows indeed went forth.

11. 'The calf of eighteen months is vigour,'—the calf of eighteen months he overtook by his vigour;—'the Trishṭubh the metre,'—in the form of the Trishṭubh the calves of eighteen months indeed went forth.

12. 'The two-year-old bull is vigour,'—the two-year-old bull he overtook by his vigour;—'the Virâg the metre,'—in the form of the Virâg the two-year-old kine indeed went forth.

13. 'The bull of two years and a half is vigour,'—the bull of two years and a half he overtook by his vigour;—'the Gâyatrî the metre,'—in the form of the Gâyatrî the kine of two years and a half indeed went forth.

14. 'The three-year-old bull is vigour,'—the three-year-old bull he overtook by his vigour;—'the Ushṇih the metre,'—in the form of the Ushṇih the three-year-old kine indeed went forth.

15. 'The four-year-old bull is vigour,'—the four-year-old bull he overtook by his vigour;—'the Anushṭubh the metre,'—in the form of the Anushṭubh the four-year-old kine indeed went forth.

16. These then are those very beasts which Pragâpati overtook by his vigour. The animal he (the priest) mentions first, then vigour, then the

metre, for having hemmed them in with vigour and the metre, he put them into himself, and made them his own ; and in like manner does he (the sacrificer) now hem them in with vigour and the metre, and put them into himself, and make them his own.

17. Now that animal is the same as Agni : (as such) he is even now made up whole and entire. Those (bricks) which he places in front are his head ; those on the right and left sides are his body, and those behind his tail.

18. He first lays down those in front, for of an animal that is born the head is born first. Having then laid down those on the right (south) side, he lays down those on the left (north) side, thinking, 'Together with its sides this body shall be born.' Then those behind, for of (the animal) that is born the tail is born last.

19. The metres which are longest, and the animals which are biggest, he puts in the middle : he thus makes the animal biggest towards the middle ; whence the animal is biggest towards the middle. And the animals which are the strongest he puts on the right side : he thus makes the right side of an animal the stronger ; whence the right side of an animal is the stronger.

20. The fore and hind parts he makes smallest ; for inasmuch as those (bricks in front) are only four in number<sup>1</sup>, thereby they are the smallest ; and inasmuch as here (at the back) he puts the smallest animals, thereby these are the smallest : he thus makes the fore and hind parts of an animal the smallest, whence the fore and hind parts of an animal

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 35, note 3.



are the smallest ; and hence the animal rises and sits down by its fore and hind parts. He then lays down two Lokamprīṇā (bricks) in that corner<sup>1</sup> : the significance of them (will be explained) further on<sup>2</sup>. He throws loose earth on the layer : the significance of this (will be explained) further on<sup>3</sup>.

### THE THIRD LAYER.

#### THIRD ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMAṆA.

1. He lays down the third layer. For the gods, having laid down the second layer, now ascended it ; but, indeed, they thereby completed and ascended to what is above the earth and below the atmosphere.

2. They spake, 'Meditate ye!' whereby, indeed, they meant to say, 'Seek ye a layer! Seek ye (to build) upwards from hence!' Whilst meditating, they saw the great third layer, even the air : that world pleased them.

3. They said to Indra and Agni, 'Lay ye down for us this third layer!'—'What will accrue unto us therefrom?'—'Ye two shall be the best of us!'—'So be it!' Accordingly Indra and Agni laid down for them that third layer ; and hence people say, 'Indra and Agni are the best of gods.'

4. He accordingly lays it down by means of Indra and Agni, and settles it by means of Visvakarman<sup>4</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Whilst, in laying down the Lokamprīṇās of the first layer, he started from the right shoulder (or south-east corner) of the altar (see p. 22, note 1), in this layer he begins from the right hip (or south west-corner), filling up the available spaces, in two turns, in sunwise fashion.

<sup>2</sup> See VII, 7, 2, 4 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See VIII, 7, 3, 1 seq.

<sup>4</sup> For the connection of these deities with the third layer, and the

for indeed Indra and Agni, as well as Visvakarman, saw this third layer : this is why he lays it down by means of Indra and Agni, and settles it by means of Visvakarman.

5. And, again, as to why he lays it down by means of Indra and Agni, and settles it by means of Visvakarman. When Pragâpati had become relaxed (dis-jointed), the deities took him and went off in different directions. Indra and Agni, and Visvakarman took his middle part, and kept going away from him.

6. He said to them, 'Come ye to me and restore ye to me wherewith ye are going from me!'—'What will accrue unto us therefrom?'—'That (part) of my body shall be sacred unto you!'—'So be it!' So Indra and Agni, and Visvakarman restored that (part) unto him.

7. Now that central Svaya m-â *trinnâ* (naturally-perforated brick)<sup>1</sup> is that very (part) of his body ;—when he now lays down that (brick), he thereby restores to him that (part) of his (Pragâpati's) body which this (brick represents) : this is why he now lays down that (brick).

8. [Vâg. S. XIV, 11], 'O Indra and Agni, make ye fast the brick so as not to shake!' as the text so the sense ;—'with thy back thou forcest asunder the earth, and the sky, and the air ;' for with its back this (brick) indeed forces asunder the earth, and the sky, and the air.

9. [Vâg. S. XIV, 12], 'May Visvakarman settle

---

air, see also VI, 2, 3, 3. Visvakarman is likewise the deity by which the Visvagyotis-brick, representing Vâyu (the wind), the regent of the air-world, is settled ; see VIII, 3, 2, 3.

<sup>1</sup> See part iii, p. 155, note 8.

thee,' for Visvakarman saw this third layer;—'on the back of the air, thee the wide, the broad one!' for this (brick) indeed is the wide and broad back of the air;—'support thou the air, make fast the air, injure not the air!' that is, 'support thou thine own self (body), make fast thine own self, injure not thine own self!'

10. 'For all up-breathing, and down-breathing, and through-breathing, and out-breathing!' for the naturally-perforated (brick) is the vital air, and the vital air serves for everything here;—'for a resting-place and moving-place!' for the naturally-perforated (brick) is these worlds, and these worlds are indeed a resting-place and a moving-place;—'May Vâyu shelter thee!' that is, 'May Vâyu protect thee!'—'with grand prosperity!' that is, 'with great prosperity;'—'with most auspicious protection!'—that is, 'with what protection is most auspicious.' Having settled it<sup>1</sup>, he pronounces the Sûdadohas<sup>2</sup> over it; the meaning of this has been explained. He then sings a sâman: the meaning of this (will be explained) further on<sup>3</sup>.

11. He then lays down (five) Disyâ (regional bricks)<sup>4</sup>. Now the regional ones, doubtless, are

<sup>1</sup> Viz. by the concluding formula, 'With the help of that deity, Âṅgiras-like, lie thou steady!' see part iii, p. 301, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. Vâg. S. XII, 55 (Rig-veda S. VIII, 69, 3), 'At his birth the well-like milking, speckled ones mix the Soma, the clans of the gods in the three spheres of the heavens.' See part iii, p. 307, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> VIII, 7, 4, 1 seq.

<sup>4</sup> The five Disyâs are placed on the spines in the four directions at the *retasiṅ* range, just over where the five Vaisvadevî bricks were placed in the second layer (see the sketch, p. 24). Between them and the central (naturally-perforated) brick there is thus an

the regions: it is the regions he thus bestows (on the air-world). And these are those same regions not separated (from the air) wherewith Vāyu on that occasion<sup>1</sup> stepped nigh: it is them he thereby bestows. But prior to these same (bricks) he lays down<sup>2</sup> both the bunch of Darbha grass and the clod-bricks; and these (disyās) being yonder sun<sup>3</sup>, he thus places yonder sun over the regions, and builds him up upon (or, in) the regions. But were these (laid down) at the same time (as the bunch of grass and the clod-bricks), they would be outside (of the altar); and outside of the womb (foundation), indeed, is that sacrificial work regarding the fire-altar which is done prior to the lotus-leaf<sup>4</sup>. When he

---

empty space a foot square, and the two southern Disyās are half-bricks lying north and south of each other.

<sup>1</sup> See VI, 2, 3, 4. The second naturally-perforated brick represents the air-world with which Vāyu, the wind, is most closely associated.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, he laid them down on the site of the altar, before the first layer was commenced, viz. the darbha-bunch in the centre of the 'body' of the altar, where the two spines (anūka) intersect each other (VII, 2, 3, 1 seqq.); and the clod-bricks (logesh/akā) on the four ends of the two spines (VII, 3, 1, 13 seqq.), that is, in the middle of each of the four sides of the square of which the 'body' consists.

<sup>3</sup> The symbolic interpretation here seems somewhat confused, inasmuch as the Disyās, which are now apparently identified with the sun, have just been stated to represent the regions. At VI, 7, 1, 17 the sun was represented as the central point of the universe to which these three worlds are linked by means of the quarters (as by the strings of a scale). The clod-bricks, on the other hand, were indeed, in VII, 3, 1, 13, identified with the regions (quarters); and the bunch of grass, being laid down in the centre, might be regarded as marking the fifth region, that upwards from here. Cf. IX, 5, 1, 36.

<sup>4</sup> The lotus-leaf is placed in the centre of the altar when the first layer is about to be laid down. See VII, 4, 1, 7 seqq., where

now brings and lays down these (bricks), he thereby establishes them in the womb, on the lotus-leaf, and thus these (bricks) are not outside (the fire-altar). He lays them down so as not to be separated<sup>1</sup> from the naturally-perforated one; for the middle<sup>2</sup> naturally-perforated one is the air: he thus places the regions so as not to be separate from the air. Subsequently<sup>3</sup> (to the central brick he lays them down): subsequently to the air he thus sets up the regions. In all (four) directions he places them: he thus places the regions (quarters) in all directions, whence the regions are in all (four) directions. [He places them] on all sides so as to face each other: he thereby makes the regions on all sides face each other, and hence the regions on all sides face each other<sup>4</sup>.

12. And, again, as to why he lays down the regionals. The regions, doubtless, are the metres—the eastern region being the Gâyatri, the southern the Trishūbh, the western the Gagati, the northern the Anushūbh, and the upper region the Pañkti;—and the metres are animals<sup>5</sup>, and the middlemost layer is the air: he thus places animals in the air,

---

it is explained as representing the foundation of the fire-altar, or rather, the womb whence Agni is born.

<sup>1</sup> That is, not separated therefrom by other special bricks; though the full space of one brick is left between the Disyās and the central brick. Perhaps, however, 'anantarhita' here means 'immediately after.'

<sup>2</sup> That is, the second of the three svayam-âtrinnâs, the one in the third layer.

<sup>3</sup> Uttara seems here and elsewhere to have a double meaning, viz. that of subsequent, and upper, or left, inasmuch as looking towards these bricks from the centre of the altar, they are placed to the left of the particular section of the anūkas.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 26, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> The metres are commonly represented as cattle.

and hence there are animals that have their abode in the air<sup>1</sup>.

13. And, again, as to why he lays down the regionals. The regions, doubtless, are the metres, and the metres are animals, and animals are food, and the middlemost layer is the middle: he thus puts food in the middle (of the body). He places them so as not to be separated (by special bricks) from the naturally-perforated one; for the naturally-perforated one is the vital air: he thus places the food so as not to be separated from the vital air. Subsequently (to the central brick he lays them down): subsequently to (or upon) the vital air he thus places food. On the range of the *Retaḥsik* (he places them): the *Retaḥsik* being the ribs, and the ribs being the middle (of the body), he thus places the food in the middle of this (Agni's body). On every side he places them: from everywhere he thus supplies him, with food.

14. [He lays them down, with, *Vâg. S. XIV, 13*], 'Thou art the queen, the Eastern region! Thou art the far-ruler, the Southern region! Thou art the all-ruler, the Western region! Thou art the self-ruler, the Northern region! Thou art the supreme ruler, the Great region!' these are their names: he thus lays them down whilst naming them. Separately he lays them down, separately he settles them, and separately he pronounces the *Sûdadohas* over them, for separate are the regions.

---

<sup>1</sup> That is all (four-footed) animals that dwell on, not in, the earth. The *Gâyatri* metre, at any rate, is also represented as a bird which fetches the Soma from heaven, but it is not the air as such that is intended here, but the face of the earth.

## SECOND BRĀHMANA.

1. He then lays down a Visvagyotis (all-light brick). Now the middle Visvagyotis is Vāyu<sup>1</sup>, for Vāyu (the wind) is all the light in the air-world: it is Vāyu he thus places therein. He places it so as not to be separated from the regional (bricks): he thus places Vāyu in the regions, and hence there is wind in all the regions.

2. And, again, as to why he lays down the Visvagyotis,—the Visvagyotis, doubtless, is offspring (or creatures), for offspring indeed is all the light: he thus lays generative power (into that world). He places it so as not to be separated from the regional ones<sup>2</sup>: he thus places creatures in the regions, and hence there are creatures in all the regions.

3. [He lays it down, with, Vāg. S. XIV, 14], 'May Visvakarman settle thee!' for Visvakarman saw this third layer<sup>3</sup>;—'on the back of the air, thee the brilliant one!' for on the back of the air that brilliant Vāyu indeed is.

4. 'For all up-breathing, down-breathing, through-breathing,'—for the Visvagyotis is breath,

---

<sup>1</sup> The three Visvagyotis bricks, placed in (the fourth easterly place from the centre of) the first, third and fifth layer respectively, are supposed to represent the regents of the three worlds—earth, air and sky—which these three layers represent, viz. Agni, Vāyu and Âditya (Sūrya). See VI, 3, 3, 16.

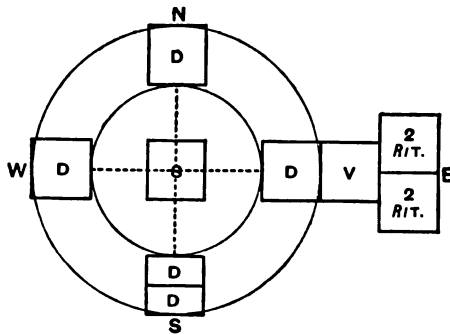
<sup>2</sup> Though, properly speaking, the Visvagyotis lies close to only one of the Disyās, viz. the eastern one, it may at any rate be said to lie close to the range of the Disyās. Here, too, the sense 'immediately after, not separated from them in respect of time,' would suit even better.

<sup>3</sup> See VIII, 3, 1, 4 with note.

and breath indeed is (necessary) for this entire universe;—‘give all the light!’—that is, ‘give the whole light;’—‘Vâyu is thine over-lord,’—it is Vâyu he thus makes the over-lord of that (layer and the air-world). Having settled it, he pronounces the Sûdadohas over it: the significance of this has been explained.

5. He then lays down two *Rîtavyâ* (seasonal<sup>1</sup> bricks);—the two seasonal ones being the same as the seasons, it is the seasons he thus places therein.—[Vâg. S. XIV, 15], ‘Nabha and Nabhasya, the two rainy seasons,’ these are the names of those two (bricks): it is by their names he thus lays them down. There are two (such) bricks, for a season consists of two months. He settles them once only: he thereby makes (the two months) one season. He places them on *avakâ*-plants and covers them

THE CENTRAL PART OF THE THIRD LAYER.



<sup>1</sup> These two *Rîtavyâs* are placed beside (east of) the *Vir-vagyotis*, one north of the other, just over those of the first and second layers, that is to say, in the fifth space from the centre. In the present case, however, these bricks are only of half the usual thickness; two others, of similar size, being placed upon them.



with avakâ-plants<sup>1</sup>; for avakâ-plants mean water: he thus bestows water on that season, whence it rains most abundantly in that season.

6. Then the two upper ones, with (Vâg. S. XIV, 16), 'Isha and Ūrga, the two autumnal seasons,'—these are the names of those two (bricks): it is by their names he thus lays them down. There are two (such) bricks, for a season consists of two months. He settles them only once: he thereby makes (the two months) one season. He places them on avakâ-plants, for the avakâ-plants mean water: he thus bestows water before that season, whence it rains before that season. He does not cover them afterwards, whence it does not likewise rain after (that season).

7. And as to why he places these (four bricks) in this (layer),—this fire-altar is the year, and the year is the same as these worlds, and the middlemost layer is the air (-world) thereof; and the rainy season and autumn are the air (-world) thereof: hence when he places them in this (layer), he thereby restores to him (Agni) what (part) of his body these (formed),—this is why he places them in this (layer).

8. And, again, as to why he places them in this (layer),—this Agni (the fire-altar) is Pragâpati, and Pragâpati is the year. Now the middlemost layer is the middle of this (altar), and the rainy season and the autumn are the middle of that (year): hence when he places them in this (layer), he thereby restores to him (Agni-Pragâpati) what part of his

---

<sup>1</sup> As in the case of the live tortoise, in the first layer; see VII, 5, 1, 11 with note—'Blyxa octandra, a grassy plant growing in marshy land ("lotus-flower," Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, p. 250).'

body these (formed),—this is why he places them in this (layer).

9. There are here four seasonal (bricks) he lays down in the middlemost layer; and two in each of the other layers,—animals (cattle) are four-footed, and the middlemost layer is the air: he thus places animals in the air, and hence there are animals that have their abode in the air.

10. And, again, why there are four,—animals are four-footed, and animals are food; and the middlemost layer is the middle (of Agni's body): he thus puts food in the middle.

11. And, again, why there are four,—‘*antariksha*’ (air) consists of four syllables, and the other layers (*kṛiti*) consist of two syllables; hence as much as the air consists of, so much he makes it in laying it down.

12. And, again, why there are four,—this Agni (altar), doubtless, is an animal: he thus makes the animal biggest towards the middle; whence an animal is biggest towards the middle.

13. There are here four *Ritavyâs*, the *Visvagyotis* being the fifth, and five *Disyâs*,—this makes ten: the *Virâg* consists of ten syllables, and the *Virâg* is food, and the middlemost layer is the middle;—he thus puts food in the middle (of the body). He lays them down so as not to be separated from the naturally-perforated one<sup>1</sup>, for the naturally-perforated one is the vital air: he thus places the food so as not to be separated from the vital air. Subsequently (to the central brick) he lays them down: sub-

---

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, the three sets of bricks are not separated by any others from the *Svayamâtṛinnâ*.

sequently to (or upon) the vital air he thus places food.

14. He then lays down the *Prāṇabhr̥it*<sup>1</sup> (bricks);—the *Prāṇabhr̥its* (breath-holders), doubtless, are the vital airs: it is the vital airs he thus lays into (Agni's body). There are ten of them, for there are ten vital airs. He places them in the forepart (of the altar),—for there are these vital airs in front,—with (*Vāg. S. XIV, 17*), 'Protect my vital strength! protect mine up-breathing! protect my down-breathing! protect my through-breathing! protect mine eye! protect mine ear! increase my speech! animate my mind! protect my soul (or body)! give me light!'—He lays them down so as not to be separated from the seasonal ones, for the vital air is wind: he thus establishes the wind in the seasons.

### THIRD BRĀHMANA.

1. He then lays down the *Kṛandasyâ*<sup>2</sup> (metres' bricks). Now the metres are cattle, and the middlemost layer is the air: he thus places cattle in the air, whence cattle have their abode in the air.

<sup>1</sup> The ten *Prāṇabhr̥its* are placed—five on each side of the spine—either along the edge of the altar, or so as to leave the space of one foot between them and the edge, to afford room for another set of bricks, the *Vālakhyās*.

<sup>2</sup> The thirty-six *Kṛandasyâ* bricks are laid down, in three sets of twelve each, along the edge of the body of the altar where the two wings and the tail join it; six bricks being placed on each side of the respective spine. At the back the bricks are not, however, placed close to the edge separating the body from the tail, but sufficient space is left (a foot wide) for another set of bricks to be laid down behind the *Kṛandasyās*.

2. And, again, as to why he lays down *Kṛandasyās*,—the metres are cattle, and cattle are food, and the middlemost layer is the middle (of Agni, the altar): he thus places food in the middle (of Agni's body).

3. He lays them down by twelves,—for the *Gagati* consists of twelve syllables; and the *Gagati* is cattle, and the middlemost layer is the air: he thus places cattle in the air, whence cattle have their abode in the air.

4. And, again, why (he lays them down) by twelves,—the *Gagati* consists of twelve syllables, and the *Gagati* is cattle, and cattle is food, and the middlemost layer is the middle: he thus places food in the middle. He places them so as not to be separated from the *Prānabhṛts*: he thus places the food so as not to be separated from the vital airs; subsequently (to them he places them): he thus bestows food after (bestowing) the vital airs.

5. [He lays down the right set, with, *Vāg. S. XIV, 18*], 'The metre Measure;—the measure (*mā*), doubtless, is this (terrestrial) world, for this world is, as it were, measured (*mita*);—'the metre Fore-measure!'—the fore-measure (*pramā*), doubtless, is the air-world, for the air-world is, as it were, measured forward from this world;—'The metre Counter-measure,'—the counter-measure (*pratimā*), doubtless, is yonder (heavenly) world, for yonder world is, as it were, counter-measured<sup>1</sup> in the air;—'The metre *Asṛivayas*,'—'*asṛivayas*,' doubtless, is food: whatever food there is in these worlds that is '*asṛivayas*.' Or, whatever food (*anna*) flows (*sṛavati*) from these

<sup>1</sup> That is, made a counterfeit, or copy, of the earth.

worlds that is 'asṛtvayas.' Hereafter, now, he puts down only defined metres.

6. 'The Pañkti metre! the Ushnih metre! the Brīhatī metre! the Anuśtubh metre! the Virāg metre! the Gāyatrī metre! the Trishṭubh metre! the Gāgatrī metre!' these eight defined metres, including the Virāg, he puts down.—[The back set, with, Vāg. S. XIV, 19], 'The metre Earth! the metre Air! the metre Heaven! the metre Years! the metre Stars! the metre Speech! the metre Mind! the metre Husbandry! the metre Gold! the metre Cow! the metre Goat! the metre Horse!' he thus puts down those metres which are sacred to those particular deities.—[The left set, with, Vāg. S. XIV, 20], 'The deity Fire! the deity Wind! the deity Sun! the deity Moon! the deity Vasa-vaḥ! the deity Rudrāḥ! the deity Âdityāḥ! the deity Marutaḥ! the deity Visve Devāḥ! the deity Brīhaspati! the deity Indra! the deity Varuṇa!'—these deities, doubtless, are metres: it is these he thus lays down.

7. He lays down both defined and undefined (metres). Were he to lay down such as are all defined, then the food would have an end, it would fail; and (were he to lay down) such as are all undefined, then the food would be invisible, and one would not see it at all. He lays down both defined and undefined ones: hence the defined (certain) food which is eaten does not fail.

8. These then are those (sets of) twelve he lays down,—that makes thirty-six, and the Brīhatī consists of thirty-six syllables: this is that same Brīhatī, the air, which the gods then saw as a third

layer. In that (*br̥i*hati set of bricks) the gods come last (or, are highest).

9. And, again, as to why he lays down these bricks. When *Pragâpati* became relaxed, all living beings went from him in all directions.

10. Now that same *Pragâpati* who became relaxed is this very *Agni* (fire-altar) that is now being built up; and those living beings which went from him are these bricks: hence when he lays down these (bricks), he thereby puts back into him (*Pragâpati-Agni*) those same living beings which went from him.

11. Now when he first lays down ten (*Prâṇabhr̥ts*), they are the moon. There are ten of these,—the *Virâḡ* consists of ten syllables, and the *Virâḡ* is food, and the moon is food. And when subsequently he lays down thirty-six (*Kḥandasyâs*), they are the half-months and months—twenty-four half-months and twelve months: the moon, doubtless, is the year, and all living beings.

12. And when the gods restored him (*Pragâpati-Agni*), they put all those living beings inside him, and in like manner does this one now put them therein. He lays them down so as not to be separated from the seasonal (bricks): he thus establishes all living beings in the seasons.

#### FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. He then lays down the *Vâḷakhilyâs*;—the *Vâḷakhilyâs*, doubtless, are the vital airs: it is the vital airs he thus lays (into *Agni*). And as to why they are called *Vâḷakhilyâs*,—what (unploughed piece of ground lies) between two cultivated fields is called

'khila;,' and these (channels of the) vital airs<sup>1</sup> are separated from each other by the width of a horse-hair (vāla), and because they are separated from each other by the width of a horse-hair, they (the bricks) are called Vā lakhilyās.

2. He places seven in front, and seven at the back. When he places seven in front, he thereby restores to him those seven (organs of the) vital airs here in front.

3. And those seven which (he places) behind he thereby makes the counter-breathings to those (first breathings); and hence by means of (the channels of) these breathings he passes over the food which he eats with those (other) breathings.

4. And, again, as to why he places seven in front,—there are seven (channels of the) vital airs here in the front part (of the animal)<sup>2</sup>—the four upper and lower parts of the fore-feet, the head, the neck, and what is above the navel that is the sixth, for in each limb there is a vital air: this makes seven vital airs here in front; it is them he thus lays into him (Agni-Pragâpati).

5. And as to what seven (bricks) he places behind,—there are seven vital airs here in the back part—the four thighs and knee-bones, the two feet, and what is below the navel that is the seventh, for in each limb there is a vital air: this makes seven vital airs here at the back; it is them he thus lays into him.

6. [He lays them down, with, Vâg. S. XIV, 21, 22], 'The head thou art, the ruler! steady thou

<sup>1</sup> Or, these bricks representing the vital airs.

<sup>2</sup> Or, in the upper part of man.

art, steadfast! a holder thou art, a hold!—  
 'A guider, a ruler! a guider thou art, a guide!  
 steady thou art, a steadier!' he truly bestows  
 steady vital airs unto him.

7. And, again, as to why he lays down the  
 Vāḷakhilyās,—it was by means of the Vāḷakhilyās  
 that the gods then ranged over these worlds, both  
 from hence upwards and from yonder downwards;  
 and in like manner does the sacrifice now, by means  
 of the Vāḷakhilyās, range over these worlds, both  
 from hence upwards and from yonder downwards.

8. By 'The head thou art, the ruler!' they  
 stepped on this (terrestrial) world; by 'Steady  
 thou art, steadfast!' on the air-world; by 'A holder  
 thou art, a hold!' on that (heavenly) world.—  
 'For life-strength (I bestow) thee! for vigour  
 thee! for husbandry thee! for prosperity thee!'  
 There are four (kinds of) four-footed (domestic)  
 animals, and (domestic) animals are food: by means  
 of this food, these four four-footed animals, they  
 (the gods) established themselves in yonder world;  
 and in like manner does the Sacrificer now by means  
 of this food, these four four-footed animals, establish  
 himself in yonder world.

9. That was, as it were, an ascent away from  
 hence; but this (earth) is a foothold: the gods came  
 back to this foothold; and in like manner does the  
 Sacrificer now come back to this foothold.

10. By 'A guider, a ruler!' they stepped on that  
 (heavenly) world; by 'A guider thou art, a guide!'  
 on the air-world; by 'Steady thou art, a steadier!'  
 on this (terrestrial) world.—'For sap (I bestow) thee!  
 for strength thee! for wealth thee! for thrift  
 thee!'—There are four four-footed (domestic) animals,



and (domestic) animals are food : by means of this food, these four four-footed animals, they (the gods) established themselves in this world ; and in like manner does the Sacrificer, by means of this food, these four four-footed animals, establish himself in this world.

11. Now as to the restoration (of Pragâpati-Agni). Those eleven bricks he lays down<sup>1</sup>, which (constitute) that first anuvâka<sup>2</sup>, are the air and this body (of Agni, the altar). And as to why there are eleven of these, it is because the Trishûbh consists of eleven syllables, and the air is of the trishûbh nature. And the sixty subsequent (bricks) are Vâyu, Pragâpati, Agni, the Sacrificer.

12. Those which he places in front are his head : there are ten<sup>3</sup> of them, because there are ten vital airs, and the head is (the focus of) the vital airs. He places them in front, because the head (of an animal) is here in front.

13. And those which he places on the right (south) side are that (part) of him which is above the waist and below the head. And those at the back are that (part) of him which is above the feet and below the waist. Those on the left (north) side are the feet themselves.

14. And the seven (Vâ lakhilyâs) which he places in front are these seven vital airs here in the fore-part (of an animal) : it is these he thus puts into

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, the first eleven bricks of the third layer, viz. one *svayamâtrinnâ*, four *disyâs*, one *visvagyotis*, and four *ritavyâs*.

<sup>2</sup> The formulas used with these bricks, Vâg. S. XIV, 11-16, constitute the first anuvâka of the texts relating to the third layer (XIV, 11-22).

<sup>3</sup> Viz. ten *Prânabhrits*, see VIII, 3, 2, 14.

him (Agni). He places them so as not to be separated from those ten (*Prâṇabhṛits*): he thereby puts in vital airs that are not separate from the head.

15. And the seven he places at the back (of the altar) are those seven vital airs behind: it is these he thereby puts into him. He places them so as not to be separated from those twelve (*Kṛandasyâs*): he thereby puts into him vital airs that are not separate from the body. That same *Vâyu-Pragâpati* is turned round in all directions in this trishṭubh-like air; and when he lays down the third layer, having made up both *Vâyu* (the wind) and the air, he thereby adds them to himself. He then puts down two *Lokamprînâ* (space-filling bricks) in that corner<sup>1</sup>: the significance of them (will be explained) further on<sup>2</sup>. He throws loose earth (on the layer): the significance of this (will be explained) further on<sup>3</sup>.

#### THE FOURTH LAYER.

##### FOURTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. He lays down the fourth layer. For the gods having laid down the third layer, now ascended; but, the third layer being the air; it was the air which, having completed it, they ascended.

2. They spake, 'Meditate ye!' whereby, indeed,

<sup>1</sup> Whilst, in laying down the *Lokamprînâs* of the first and second layers, he started from the south-east and south-west corners respectively, in the third layer he starts from the left hip (or north-west corner) of the altar; filling up the available spaces in two turns, in sunwise fashion. Cf. p. 22, note 1; and p. 41, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See VIII, 7, 2, 4 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See VIII, 7, 3, 1 seq.

they meant to say, 'Seek ye a layer! Seek ye (to build) from hence upwards!' Whilst meditating, they saw that fourth layer, (to wit) what is above the air and below the heavens; that world was to their minds, as it were, unstable and unsettled.

3. They said to the Brahman, 'We will lay thee down (or, set thee up) here!'—'What will therefrom accrue to me?'—'Thou shalt be the highest of us!'—'So be it!' They accordingly laid the Brahman down here, whence people say that the Brahman is the highest of gods. Now, by this fourth layer these two, heaven and earth, are upheld, and the fourth layer is the Brahman, whence people say that heaven and earth are upheld by the Brahman. He lays down the Stomas (hymn-forms)<sup>1</sup>: the stomas being the vital airs, and the Brahman also being the vital airs, it is the Brahman he thereby lays down.

4. And, again, as to why he lays down the Stomas. The gods, at that time, said to Pragâpati, 'We will lay thee down here!'—'So be it!' He did not say, 'What will therefrom accrue unto me?' but whenever Pragâpati wished to obtain anything from the gods, they said, 'What will therefrom accrue to us?' And hence even now if a father wishes to obtain anything from his sons, they say, 'What will there-

---

<sup>1</sup> This refers to the first eighteen bricks of the fourth layer; but as the names of the bricks (*ish/akâ*, f.) are invariably of the feminine gender, it is doubtful whether *stoma* (m.), in this case, is meant as the designation of these bricks, or merely as their symbolical analogon. In the former case, one would rather, from the analogy of other bricks, expect some such term as '*stomyâ*.' To the first four of them Mahîdhara, on Vâg. S. XIV, 23, applies the epithet *mṛityumohinî*, or 'confounders of death.'

from accrue unto us?' and when the sons (wish to obtain anything) from the father, he says, 'So be it!' for in this way Pragâpati and the gods used of old to converse together. He lays down the Stomas: the stomas being the vital airs, and Pragâpati also being the vital airs, it is Pragâpati he thus lays down.

5. And, again, as to why he lays down the Stomas. Those vital airs, the *Rishis*<sup>1</sup>, that saw this fourth layer<sup>2</sup>, and who stepped nigh with that essential element (of the altar), are these (vital airs): it is them he now lays down. He lays down the Stomas:—the stomas being the vital airs, and the *Rishis* also being the vital airs, it is the *Rishis* he thus lays down.

6. And, again, as to why he lays down the Stomas. When Pragâpati had become relaxed (disjointed), the gods took him and went away. Vâyu, taking that (part) of him which was above the waist and below the head, kept going away from him, having become the deities and the forms of the year.

7. He spake to him, 'Come to me and restore to me that wherewith thou hast gone from me!'—'What will therefrom accrue unto me?'—'That part of my self shall be sacred unto thee!'—'So be it!' thus Vâyu restored that unto him.

8. Those eighteen (bricks<sup>3</sup>) which there are at

<sup>1</sup> See VI, 1, 1, 1; VII, 2, 3, 5.

<sup>2</sup> See VI, 2, 3, 7. 8.

<sup>3</sup> These eighteen bricks, representing the Stomas, or hymn-forms, are laid down in the following order. At each end of the spine (running from west to east) one brick, of the size of the shank (from knee to ankle), is placed, with its line-marks running from west to east; the eastern one being placed north, and the western one south, of the spine. Thereupon an ordinary brick, a foot square, is placed

first, are that very (part) of his (Pragâpati's) body ; and when he places them in this (layer), he thereby restores to him that (part) of his body which these (form) : therefore he places them in this (layer). He lays down the Stomas : the stomas being the vital airs, and Vāyu (the wind) also being the vital airs, it is Vāyu he thus lays down.

9. In front he lays down one, with (Vāg. S. XIV, 23), 'The swift one, the Trivṛit!' he therewith lays down that hymn-form which is trivṛit (threefold, or thrice-three-versed). And as to why he calls it 'the swift one,' it is because this, indeed, is the swiftest of stomas. But the swift threefold one, doubtless, is Vāyu : he exists in these three worlds. And as to why he calls him 'the swift one,' it is because he is the swiftest of all beings : being (or, in the form of) Vāyu it remained in front,—it is that form he now lays down.

10. [The back one<sup>1</sup>, with], 'The bright one<sup>2</sup>, the Pañkadasa!' he therewith lays down that

---

at the southern end of the 'cross-spine,' so as to lie on the spine (though not apparently exactly in the middle, but so that only one-fourth of the brick lies on one side of the spine) with its line-marks running from south to north ; and a second brick of the same size is placed on the north, but so as to leave the full space of another such brick between it and the northern edge of the altar. Behind (west of) the front brick, fourteen half-foot bricks are then laid down, in a row from north to south, seven on each side of the spine.

<sup>1</sup> The formulas of the first four of these (stoma) bricks are not given here (in paragraphs 9-12) in the order in which the bricks are actually laid down, viz. E. W. S. N., but in the order E. S. N. W. ; cp. Kātyāy. Srautas. XVII, 10, 6-9. For a symbolic explanation of this change of order see VIII, 4, 1 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Or, perhaps, 'the angry one.' The author of the Brāhmaṇa, however, evidently connects 'bhānta' with the root 'bhā,' to shine.

hymn-form which is fifteenfold (fifteen-versed). And when he calls it 'the bright one,' it is that the bright one is the thunderbolt, and the thunderbolt is fifteenfold. But the bright, fifteenfold one, doubtless, also is the Moon : he waxes during fifteen days, and wanes during fifteen days. And as to his calling him 'the bright one,' the Moon indeed shines: being the Moon it remained on the right side,—it is that form he now lays down.

11. [The left (north) one, with], 'The (aerial) space, the Saptadasa!' he therewith lays down that hymn-form which is seventeenfold. And as to his calling it 'the space,'—the (aerial) space is Pragâpati, and the seventeenfold one is Pragâpati. But indeed the seventeenfold space also is the year : in it there are twelve months and five seasons. And as to his calling it space, the year indeed is space : being space, it remained on the left side,—it is that form he now lays down.

12. [The right (south) one, with], 'The upholder, the Ekavimsa!' he therewith lays down that hymn-form which is twenty-one-fold. And as to his calling it 'the upholder,'—the upholder means a foothold, and the Ekavimsa is a foothold. But indeed the twenty-one-fold upholder also is yonder sun : to him belong the twelve months, the five seasons, these three worlds, and yonder sun himself is the upholder, the twenty-one-fold. And as to his calling him 'the upholder,'—when he sets everything here holds its peace: being the sun, it remained at the back,—it is that form he now lays down; and the forms of the year he lays down.

13. 'Speed, the Ashvâdasas!' he therewith lays down that hymn-form which is eighteenfold. Now,

speed, the eighteenfold one, doubtless, is the year : in it there are twelve months, five seasons, and the year itself is speed, the eighteenfold. And as to his calling it 'speed,' the year indeed speeds all beings : it is that form he now lays down.

14. 'Heat, the Navadasa!' he therewith lays down that hymn-form which is nineteenfold. But heat, the nineteenfold one, doubtless, is the year : in it there are twelve months, six seasons, and the year itself is heat, the nineteenfold. And as to his calling it 'heat,' the year indeed burns all beings : it is that form he now lays down.

15. 'Victorious assault, the Savimsa!' he therewith lays down that hymn-form which is twentyfold. But victorious assault, the twentyfold one, doubtless, is the year : in it there are twelve months, seven seasons, and the year itself is victorious assault, the twentyfold. And as to why he calls it 'victorious assault,' the year indeed assails all beings : it is that form he now lays down.

16. 'Vigour, the Dvâvimsa!' he therewith lays down that hymn-form which is twenty-two-fold. But vigour, the twenty-two-fold one, doubtless is the year : in it there are twelve months, seven seasons, the two, day and night, and the year itself is vigour, the twenty-two-fold. And as to why he calls it 'vigour,' the year is indeed the most vigorous of all existing things : it is that form he now lays down.

17. 'The array, the Trayovimsa!' he therewith lays down that hymn-form which is twenty-three-fold. But array, the twenty-three-fold one, doubtless, means the year : in it there are thirteen months, seven seasons, the two, day and night, and the year itself is the array, the twenty-three-fold.

And as to his calling it 'array,' the year is indeed arrayed over all beings: it is that form he now lays down.

18. 'The womb, the *Katurvimsa*!' he therewith lays down that hymn-form which is twenty-four-fold. But the womb, the twenty-four-fold one, doubtless, is the year: in it there are twenty-four half-months. And as to his calling it 'the womb,' the year is indeed the womb of all beings: it is that form he now lays down.

19. 'The embryos, the *Pañkavimsa*!' he therewith lays down that hymn-form which is twenty-five-fold. But the embryos, the twenty-five-fold one, doubtless, is the year: in it there are twenty-four half-months, and the year itself is the embryos, the twenty-five-fold. And as to his calling it 'the embryos,'—the year, as an embryo, in the shape of the thirteenth month, enters the seasons: it is that form he now lays down.

20. 'Strength, the *Trinava*!' he therewith lays down that hymn-form which is thrice ninefold. And as to his calling it 'strength,'—strength (*ogas*) means the thunderbolt (*vagra*), and the *Trinava* is a thunderbolt. But strength also means the year: in it there are twenty-four half-months, the two, day and night, and the year itself is strength, the thrice-ninefold. And as to his calling it 'strength,' the year indeed is the strength of all beings: it is that form he now lays down.

21. 'Design, the *Ekatrimsa*!' he therewith lays down that hymn-form which is thirty-one-fold. But design, the thirty-one-fold, doubtless, means the year: in it there are twenty-four half-months, six seasons, and the year itself is design, the thirty-one-fold. And



as to his calling it 'design,' the year indeed designs (makes, forms) all beings: it is that form he now lays down.

22. 'The foundation, the *Trayastrimsa*!' he therewith lays down that hymn-form which is thirty-three-fold. And as to why he calls it 'the foundation,' the thirty-three-fold is indeed a foundation. But indeed the foundation, the thirty-three-fold, also is the year: in it there are twenty-four half-months, six seasons, the two, day and night, and the year itself is the foundation, the thirty-three-fold. And as to his calling it 'the foundation,' the year is indeed the foundation of all beings: it is that form he now lays down.

23. 'The range of the ruddy one, the *Katustrimsa*!' he therewith lays down that hymn-form which is thirty-four-fold. But the range of the ruddy one (the sun), the thirty-four-fold one, doubtless, is the year: in it there are twenty-four half-months, seven seasons, the two, day and night, and the year itself is the range of the ruddy one, the thirty-four-fold. And as to his calling it 'the range of the ruddy one,' the range of the ruddy one, doubtless, means supreme sway, and the thirty-four-fold one means supreme sway: it is that form he now lays down.

24. 'The firmament, the *Shatstrimsa*!' he therewith lays down that hymn-form which is thirty-six-fold. But the firmament, the thirty-six-fold one, doubtless, is the year: in it there are twenty-four half-moons, and twelve months. And as to why he calls it 'the firmament' (*nākam*), it is because there is no pain (*na akam*) for whosoever goes there. And the firmament indeed is the year, the heavenly world is the year: it is that form he now lays down.

25. 'The revolving sphere, the *Ashṭāvatvārimsa*!' he therewith lays down that hymn-form which is forty-eight-fold. But the revolving sphere, the forty-eight-fold, doubtless, is the year: in it there are twenty-six half-months, thirteen months, seven seasons, and the two, day and night. And as to his calling it 'the revolving sphere,' from the year all creatures indeed are evolved: it is that form he now lays down.

26. 'The stay, the *Katushṭoma*!' he therewith lays down the chant of praise consisting of four stomas<sup>1</sup>. And as to his calling it 'the stay,'—stay means support, and the *Katushṭoma* is a support. But the stay, the *Katushṭoma*, doubtless, is *Vāyu* (the wind), for he sings from all those four quarters. And as to his calling him 'the stay,'—stay means support; and the wind indeed is the support of all beings: it is that form he now lays down. The wind he places first and last: by the wind he thus encloses all these beings on both sides.

27. These, then, are eighteen bricks he lays down; this makes two *Trivṛts*,—the *Trivṛt* being breath, and breath being wind, this layer is *Vāyu*.

28. And as to why there are eighteen,—the year is eighteenfold: twelve months and six seasons. And *Pragâpati* indeed is the year, *Pragâpati* is eighteenfold: as great as *Agni* is, as great as is his measure, so great he makes it when he lays it down.

## SECOND BRĀHMANA.

1. He then lays down the *Sprītaḥ*<sup>2</sup> (freeing

<sup>1</sup> For particulars on the *Katushṭoma*, see note on XIII, 1, 3, 4.

<sup>2</sup> The ten *Sprītaḥ* are placed in close connection with the preceding set;—viz. at the front and back ends of the spine, two

bricks). For when that (part) of his body had been restored, Pragâpati became pregnant with all beings : whilst they were in his womb, evil, death, seized them.

2. He spake to the gods, 'With you I will free all these beings from evil, from death !'—'What will accrue unto us therefrom?'—'Choose ye!' said he.—'Let there be a share for us!' said some to him. 'Let lordship be unto us!' said others. Having bestowed a share on some, and lordship on others, he freed all beings from evil, from death ; and inas-much as he freed (*sprī*) them, therefore (those bricks are called) '*Sprītaḥ*.' And in like manner does this Sacrificer, by bestowing a share on some, and lordship on others, now free all beings from evil, from death ; and hence (the word) '*sprītam* (freed)' recurs with all of them.

3. [He lays them down <sup>2</sup>, with, Vâg. S. XIV, 24-26], 'Agni's share thou art, Dīkshâ's lordship!'—Dīkshâ, doubtless, is Speech : having bestowed a share on Agni, he bestows lordship on Speech ;—'the Brahman is freed ; the Trivṛit-stoma!'—by means of the thrice-threefold hymn-form he freed

bricks, exactly corresponding in size to those already lying there, are placed south and north of these respectively. Similarly two bricks, a foot square, are placed on the 'cross-spine' immediately north of the two stoma-bricks lying there. The remaining six bricks are then placed behind the row of fourteen 'stomas' in the front part of the altar, three on each side of the spine.

<sup>1</sup> Or, from that evil, death.

<sup>2</sup> In the case of the first four *Sprītaḥ*, as in that of the corresponding Stomas (see p. 61, note 1), while the bricks themselves are laid down in the order E.W.N.S., the order in which the formulas are given in paragraphs 3-6, is that of E.N.S.W.—Cp. Kāty. Śrautas. XVII, 10, 11-14. For a symbolical explanation of this change of order, see VIII, 4, 4, 1 seq.

the Brahman (priesthood) for living beings from evil, from death.

4. 'Indra's share thou art, Vishnu's lordship!'—Having bestowed a share on Indra, he bestowed lordship on Vishnu;—'the Kshatra is freed; the Pañkadasa-stoma!'—by means of the fifteenfold hymn-form he freed the Kshatra (nobility) for living beings from evil, from death.

5. 'The man-viewers' share thou art, the creator's lordship!'—the man-viewers, doubtless, are the gods: having bestowed a share on the gods, he bestowed lordship on the creator;—'the birth-place is freed, the Saptadasa-stoma!'—the birth-place, doubtless, is the peasantry: by means of the seventeenfold hymn-form he frees the peasantry for living beings from evil, from death.

6. 'Mitra's share thou art, Varuna's lordship!'—Mitra, doubtless, is the out-breathing, and Varuna the down-breathing: having bestowed a share on the out-breathing, he bestowed lordship on the down-breathing;—'heaven's rain, the wind is freed; the Ekavimsa-stoma!'—by means of the twenty-one-fold hymn-form he frees both rain and wind for living beings from evil, from death.

7. 'The Vasus' share thou art, the Rudras' lordship!'—having bestowed a share on the Vasus, he bestowed lordship on the Rudras;—'the four-footed is freed, the Katurvimsa-stoma!'—by means of the twenty-five-fold hymn-form he freed the four-footed for living beings from evil, from death.

8. 'The Ādityas' share thou art, the Maruts' lordship!'—having bestowed a share on the Ādityas, he bestowed lordship on the Maruts;—'the

embryos are freed, the *Pañkaviṃśa*-stoma!—by means of the twenty-five-fold hymn-form he freed the embryos for living beings from evil, from death.

9. 'Aditi's share thou art, Pûshan's lordship!—Aditi, doubtless, is this (earth): having bestowed a share on her, he bestowed lordship on Pûshan,—'vigour is freed; the *Trinava*-stoma!' by means of the thrice-ninefold hymn-form he freed vigour for living beings from evil, from death.

10. 'God Savitṛi's share thou art, Bṛihaspati's lordship!—having bestowed a share on the god Savitṛi, he bestows lordship on Bṛihaspati;—'the facing quarters are freed, the *Katush-toma*!'—by means of the chant of praise consisting of four stomas he freed all the (four) quarters for living beings from evil, from death.

11. 'The Yavas' share thou art, the Ayavas' lordship!—the Yavas, doubtless, are the first (light) fortnights, and the Ayavas the latter (dark) fortnights, for these gain (yu) and obtain (â-yu) everything here<sup>1</sup>: having bestowed a share on the first fortnights, he bestowed lordship on the latter fortnights;—'the creatures are freed, the *Katus-katvâriṃśa*-stoma!'—by means of the forty-four-fold hymn-form he freed all creatures from evil, from death.

12. 'The Rîbhus' share thou art, the All-gods' lordship!—having bestowed a share on the Rîbhus, he bestowed lordship on the Visve-Devâh;—

<sup>1</sup> This is clearly a fanciful etymology. If 'yava' and 'ayava,' in the sense of the bright and dark fortnights, are really genuine terms, it is more likely that they are derived from yu, 'to keep off,'—the bright half of the moon being looked upon as capable of averting evil spirits, and the dark half as the reverse of this.

'the living being is freed, the *Trayastrimsa-stoma*!'—by means of the thirty-three-fold hymn-form he freed all living beings from evil, from death; and in like manner does the Sacrificer, by means of the thirty-three-fold hymn-form, now free all living beings from evil, from death.

13. These, then, are ten bricks he lays down,—the *Virâg* consists of ten syllables, and Agni is *Virâg* (wide-shining); there are ten regions, and Agni is the regions; there are ten vital airs, and Agni is the vital airs: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus frees all these creatures from evil, from death.

14. He then lays down two *Ritavyâs*<sup>1</sup> (seasonal bricks);—the seasonal ones being the same as the seasons, it is the seasons he thus lays down;—with (*Vâg. S. XIV, 27*), 'Saha and Sahasya, the two winter-seasons!' These are the names of those two, it is with their names he thus lays them down. There are two such bricks, for a season consists of two months. Only once he settles them: he thus makes (the two months) one season.

15. And as to why he places these two (bricks) in this (layer),—this Agni (fire-altar) is the year, and the year is these worlds: what part thereof is above the air, and below the sky, that is this fourth layer, and that is the winter-season thereof; and when he places these two in this (layer), he thereby restores to him (*Pragâpati-Agni*, the year and fire-altar) what part of his body these two (constitute). This is why he places these two in this (layer).

---

<sup>1</sup> These are placed over the *Ritavyâs* of the preceding layers, viz. in the fifth place to the east of the centre, south and north of the spine.

16. And, again, as to why he places these two in this (layer),—this Agni is Pragâpati, and Pragâpati is the year: what (part) of him there is above the waist, and below the head, that is this fourth layer, and that is the winter-season of him (or, of it, the year). And when he places these two in this (layer), he thereby restores to him what part of his body these two (constitute). This is why he places these two in this (layer).

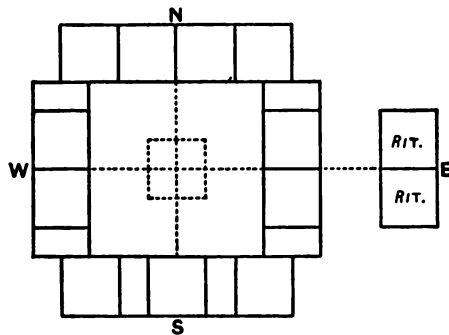
### THIRD BRĀHMANA.

1. He then lays down the *Srîshṭis*<sup>1</sup> (creations). For Pragâpati, having freed all beings from evil,

<sup>1</sup> The seventeen *Srîshṭis* are to be placed round the centre, along the *retâṣiṣṭ* range, in such a way that nine bricks lie south

#### THE CENTRAL PART OF THE FOURTH LAYER.

(Seventeen *sṛîṣṭî* and two *ritavyâ*.)



and eight bricks north, of the spine; and that five bricks form the southern side, and four bricks each of the three other sides. Whilst the bricks of the south side are further specified as consisting of a brick, a foot square, lying on the cross-spine, being flanked on both sides by half-foot bricks, and these again by square bricks; no particulars are given regarding the other sides. Most likely, however, as indicated in the accompanying sketch, four square bricks, two on each side of the cross-spine, are to form the left (north) side, whilst the front and hind sides are to consist of two

from death, he now desired, 'May I produce creatures, may I procreate!'

2. He spake unto the vital airs<sup>1</sup>, 'Together with you, I will here bring forth creatures!'—'Wherewith shall we sing praises<sup>2</sup>?'—'With me and with your-

---

square bricks lying north and south of the spine, and flanked by half-foot bricks.

<sup>1</sup> That is, to the deities representing the vital airs, viz. the regions, &c.' Mahīdh.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Delbrück, in his *Altindische Syntax*, pp. 136, 257, 265, takes 'stoshyāmahe' in this passage in a passive sense—'by whom shall we be praised?' I think, however, that this is a mistake, and Harisvāmin's commentary certainly takes it in the same sense as I have done; and, indeed, the paragraphs which follow seem to me to make it quite clear that no other interpretation is possible. Pragâpati is about to perform the 'sṛishśis,' i.e. the creation of living beings by means of sacrifice (his own self). He requires the assistance of the Prâṇas (vital airs) in order to produce creatures endowed with breath, and he also appeals to (the three most prominent of) them in their capacity as *Rishis* (VI, 1, 1, 1 seq.) to officiate as his (Udgâtri) priests. They ask, 'Wherewith shall we sing praises?' and he answers, 'With me and with your own selves.' The 'wherewith,' according to Harisvāmin, refers both to the 'stotriyâ' verses to be used, and to the deities of the *sṛishśi*-stotras. That the former, at all events, is indeed the case, a glance at the subsequent paragraphs shows, where the stotriyâs are identified with the vital airs, and, when their number (ten) becomes exhausted, with parts of the year (Pragâpati), and of his (the Sacrificer's, or Pragâpati's) body. As regards the deities whom Harisvāmin considers to be likewise implied, this also is by no means improbable, though I must confess that it did not occur to me, before I looked at the commentary. In the Udgâtri's text-books, the chanting of stotras is usually interpreted as symbolising the production of 'food' (cf., for instance, *Tândya*-Br. I, 3, 6, 'annam karishyāmy annam pravishyāmy annam ganayishyāmi'), whilst here it seems identified with the production of life, or breath itself (cf. ib. 5, 'br̥haspatīs tvā yunaktu devebhyaḥ prāṇāya &c.'); and, accordingly, in *Sat. Br.* X, 3, 1, 1, 7, the principal vital air, the breath proper, is called 'praganana-prāṇa.'



selves!'—'So be it!' So they sang praises both with the vital airs and with Pragâpati; and whatsoever the gods do, that they do with praise, that—praise being sacrifice—they do with sacrifice. Hence (the words) 'they sang praises' recur with all (these bricks).

3. [They lay them down, with, Vâg. S. XIV, 28-31], 'With one they sang praises,'—the one, doubtless, is speech: it is with speech they then sang praises;—'creatures were conceived,'—creatures indeed were now conceived;—'Pragâpati was the lord!'—Pragâpati indeed was now the lord.

4. 'With three they sang praises,'—there are three vital airs: the out-breathing, the up-breathing, and the through-breathing: it is with them they then sang praises;—'the Brahman was created,'—the priesthood indeed was now created;—'Brahmanaspati was the lord!' Brahmanaspati indeed was now the lord.

5. 'With five they sang praises,'—what (four) vital airs there are here, with mind as a fifth: it is with them they then sang praises;—'the living beings were created,'—the living beings indeed were now created;—'the lord of beings was the lord!'—the lord of beings indeed was now the lord.

6. 'With seven they sang praises,'—what seven vital airs there are here in the head: it is with them they then sang praises;—'the seven *Rishis* were created,'—the seven *Rishis* indeed were now created;—'the creator was the lord!'—the creator indeed was now the lord.

7. 'With nine they sang praises,'—there are nine vital airs, seven in the head, and two downward

ones: it is with them they then sang praises;—‘the Fathers were created,’—the Fathers indeed were now created;—‘Aditi was the ruler!’—Aditi indeed was now the ruler.

8. ‘With eleven they sang praises,’—there are ten vital airs, and the trunk is the eleventh: it is therewith they then sang praises;—‘the seasons were created,’—the seasons indeed were now created;—‘the seasonal periods were the lords!’—the seasonal periods indeed were now the lords.

9. ‘With thirteen they sang praises,’—there are ten vital airs, and two feet, and the trunk is the thirteenth: it is therewith they then sang praises;—‘the months were created,’—the months indeed were now created;—‘the year was the lord!’—the year indeed was now the lord.

10. ‘With fifteen they sang praises,’—there are ten fingers, four fore-arms and upper arms, and what is above the navel is the fifteenth: it is therewith they then sang praises;—‘the Kshatra was created,’—the nobility indeed was now created;—‘Indra was the lord!’—Indra indeed was now the lord.

11. ‘With seventeen they sang praises,’—there are ten toes, four thighs and shanks, two feet, and what is below the navel is the seventeenth: it is therewith they then sang praises;—‘the tame animals were created,’—the tame animals indeed were now created;—‘Bṛihaspati was the lord!’—Bṛihaspati indeed was now the lord.

12. ‘With nineteen they sang praises,’—there are ten fingers, and nine vital airs: it is with these they then sang praises;—‘the Sûdra and Ārya were created,’—the Sûdra and Ārya indeed

were now created;—‘the day and night were the rulers!’—the day and night indeed were now the rulers.

13. ‘With twenty-one they sang praises,’—there are ten fingers, ten toes, and the trunk is the twenty-first: it is therewith that they then sang praises;—‘the one-hoofed animals were created,’—the one-hoofed animals indeed were now created;—‘Varuṇa was the lord!’—Varuṇa indeed was now the lord.

14. ‘With twenty-three they sang praises,’—there are ten fingers, ten toes, two feet, and the trunk is the twenty-third: it is therewith they then sang praises;—‘the small animals were created,’—the small animals indeed were now created;—‘Pûshan was the lord!’—Pûshan indeed was now the lord.

15. ‘With twenty-five they sang praises,’—there are ten fingers, ten toes, four limbs, and the trunk is the twenty-fifth: it is therewith they then sang praises;—‘the wild animals were created,’—the wild animals indeed were now created;—‘Vâyu was the lord!’—Vâyu indeed was now the lord.

16. ‘With twenty-seven they sang praises,’—there are ten fingers, ten toes, four limbs, two feet, and the trunk is the twenty-seventh: it is therewith they then sang praises;—‘Heaven and Earth went asunder,’—heaven and earth indeed now went asunder;—‘the Vasus, Rudras and Âdityas separated along with them: they indeed were the lords!’ and they indeed were now the lords.

17. ‘With twenty-nine they sang praises;’—

there are ten fingers, ten toes, and nine vital airs : it is with these they then sang praises ;—‘the trees were created,’—the trees indeed were now created ; —‘Soma was the lord,’—Soma indeed was now the lord.

18. ‘With thirty-one they sang praises,’—there are ten fingers, ten toes, ten vital airs, and the trunk is the thirty-first : it is therewith they then sang praises ;—‘the creatures were created,’—the creatures indeed were now created ;—‘the Yavas and Ayavas were the lords,’—the bright and dark fortnights indeed were now the lords.

19. ‘With thirty-three they sang praises,’—there are ten fingers, ten toes, ten vital airs, two feet, and the trunk is the thirty-third : it is therewith they then sang praises ;—‘the living beings lay quiet,’—all living beings now indeed lay quiet ;—‘Pragâpati, the supreme, was the lord!’—Pragâpati, the supreme, indeed was now the lord.

20. These, then, are seventeen bricks he lays down,—the year, Pragâpati, is seventeenfold, he is the progenitor : it is thus by this seventeenfold year, by Pragâpati, the progenitor, that he caused these creatures to be generated. And what he generated, he created ; and inasmuch as he created (*srig*), therefore they are called creations (*srishîti*). Having created them, he made them enter his own self : and in like manner does the Sacrificer now cause these creatures to be generated by that seventeenfold year, by Pragâpati, the progenitor ; and having created them, he makes them enter his own self<sup>1</sup>. On the

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, he makes them pass into his own power, makes them his own.

range of the Reta/śiḥ (he lays down these bricks) : the Reta/śiḥ being the ribs, and the ribs the middle (of the body), it is in the very middle that he causes these creatures to enter him. He lays them on all sides : from all sides he thus makes these creatures to enter him.

#### FOURTH BRĀHMANA.

1. Now, then, as to the order of proceeding. That (brick) which contains the Trivṛit (thrice-threefold stoma) he places in front, that containing the twenty-one-fold (stoma) at the back, that containing the fifteenfold (stoma) on the right (south) side, that containing the seventeenfold (stoma) on the left (north) side.

2. Now when the one containing the Trivṛit had been laid down, Death lay in wait for Pragâpati in the one (on the south side) containing the fifteenfold (stoma), thinking, 'After that he will lay down this one : I will here seize upon him !' He (Pragâpati) was aware of him, and having seen him, he walked round and laid down (at the back) the (brick) containing the twenty-one-fold (stoma). Death came thither, and he (Pragâpati) laid down the one (on the south side) containing the fifteenfold (stoma). Death came to the fifteenfold one, and he (Pragâpati) laid down the one (on the north side) containing the seventeenfold (stoma). It was here<sup>1</sup> that he put down and confounded Death ; and in like manner does the Sacrificer now put down and confound all evils.

<sup>1</sup> That is, in the laying down of these bricks. For the order followed in laying down the bricks, see also p. 67, note 2.

3. Then as to the subsequent (bricks). Alongside of the one (in front) containing the Trivṛit he lays down one containing the Trivṛit; alongside of that (at the back) containing the Ekavimsa (he lays down) one containing the Ekavimsa; alongside of that (on the south, or right, side) containing the Pañkadāsa (he lays down) one containing the Saptadāsa; alongside of that (on the north, or left, side) containing the Saptadāsa (he lays down) one containing the Pañkadāsa. And because he thus changes in laying them down<sup>1</sup>, therefore they (the bricks) are of diverse stomas; and because these stomas are then otherwise with regard to the former ones<sup>2</sup>, therefore also they (the bricks) are of diverse stomas. And in this way the gods laid them down, and otherwise the Asuras; whereupon the gods succeeded, and the Asuras came to naught: he who knows this, succeeds of himself, and his hateful enemy comes to naught.

4. Now, this Agni (fire-altar) is an animal, and he is made up (restored) here whole and entire. His head is the two (bricks) containing the Trivṛit; and as to why these two are such as contain the Trivṛit,—the head is threefold (trivṛit). There are two of them, because the head consists of two bones (kapāla). He lays them down in front, for this head is in the front (of the animal).

5. The two (behind) containing the Ekavimsa are the foundation (the feet). And as to why these are such as contain the Ekavimsa,—the Ekavimsa is

<sup>1</sup> The Sanskrit text, as usual, makes our gerundial clause the principal clause: 'because he lays them down in changing them.'

<sup>2</sup> On the south side a Sprit representing the Saptadāsa is placed immediately north of a stoma (brick) representing the Pañkadāsa; and vice versâ on the north (left) side.

a foundation. There are two of them, because the foundation is a pair (of feet). He places them behind, because this foundation (the hind-feet) is behind.

6. The two containing the *Pañkadasa*<sup>1</sup> are the arms (or fore-feet). And as to why these are such as contain the *Pañkadasa*,—the arms are fifteenfold. There are two of them, because these arms are two. He places them on the sides, because these two arms are at the sides.

7. The two containing the *Saptadasa* are food. And as to why they are such as contain the *Saptadasa*,—food is seventeenfold. There are two of them, because 'anna' (food) has two syllables. He lays them down close to those containing the *Pañkadasa*: he thus puts the food close to the arms. Those containing the *Pañkadasa* are on the outside, and those containing the *Saptadasa* on the inside: he thus encloses the food on both sides by the arms.

8. And those he places in the middle are the body (trunk). He places them on the range of the *Retaḥsik* (bricks), for—the *Retaḥsik* being the ribs, and the ribs being the middle (of the body)—this body is in the middle (of the limbs)<sup>2</sup>. He places them in every direction, for this body (extends) in every direction. And as to what other (space) there is besides this, that is left over;—and what is left over for the gods, that is these metres;—and as to these

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the southern one of the two on the south (right) side, and the northern one of the two on the north (left) side.

<sup>2</sup> *Atha yâ madhya upadadhâti sa âtmâ, tâ retaḥsikor velayo-padadhâti—prish/ayo vai retaḥsikau, madhyam u prish/ayo—madhyato hy ayam âtmâ.*—Here the two clauses with 'vai' are inserted to substantiate the reason introduced by 'hi.'

metres, they are cattle;—and as to cattle, they are (objects of) good fortune;—and as to these (objects of) good fortune, they are yonder sun : he is that one to the south of them.

9. Now some lay down these (rows of bricks<sup>1</sup>) immediately after the two containing the Trivṛt, saying, 'They are the tongue and the jaws : those fourteen are the jaws, and those six are the tongue.' Let him not do so : they cause a redundancy,—it would be just as if one were to put two other jaws to the already existing jaws, as if one were to put another tongue to the already existing tongue. That (brick) wherein the head is indeed (includes) the jaws and the tongue.

10. Now some lay down (these bricks) in the intermediate (south-eastern) space of it (the altar)<sup>2</sup>, saying, 'This is the sun : we thus place yonder sun in that direction.' Let him not do so : surely there are those other rites<sup>3</sup> by which he places him in that (direction).

11. Some, again, lay them down on the right

---

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the row of fourteen bricks lying behind the two front bricks, and the row of six bricks again placed behind these. It will be remembered that only the northern one of the two front bricks was laid down at first, and that then three others were placed in the different directions, after which the row of fourteen was laid down behind the front one ; and similarly the laying down of the second front brick was separated from that of the second row by the laying down of three other bricks in the different quarters.

<sup>2</sup> In that case, the two shank-sized bricks are laid down in the south-east corner, and the rows of smaller bricks are placed to the north of them. See Kâty. Srautas. XIV, 10, 4.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, VI, 7, 3, 9 where the Ukhyā Agni, representing the sun, is held up by the Agniḥit (sacrificer) in the south-easterly direction. The south-east corner is sacred to Agni.



(south <sup>1</sup>) side, saying, 'We thus place these signs of good fortune (*puṇyâ lakshmi*) on the right side: ' whence he who has a mark <sup>2</sup> (*lakshman*) on his right side is said to have good luck (*puṇya-lakshmtka*), and on the left side in the case of a woman <sup>3</sup>; for the woman has her position on the left side (of the man): therefore it is done thus. But let him place them in front; for where the head is there are also the jaws and the tongue: and thus he places the signs of good fortune at the head (or, in the mouth, *mukhataḥ*), whence they say that he who has a (peculiar) mark in his mouth <sup>4</sup> has good luck.

12. This, indeed, is Brahman's layer: inasmuch as they (the gods) laid down the Brahman <sup>5</sup>, therefore it is Brahman's layer. It is Pragâpati's layer: inasmuch as they laid down Pragâpati <sup>6</sup>, it is Pragâpati's layer. It is the *Rîshis*' layer: inasmuch as they laid down the *Rîshis* <sup>7</sup>, it is the *Rîshis*' layer. It is Vâyu's layer: inasmuch as they laid down Vâyu <sup>8</sup>, it is Vâyu's layer. It is the Stomas' layer: inasmuch as they laid down the hymn-forms <sup>9</sup>, it is the Stomas'

<sup>1</sup> In that case, they are laid down north of the two bricks lying on the southern end of the cross-spine, first the row of fourteen, and then, north of these, the row of six.

<sup>2</sup> *Yasya dakshinapârśve lakshanam kâyasya vâ varne vâ kimtârâtmakam (?) bhavati*; comm.

<sup>3</sup> This clause is rather abrupt, and is, moreover, hardly logical. It is not clear whether it is the two southern bricks that are compared with the woman, or the bricks to be placed alongside of them on the north (left) side.

<sup>4</sup> Viz. such as an excess of sharp teeth (incisors)—*yasya mukha-lakshanam dakshinadamsh/râtirekâdi bhavati*; comm.

<sup>5</sup> See VIII, 4, 1, 3.

<sup>6</sup> See VIII, 4, 1, 4.

<sup>7</sup> See VIII, 4, 1, 5.

<sup>8</sup> See VIII, 4, 1, 8.

<sup>9</sup> See VIII, 4, 1, 4 seq.

layer. It is the layer of the vital airs : inasmuch as they laid down the vital airs<sup>1</sup>, it is the layer of the vital airs. Hence, whatsoever one may know, that comes to be included in the ancestry, in the kinship<sup>2</sup> of this layer.—He then lays down two Lokamprînâs (space-filling bricks) in that corner<sup>3</sup>: the significance of these (will be explained) farther on<sup>4</sup>. He throws loose soil thereon : the significance of this (will be explained) farther on<sup>5</sup>.

### THE FIFTH LAYER.

#### FIFTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. He lays down the fifth layer. For now, having laid down the fourth layer, the gods mounted it,—having completed what is above the air, and below the sky, they mounted it.

2. They spake, 'Meditate ye (*ketay*)!' whereby, doubtless, they meant to say, 'Seek ye a layer (*keti*)! Seek ye from hence upwards!' Whilst meditating, they saw that fifth layer, the far-shining heaven : that world pleased them.

3. They desired, 'Would that we could make that world foeless, undisturbed!' They spake, 'Think ye upon this, how we shall make this world

<sup>1</sup> See VIII, 4, 1, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Or, in the (symbolic) meaning. The literal reading of the clause is,—'Thereby this layer of his becomes possessed of an ancestry and kinship (or mystic sense).'

<sup>3</sup> Viz. in the north-east corner, or on the left shoulder, whence, in two turns, the available spaces of the altar are filled up. In laying down the Lokamprînâs of the first three layers he started from the south-east, the south-west, and the north-west corners respectively. Cf. p. 22, note 1; p. 41, note 1; p. 58, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> See VIII, 7, 2, 4 seq.

<sup>5</sup> See VIII, 7, 3, 1 seq.

foeless, undisturbed!' They spake, 'Meditate ye!' whereby, indeed, they meant to say, 'Seek ye a layer! Seek ye how we shall make this world foeless, undisturbed!'

4. Whilst meditating, they saw these Asapatnâ ('foeless') bricks; they laid them down, and by means of them they made that world foeless, undisturbed; and because by means of them they made that world foeless, undisturbed, these (are called) Asapatnâs. And in like manner does the Sacrificer, by laying them down, now make that world foeless, undisturbed. On all (four) sides he lays them down: on all sides he thus makes that world foeless, undisturbed. He places them on the other side: he thereby makes that whole world foeless, undisturbed.

5. He then lays down the Virâgs<sup>1</sup> (far-shining bricks): this Virâg, indeed, is that far-shining (virâg) fifth layer which the gods saw. He lays them down by tens: the Virâg (metre) consists of ten syllables, and this layer is 'virâg.' He places them on every side; for he who shines (rules) in one direction only, does not shine far and wide, but whosoever shines in all directions, he alone shines far and wide.

6. And as to why he lays down those Asapatnâs. Now at that time, when that (part) of his body had been restored, evil beset Pragâpati on every side. He saw those foeless bricks, and laid them down, and by means of them he drove off evil, for foe means evil; and because, by means of them he drove off the foe, evil, therefore they are (called) 'foeless' (bricks).

---

<sup>1</sup> For particulars respecting these, also called *Khandasyâh*, see VIII, 5, 2, 1, seq.

7. And what the gods did, the same is done now. Evil, indeed, does not now beset this (Sacrificer), but when he now does this, it is that he wants to do what the gods did; and he thereby drives off whatever evil, whatever foe besets him; and because, by means of them, he drives off the foe, evil, therefore they are (called) the 'foeless' (bricks). He places them on every side: he thereby drives off the foe, evil, on every side. He places them on the other side: from his whole self he thereby drives off the foe, evil.

8. He lays down (one) in front<sup>1</sup>, with (Vâg. S. XV, 1), 'O Agni, drive away the foes of ours that are born, drive back those unborn, O knower of beings! cheer us, kindly and unfrowning! may we be in thy threefold-sheltering, steadfast protection!' as the text so the sense. Then behind, with (Vâg. S. XV, 2), 'With might drive away the foes of ours that are born,

---

<sup>1</sup> The first four of the five Asapatnâs are laid down near the four ends of the spines (in the order east, west, south, north); their exact place being the second space on the left side of the spine (in looking towards them from the centre), that is to say, the space of one (? or half a) foot being left between them and the respective spine. Their position thus is the same as those of the Ârvinîs in the second layer (see p. 31, note 1) except that these were placed on the Retaḥsik range instead of at the ends of the spines. The line-marks of these four bricks run parallel to the respective spines. The fifth Asapatnâ is thus laid down north of the southern one, so as to leave the space of a cubit (about a foot and a half) between them. These latter two Asapatnâs are full-sized bricks (one foot square), and not half-sized, as were the two southern Ârvinîs. Moreover, whilst the southern Asapatnâ has its line-marks running parallel to the adjoining cross-spine (south to north), the fifth Asapatnâ has them running from west to east (? as well as from south to north).

drive back, O knower of beings, those unborn! cheer us with kindly feeling! may we prevail! drive off our foes!' as the text so the sense.

9. That which is (placed) in front is Agni, and that behind is Agni: with Agni he (Pragâpati) then drove away evil both in front and in the rear; and in like manner now does the Sacrificer with Agni drive away evil both in front and in the rear.

10. Then on the right (south) side, with (Vâg. S. XV, 3), 'The sixteenfold Stoma, vigour, wealth!' The Trishûbh consists of eleven syllables, and—the air being of Trishûbh nature—there are (in the air) four quarters. The thunderbolt is fifteenfold, and yonder sun is the sixteenfold wielder of that thunderbolt: with that thunderbolt, with that Trishûbh, he (Pragâpati) drove away evil in the south; and in like manner does the Sacrificer, with that thunderbolt, with that Trishûbh, now drive away evil in the south.

11. Then on the left (north) side, with, 'The forty-four-fold Stoma, lustre, wealth!' The Trishûbh consists of forty-four syllables, and the thunderbolt is of Trishûbh nature: with that forty-four-fold thunderbolt, with that Trishûbh, he (Pragâpati) drove away evil in the north; and in like manner does the Sacrificer, with that thunderbolt, with that Trishûbh, now drive away evil in the north.

12. Then in the middle (the fifth), with, 'Agni's soil-cover thou art!'—the fourth layer indeed is the Brahman, and the Brahman is Agni, and this, the fifth layer is, as it were, the (soil-)cover of that (fourth layer);—'his sap, in truth: may the All-gods sing thy praises! Seat thee here, laden with Stomas, and rich in fat! Gain for us, by

sacrifice, wealth with offspring!' as the text so the sense.

13. This one he lays down with its line-marks running eastward and crosswise<sup>1</sup>; for by that one Pragâpati then cut out the root of evil, and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) now thereby cut out the root of evil. On the right (south) side (from the centre he places it), for the thunderbolt has a string<sup>2</sup> on the right side;—inside the one in the southern quarter, for it is for the sake of extension that he leaves that space.

14. The one which (lies) in front is the out-breathing, the one at the back the off-breathing: by the out-breathing he (Pragâpati) then drove away evil in front, and by the off-breathing in the rear; and in like manner does the Sacrificer now by the out-breathing drive away evil in front, and by the off-breathing in the rear.

15. And the two on both sides (of the spine) are the two arms: whatever evil there was sideways of him, that he drove away with his arms; and in like manner does this Sacrificer now drive away with his arms whatever evil there is sideways of him.

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, crosswise, or marked in the opposite direction to the Asapatnâ brick near it, viz. to the one placed east of the southern end of the cross-spine which (like all bricks placed between shoulder and thigh) has its line-marks running from south to north. The fifth Asapatnâ, lying immediately north of that southern one, thus has its line-marks parallel, not (as one would expect) to the cross-spine, but to the further removed spine.

<sup>2</sup> This is a doubtful rendering of 'udyâma,' which is accepted by the St. Petersburg Dict. for 'shad-udyâma,' at VI, 7, 1, 16, 18; whilst in the present case 'dakshinâta-udyâma' seems to be taken by it to mean 'southward erected, southward drawn (aufgespannt).' Udyâma, in the sense 'extension,' might mean a protruding part, serving as a handle.

16. The soil-bedded one<sup>1</sup> means food : whatever evil there was above him, that he (Pragâpati) drove away by means of food ; and in like manner does the Sacrificer now, by means of food, drive away whatever evil there is above him.

17. And, verily, whenever he, knowing this, breathes out, he thereby drives away the evil which is in front of him ; and when he breathes backward, he thereby (drives away) that which is in the rear ; and when he does work with his arms, he thereby (drives away) that which is sideways of him ; and when he eats food, he thereby (drives away) that (evil) which is above him : at all times, indeed, even while sleeping, does he who knows this drive away evil. Hence, one must not speak ill of him who knows this, lest one should be his evil (enemy).

#### SECOND BRĀHMAṆA.

1. He then lays down those *Kḥandasyâs*<sup>2</sup> (relating to the metres). For Pragâpati, having freed himself from evil, death, asked for food ; hence, to this day, a sick man, when he gets better, asks for food ; and people have hope for him, thinking, ' He asks for food, he will live.' The gods gave him that food, these (bricks) relating to the metres ; for the metres are cattle, and cattle are food. They (the metres) pleased him, and inasmuch as they pleased (*kḥand*) him they are (called) metres (*kḥandas*).

2. He lays them down by tens,—the *Virâg* consists of ten syllables, and all food is 'virâg'

<sup>1</sup> That is, the fifth *Asapatnâ*, which has a bed or layer of loose soil (*purîsha*) spread under it.

<sup>2</sup> The *Kḥandasyâ* or *Virâg* bricks are laid down at the end of the spines, ten in each quarter.

(shining, or ruling) : he thus bestows all food on him. On all (four) sides he places them : from all sides he thus bestows food on him.

3. [He lays them down, with, Vâg. S. XV, 4. 5], 'The Course metre,'—the 'course' metre, doubtless, is this (terrestrial) world ;—'the Expanse metre,'—the 'expanse' metre, doubtless, is the air ; 'the Blissful metre,'—the 'blissful' metre, doubtless, is the sky ;—'the Encircler metre,'—the 'encircler' metre, doubtless, is the regions ;—'the Vestment metre,'—the 'vestment' metre, doubtless, is food ;—'the Mind metre,'—the 'mind' metre, doubtless, is Pragâpati ; 'the Extent metre,'—the 'extent' metre, doubtless, is yonder sun.

4. 'The Stream metre,'—the 'stream' metre, doubtless, is the breath ;—'the Sea metre,'—the 'sea' metre, doubtless, is the mind ;—'the Flood metre,'—the 'flood' metre, doubtless, is speech ;—'the Kakubh (peak) metre,'—the 'Kakubh' metre, doubtless, is the out(and in)-breathing ;—'the Three-peaked metre,'—the 'three-peaked' metre, doubtless, is the up-breathing ;—'the Wisdom metre,'—the 'wisdom' metre, doubtless, is the threefold science ;—'the Arikupa metre,'—the 'Arikupa'<sup>1</sup> metre, doubtless, is the water ;—'the Aksharapañkti metre,'—the Aksharapañkti (row of syllables) metre, doubtless, is yonder (heavenly) world ;—'the Padapañkti metre,'—the Padapañkti (row of words or steps) metre, doubtless, is this (terrestrial) world ;—'the Vishârapañkti metre,'—the Vishârapañkti (row of expansion) metre, doubtless, is the regions ;—'the Bright Razor metre,'—the 'bright

<sup>1</sup> A word of doubtful meaning (? drinking its own windings).



razor' metre, doubtless, is yonder sun;—'the Vestment metre, the Investment metre,'—the 'vestment' metre, doubtless, is food, and the 'investment' metre is food.

5. 'The Uniting metre,'—the 'uniting' metre, doubtless, is the night;—'the Separating metre,'—the 'separating' metre, doubtless, is the day;—'the Bṛihat metre,'—the 'bṛihat' (great) metre, doubtless, is yonder world;—'the Rathantara metre,'—the 'rathantara' metre, doubtless, is this world;—'the Troop metre,'—the 'troop' metre, doubtless, is the wind;—'the Yoke metre,'—the 'yoke' metre, doubtless, is the air;—'the Devourer metre,'—the 'devourer' metre, doubtless, is food;—'the Bright metre,'—the 'bright' metre, doubtless, is the fire;—'the Samstubh metre, the Anushṭubh metre,'—the 'samstubh' metre, doubtless, is speech, and the 'anushṭubh' metre is speech;—'the Course metre, the Expanse metre,'—the meaning of this has been explained.

6. 'The Strength metre,'—the 'strength' metre, doubtless, is food;—'the Strength-maker metre,' the 'strength-maker' metre, doubtless, is Agni (the fire);—'the Striver metre,'—the 'striver' metre, doubtless, is yonder world;—'the Ample metre,'—the 'ample' metre, doubtless, is this world;—'the Cover metre,'—the 'cover' metre, doubtless, is the air;—'the Unclimbable metre,'—the 'unclimbable' metre, doubtless, is yonder sun;—'the Slow metre,'—the 'slow' metre, doubtless, is the Pañkti;—'the Aṅkāṅka metre,'—the 'aṅkāṅka'<sup>1</sup> metre, doubtless, is water:

---

<sup>1</sup> Another word of doubtful meaning (? winding-winding).

7. Now of those which he lays down in front, the first is the out (and in)-breathing, the second the through-breathing, the third the up-breathing, the fourth the up-breathing, the fifth the through-breathing, the sixth the out-breathing, the seventh the out-breathing, the eighth the through-breathing, the ninth the up-breathing, and the tenth, in this case, is the Sacrificer himself: this same Sacrificer, being raised and firmly established on this Virâg (brick), made up of breath, lays down (bricks) extending both backward and forward, for the breathings move both backward and forward.

8. And of those on the right (south) side, the first is Agni (fire), the second Vâyu (the wind), the third Âditya (the sun), the fourth Âditya, the fifth Vâyu, the sixth Agni, the seventh Agni, the eighth Vâyu, the ninth Âditya, and the tenth, in this case, is the Sacrificer himself: this same Sacrificer, being raised and firmly established on this Virâg, made up of deities, puts on (bricks) extending both hitherwards and thitherwards, for those gods move both hitherwards and thitherwards.

9. And of those behind, the first is this (terrestrial) world, the second the air, the third the sky, the fourth the sky, the fifth the air, the sixth this world, the seventh this world, the eighth the air, the ninth the sky, and the tenth, in this case, is the Sacrificer himself: this same Sacrificer, being raised and firmly established on that Virâg, made up of the worlds, lays down (bricks) extending both hitherwards and thitherwards;—whence these worlds extend both hitherwards and thitherwards.

10. And of those on the left (north) side, the first is the summer, the second the rainy season, the

third the winter, the fourth the winter, the fifth the rainy season, the sixth the summer, the seventh the summer, the eighth the rainy season, the ninth the winter, and the tenth, in this case, is the Sacrificer himself: this same Sacrificer, being raised and firmly established on that Virâg, made up of the seasons, lays down (bricks) extending both hitherwards and thitherwards;—whence those seasons move both hitherwards and thitherwards<sup>1</sup>.

11. And, again, those which he lays down in front are the vital airs. There are ten of them, for there are ten vital airs. He places them in the front part, for these vital airs are in the front part.

12. And those on the right (south) side are the deities,—Agni, the Earth, Vâyu, the Air, Âditya, the Sky, Kandra (the moon), the Stars, Food, and Water.

13. And those behind are the regions (quarters),—four regions, four intermediate regions, the upper region, and this (earth).

14. And those on the left (north) side are the months,—two spring-months, two summer-months, two months of the rainy season, two autumn-months, and two winter-months.

15. And, again, the first ten are this (terrestrial) world, the second the air, the third the sky. By the first set of ten they (the gods) ascended this (earth), by the second the air, by the third the sky; and in like manner does the Sacrificer now, by the first set of ten, ascend this (earth), by the second the air, and by the third the sky.

16. This, then, is, as it were, an ascent away from

---

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, they come and go.

here; but this (earth) is the foundation: the gods came back to this (earth), the foundation; and in like manner does the Sacrificer now come back to this (earth), the foundation. And that last set of ten is this world: hence, even as (takes place) that start from the first set of ten, so from the last; for this is the same,—those two sets of ten (the first and last) are this (terrestrial) world.

17. Now these are forty bricks and forty formulas,—that makes eighty, and eighty (*ashti*) means food<sup>1</sup>: thus whatever he now says that he makes to be food, *ashti*, and gives it him, and thereby gratifies him (*Agni*).

### THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. He then lays down the *Stomabhâgâ* (praise-sharing bricks). For at that time *Indra* set his mind upon that food of *Praçâpati*, and tried to go from him. He spake, 'Why dost thou go from me? why dost thou leave me?'—'Give me the essence of that food: enter me therewith!'—'So be it!' so he gave him the essence of that food, and entered him therewith.

2. Now he who was that *Praçâpati* is this very *Agni* (the fire-altar) that is now being built up; and that food is these *Khandasyâ* (bricks); and that essence of food is these *Stomabhâgâs*; and he who was *Indra* is yonder *Âditya* (the sun): he indeed is the *Stoma* (hymn of praise), for whatsoever praises they sing, it is him they praise thereby,—it is to that same *Stoma* he gave a share; and inasmuch as

<sup>1</sup> The author apparently connects '*ashti*' with the root '*as*,' to eat.

he gave a share (bhâga) to that Stoma, these are (called) Stomabhâgâs.

3. [He lays them down, with, Vâg. S. XV, 6. 7], 'By the ray quicken thou the truth for truth!'—the ray, doubtless, is that (sun), and ray is food; having put together that (sun) and the essence thereof, he makes it enter his own self;—'by the starting, by the law, quicken the law!'—the starting, doubtless, is that (sun), and the starting also means food: having put together that (sun) and the essence thereof, he makes it enter his own self;—'by the going after, by the sky, quicken the sky!'—the going after, doubtless, is that (sun), and the going after also means food; having put together that (sun) and the essence thereof, he makes it enter his own self. Thus whatever he mentions here, that and the essence thereof he puts together and makes it enter his own self: 'By such and such quicken thou such and such!'—'Such and such thou art: for such and such (I deposit) thee!'—'By the lord, by strength, quicken strength!' thus they (the bricks) are divided into three kinds, for food is of three kinds.

4. And as to why he lays down the Stomabhâgâs. Now the gods, having laid down the far-shining layer, mounted it. They spake, 'Meditate ye!' whereby, doubtless, they meant to say, 'Seek ye a layer!' Whilst meditating, they saw even the firmament, the heavenly world, and laid it down. Now that same firmament, the heavenly world, indeed is the same as these Stomabhâgâs, and thus in laying down these, he lays down the firmament, the heavenly world.

5. The first three (bricks) are this (terrestrial)

world, the second (three) the air, and the third (three) the sky, the fourth the eastern, the fifth the southern, the sixth the western, and the seventh the northern regions.

6. These twenty-one bricks, then, are these worlds and the regions, and these worlds and the regions are a foundation, and these worlds and the regions are twenty-one : whence they say, 'the *Ekavimsa* (twenty-one-fold) is a foundation.'

7. And the eight bricks which remain over are the *Gâyatri* consisting of eight syllables ; but the *Gâyatri* is the Brahman, and as to that Brahman, it is yonder burning disk : it burns, while firmly-established on that twenty-one-fold one, as on a foundation, whence it does not fall down.

8. Now some lay down a thirtieth (*Stomabhâgâ*), with, 'Beautifully arrayed, quicken thou the kshatra for the kshatra!' saying, 'Of thirty syllables is the *Virâg* (metre) and this layer is *virâg* (far-shining).' But let him not do so : they (who do so) exceed (this layer so as not to be) amounting to the twenty-one-fold, and to the *Gâyatri* ; and that undiminished *Virâg*, doubtless, is the world of Indra : in the world of Indra they raise a spiteful enemy of equal power (to Indra), and thrust Indra out of the world of Indra. And at his own sacrifice the Sacrificer assuredly is Indra : in the Sacrificer's realm they raise for the Sacrificer a spiteful enemy of equal power, and thrust the Sacrificer out of the Sacrificer's own realm. But, surely, that fire which they bring hither is no other than this Sacrificer : by means of his foundation it is he who is the thirtieth (brick) in this (layer).

## FOURTH BRĀHMANA.

1. He lays them down on the range of the *Ashādḥā*; for the *Ashādḥā* is speech, and this (set of bricks<sup>1</sup>) is the essence (of food): he thus lays into speech the essence of food; whence it is through (the channel of) speech that one distinguishes the essence of food for all the limbs.

2. And, again, as to why (on the range) of the *Ashādḥā*;—the *Ashādḥā*, doubtless, is this (earth), and the *Stomabhāgās* are yonder sun: he thus establishes yonder sun upon this earth as a firm foundation.

3. And, again, why (on that) of the *Ashādḥā*;—the *Ashādḥā*, doubtless, is this (earth), and the *Stomabhāgās* are the heart: he thus lays into this (earth) the heart, the mind: whence on this (earth) one thinks with the heart, with the mind. He lays them down on every side: he thus places the heart, the mind everywhere; whence everywhere on this (earth) one thinks with the heart, with the mind. And, moreover, these (bricks) are lucky signs: he places them on all sides; whence they say of him who has a (lucky) sign (*lakshman*) on every (or any) side that he has good luck (*puṇyalakshṁika*).

4. He then covers them with loose soil; for loose soil (*purīsha*) means food, and this (set of bricks) is the essence (of food): he thus makes it invisible, for invisible, as it were, is the essence of food.

5. And, again, as to why (he covers it) with loose

---

<sup>1</sup> Or, this fire-altar.

soil ;—loose soil, doubtless, means food, and this (set of bricks) is the essence : he thus joins and unites the food and its essence.

6. And, again, as to why with loose soil ;—the Stomabhâgâs are the heart, and the loose soil is the pericardium : he thus encloses the heart in the pericardium.

7. And, again, as to why with loose soil ;—this fire-altar is the year, and by means of the soil-coverings of the layers he divides it : those first four layers are four seasons. And having laid down the Stomabhâgâs, he throws loose soil thereon : that is the fifth layer, that is the fifth season.

8. Here now they say, 'Since the other layers conclude with Lokamprînâs (space-filling bricks), and no space-filler is laid down in this (layer) : what, then, is the space-filler therein?' The space-filler, surely, is yonder sun, and this layer is he ; and this is of itself<sup>1</sup> a space-filling layer. And what there is above this (layer) up to the covering of soil that is the sixth layer, that is the sixth season.

9. He then throws down the loose soil. Thereon he lays down the Vikarṇī and the naturally-perforated (brick) ; he bestrews them with chips of gold, and places the fire thereon : that is the seventh layer, that is the seventh season.

10. But, indeed, there are only six of them ; for as to the Vikarṇī and the Svayam-âtrinnâ, they belong to the sixth layer.

11. And, indeed, there are only five of them,—on the other (layers) he throws down the loose soil with a prayer, and here (he does so) silently : in that

---

<sup>1</sup> Or, and he (the sun) himself.



respect this is not a layer. And the other layers end with space-fillers, but here he lays down no space-filler : in that respect also this is not a layer.

12. And, indeed, there are only three of them,—the first layer is this very (terrestrial) world ; and the uppermost (layer) is the sky ; and those three (intermediate layers) are the air, for there is, as it were, only one air here : thus (there are) three, or five, or six, or seven of them.

#### SIXTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. He lays down the Nâkasads (firmament-seated bricks): the firmament-seated ones, assuredly, are the gods. In this (layer) that whole fire-altar becomes completed, and therein these (bricks are) the firmament (nâka), the world of heaven : it is therein that the gods seated themselves ; and inasmuch as the gods seated themselves on that firmament, in the world of heaven, the gods are the firmament-seated. And in like manner does the Sacrificer, when he lays down these (bricks), now seat himself on that firmament, in the world of heaven.

2. And, again, why he lays down the Nâkasads. Now at that time the gods saw that firmament, the world of heaven, these Stomabhâgâs<sup>1</sup>. They spake,

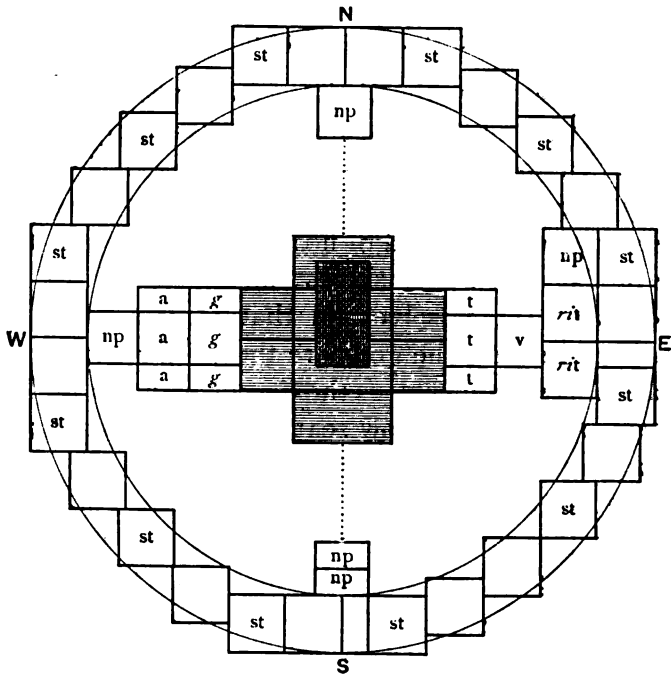
---

<sup>1</sup> The central portion of the fifth layer is here characterised as symbolically representing the firmament, the blue canopy of heaven, and the region of bliss beyond it. The outer rim of this central structure is formed by a continuous ring of twenty-nine Stomabhâgâ (st) bricks representing, it would seem, the horizon on which the vault of heaven rests. There is some doubt as to the exact manner in which this ring of bricks is to be arranged. According to Kâty. Srautas. XVII, 11, 10, fifteen bricks are to be placed south (and fourteen north) of the anûka, or spine (running through the

‘Think ye upon this, how we may seat ourselves on that firmament, in the world of heaven!’ They spake,

centre from west to east). As regards the southern semicircle, the fifteen bricks are to be distributed in such a way that eight fall within the south-easterly, and seven into the south-westerly, quadrant. Some such arrangement as that adopted in the diagram below would seem to be what is intended. It will be seen that this arrangement includes two half-size bricks in the south-easterly

#### THE CENTRAL PART OF THE FIFTH LAYER.



quadrant, the one lying immediately south of the ‘spine,’ and the other immediately east of the ‘cross-spine.’ It is an awkward fact, however, that one of the commentators on the Sûtra referred to, states that there are to be two half-foot bricks, (one) on each side of the spine—that is, as would seem, the ‘cross-spine.’ I cannot but think, however, that this must be a mistake, as otherwise it would seem to make the construction of a continuous ring impossible. Inside this ring, on the adjoining range (viz. the *Ritavyâ*

‘Meditate ye! seek ye a layer!’ whereby, indeed, they said, ‘Seek ye this, how we may seat ourselves on this firmament, in the world of heaven!’

3. Whilst meditating, they saw these bricks, the Nākasads, and placed them on (the altar): by means of them they seated themselves on that firmament, in the world of heaven; and inasmuch as through them they seated themselves (sad) on that firmament (nāka), in the world of heaven, these are the Nāka-sad (bricks); and in like manner does the Sacrificer, when he lays down these (bricks), now seat himself on that firmament, in the world of heaven.

range, being the fifth range from the centre, see the diagram of the first layer, p. 17), five Nākasads (n) are placed on the spines, with the exception of the eastern one, which is to be placed in the second space north of the spine, that is to say, a foot from it (so as to leave space between it and the spine for the left *Ritavyā*; cf. VIII, 7, 1, 11, with note). In the south two half-sized bricks are laid down instead of one full-sized one. All these five bricks are of half the usual thickness so as to allow five others, the *Pañkaśûdās* (p), being placed upon them. Of the *khandasyās*, or bricks representing the metres, only three sets (of three bricks each, viz. a full-sized one flanked on either side by a half-sized one) fall within the circle formed by the stomabhâgâ-ring, viz. the *trishubhs* (t), *gagatīs* (g), and *anushubhs* (a). The remaining space in the centre is now filled up by the Gârhapatya hearth, consisting of eight bricks. Thereon is placed a second layer of eight bricks exactly corresponding to the first, and called *Punaskiti*. This pile (marked by hatching in the sketch) thus rises above the fifth layer by the full depth of a brick. He then lays down the two *Ritavyās* (*rit*) just within the ring on the east side; and the *Visvagyotis* (v), representing the sun, immediately west of them. Having now filled up the available spaces of the layer with *Lokamprînās*, and scattered loose soil on it, he finally lays down two perforated bricks (marked in the sketch by cross-hatching), the *Vikarnī* and the *Svayamâttrinā*, so that the latter lies exactly in the centre, and the former immediately north of it, over the ‘cross-spine.’

4. He places them in the (four) quarters; for that firmament, the world of heaven, is the quarters: he thus establishes them in the world of heaven. On the range of the *Ritavyās* (he places them); for the *Ritavyās* (seasonal bricks) are the year, and the world of heaven is the year: it is in the world of heaven he thus establishes them. Within the *Stomabhâgās* (he places them); for this is the firmament, the world of heaven: it is therein he thus establishes them.

5. In front he lays down one, with (*Vâg. S. XV, 10*), 'Queen thou art, the Eastern region,' for a queen indeed the eastern region is;—'The divine *Vasus* are thine overlords<sup>1</sup>,' for the divine *Vasus* are indeed the overlords of that region;—'Agni is the repeller of shafts,' for Agni, indeed, is here the repeller of shafts;—'The *Trivrit-Stoma* may uphold thee on earth!' for by the threefold hymn(-form) this one is indeed upheld on earth;—'The *Āgya-sastra* may support thee for steadiness' sake<sup>2</sup>!' for by the *Āgya-sastra* it is indeed supported on earth for steadiness' sake;—'the *Rathantara-sâman* for stability in the air!' for by the *Rathantara-sâman* it is indeed established in the air;—'May the *Rishis*, the first-born, magnify<sup>3</sup> thee among the gods!'—the *Rishis*, the first-born, doubtless, are the vital airs<sup>4</sup>, for they are the first-born Brahman<sup>5</sup>;—'with the measure, the width of the sky!'—that is, 'as great as the sky is, so much in width may they broaden thee!'—

<sup>1</sup> Or, perhaps, 'the *Vasus* are thy divine overlords;' but see paragraph 9.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. for unwaveringness (so as not to totter).

<sup>3</sup> Lit. broaden, widen.

<sup>4</sup> See VI, 1, 1, 1; VII, 2, 3, 5.

<sup>5</sup> See VI, 1, 1, 8.

‘And he, the upholder, and the overlord,’—these two are speech and mind, for these two uphold everything here;—‘may they all, of one mind, settle thee, and the Sacrificer, on the back of the firmament, in the world of heaven!’ as the text, so its import.

6. Then on the right (south) side (he lays down one<sup>1</sup>), with (Vâg. S. XV, 11), ‘Wide-ruling thou art, the southern region,’ for wide-ruling indeed is that southern region;—‘The divine Rudras are thine overlords,’ for the divine Rudras are indeed the overlords of that region;—‘Indra is the repeller of shafts,’ for Indra, indeed, is here the repeller of shafts;—‘The Pañkadasa-stoma may uphold thee on earth!’ for by the fifteenfold hymn it is indeed upheld on earth;—‘The Praûga-sastra may support thee for steadiness’ sake!’ for by the Praûga-sastra it is indeed supported on earth for steadiness’ sake;—‘the Brîhat-sâman for stability in the air!’ for by the Brîhat-sâman it is indeed established in the air;—‘May the Rîshis, the first-born, magnify thee among gods . . .!’ the import of this (and the rest) has been explained.

7. Then behind (he lays down one), with (Vâg. S. XV, 12), ‘All-ruling thou art, the western region,’ for all-ruling indeed is that western region;—‘The divine Âdityas are thine overlords,’ for the divine Âdityas are indeed the overlords of that region;—‘Varuṇa is the repeller of shafts,’ for Varuṇa, indeed, is here the repeller of shafts;—‘The Saptadasa-stoma may uphold thee on

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, the southern of the two half-sized ones to be placed in this quarter.

earth!' for by the seventeenfold hymn it is indeed upheld on earth;—'The Marutvatya-sastra may support thee for steadiness' sake!' for by the Marutvatya-sastra it is indeed supported on earth for steadiness' sake;—'the Vairûpa-sâman for stability in the air!' for by the Vairûpa-sâman it is indeed established in the air;—'May the *Rishis*, the first-born, magnify thee among the gods . . .!' the import of this has been explained.

8. Then on the left (north) side (he lays down one), with (Vâg. S. XV, 13), 'Self-ruling thou art, the northern region,' for self-ruling that northern region indeed is;—'The divine Maruts are thine overlords,' for the divine Maruts are indeed the overlords of that region;—'Soma is the repeller of shafts,' for Soma, indeed, is here the repeller of shafts;—'The Ekavimsa-stoma may uphold thee on earth!' for by the twenty-one-fold hymn this one is indeed upheld on earth;—'The Nishkevalya-sastra may support thee for steadiness' sake!' for by the Nishkevalya-sastra it is indeed supported on earth for steadiness' sake;—'the Vairâga-sâman for stability in the air!' for by the Vairâga-sâman it is indeed established in the air;—'May the *Rishis*, the first-born, magnify thee among the gods . . .!' the import of this has been explained.

9. Then in the middle (he lays down one<sup>1</sup>), with (Vâg. S. XV, 14), 'The sovereign mistress thou art, the Great region!' for the sovereign mistress that great region indeed is;—'the All-gods are

<sup>1</sup> That is, he lays down a half-sized brick immediately north of the southern one, and thus in the direction of the centre from that brick.

thine overlords,' for the All-gods are indeed the overlords of that region;—'Bṛihaspati is the repeller of shafts,' for Bṛihaspati, indeed, is here the repeller of shafts;—'The Trinava- and Trayas-trimsa-stomas may uphold thee on earth;—for by the twenty-nine-fold and thirty-three-fold hymns this one is indeed upheld on earth;—'The Vaisvadeva- and Âgnimâruta-sastras may support thee for steadiness' sake!' for by the Vaisvadeva- and Âgnimâruta-sastras it is indeed supported on earth for steadiness' sake;—'May the Rîshis, the first-born, magnify thee among the gods . . . !' the import of this has been explained.

10. Thus much, indeed, is the whole sacrifice, and the sacrifice is the self of the gods: it was after making the sacrifice their own self that the gods seated themselves on that firmament, in the world of heaven; and in like manner does the Sacrificer now, after making the sacrifice his own self, seat himself on that firmament, in the world of heaven.

11. He then lays down the Pañkakûdâ ('five-knobbed') bricks; for the Nâkasads are (parts of) the sacrifice, and so indeed are the Pañkakûdâs the sacrifice: the Nâkasads are these four sacrificial priests together with the Sacrificer as the fifth; and the Pañkakûdâs are the Hotrâs<sup>1</sup>. Now the Hotrâs are additional (to the officiating staff, or to the Hotri) and whatever is additional is an excrescence (kûda); and hence, as they are five additional (bricks), they are (called) Pañkakûdâs<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the offices of Hotrakas, or assistants to the Hotri.

<sup>2</sup> These bricks would seem to have had some kind of protuberances or bulgings (kûda), or perhaps tufts, resembling a man's crest-lock or top-knot (kûdâ). Possibly, however, these five bricks,

12. And, again, as to why he lays down the Nākasad-Pañkakûdās;—it is for the sake of completeness; for the Nākasads are the self, and the Pañkakûdās the mate, and this, the mate, doubtless, is one half of the self; for when one is with his mate<sup>1</sup>, then he is whole and complete.

13. And, again, as to why he lays down the Nākasad-Pañkakûdās;—the Nākasads are the self, and the Pañkakûdās are offspring (or subjects)<sup>2</sup>. Now progeny is something additional to the self, and whatever is additional is an excrescence; and hence, as they are five additional ones, they are (called) Pañkakûdās.

14. And, again, as to why he lays down the Nākasad-Pañkakûdās;—the Nākasads are the regions, and the Pañkakûdās, too, are the regions: what five regions there are on this side of yonder sun, they are the Nākasads, and those which are on the other side are the Pañkakûdās. Now those regions which are on the other side of yonder sun are additional, and what is additional is an excrescence (kûda): and hence, as they are five additional ones, they are called Pañkakûdās.

15. And, again, as to why he lays down the Pañkakûdās. Now, at that time the gods were afraid lest the fiends, the Rakshas, should destroy

---

being placed on the top of the Nākasads, are themselves here represented as something additional. Such, at any rate, seems to be the definition of the term given in the text above and in parag. 13. The MS. of the commentary reads, 'kāyasya vai tat pāvargitam (!) sa kûdah kesapuṅgah.'

<sup>1</sup> This, doubtless, is here the meaning of mithunam; and similarly in I, 7, 2, 11, we ought to translate, 'The vasha/kāra is the mate of those two (anuvākyā and yāgyā).'

<sup>2</sup> See paragraph 21.



these worlds of theirs from above. They put those protectors over these worlds, to wit, those shafts and missiles; and in like manner does the Sacrificer now put those protectors over these worlds, to wit, those shafts and missiles.

16. He places one in front, with (Vāg. S. XV, 15), 'This one in front, the yellow-haired one,'—Agni, no doubt, is in front; and as to his saying of him as (being) 'in front,' it is because they take him out (of the Gârhapatya hearth) towards the front, and attend upon him towards the front<sup>1</sup>; and as to why he calls him yellow-haired, it is because Agni is, as it were, yellow;—'the sun-rayed one,' for Agni's rays are like those of the sun;—and Rathagrîtsa and Rathaugas<sup>2</sup>, his commander and his chieftain, the two spring-months are these two;—'and the nymphs Puṣṭhikasthalâ and Kratussthalâ<sup>3</sup>,—'quarter and intermediate quarter,' said Mâhitthi; but army and battle these two are;—'mordacious beasts the shaft, manslaughter the missile,'—inasmuch as they fight in army and battle, those mordacious beasts are the shaft; 'manslaughter the missile,'—inasmuch as they slay one another, manslaughter is the missile;—'to them be homage!' it is to them he pays homage;—'be they gracious unto us!' they are indeed gracious to him;—'he whom we hate, and he who hates us,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 3, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> That is, 'skilled in chariot (-fight),' and 'mighty in chariot (-fight).'

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of these names is rather obscure: the symbolical explanations 'army and battle' might seem to point to some such meanings as 'grounded on heaps' and 'grounded on intelligence (or plan).'

him we put into their jaws!' whomsoever he hates, and whoever hates him, him he puts into their jaws. 'N. N. I put into their jaws,' thus he may name him whom he hates, and thereafter he will not be there any more. Let him disregard this also, for indeed marked out of himself is he whom he who knows this hates.

17. Then on the right (south) side (he places one), with (Vâg. S. XV, 16), 'This one on the right, the all-worker,' the all-worker is this Vâyu (the wind) who blows here, for he makes everything here; and because he speaks of him as (being) 'on the right,' therefore it is in the south that he blows most;—'and Rathasvana (chariot-noise) and Ratheḱitra (glorious on the chariot), his commander and chieftain;' these are the two summer-months;—'and the two nymphs, Menakâ and Sahaganyâ,'—'quarter and intermediate quarter,' said Mâhitthi; but these two are heaven and earth;—'Goblins the shaft, demons the missile;' for goblins indeed are here the shaft (weapon), and demons the missile;—'to them be homage...!' the import of this has been explained.

18. Then behind (in the west, he lays down a brick), with (Vâg. S. XV, 17), 'This one behind, the all-embracer,'—the all-embracer, doubtless, is yonder sun; for as soon as he rises all this embracing space comes into existence; and because he speaks of him as (being) 'behind,' therefore one sees him only when he goes towards the back (west);—'and Rathaprota (fixed on the chariot) and Asamaratha (of matchless chariot), his commander and chieftain;' these are the two rainy months;—'and the nymphs Pramloḱantî (the setting one) and

Anumloḥanti (the rising one),—‘quarter and intermediate quarter,’ said Māhitthi, but they are day and night, for these two set and rise; ‘tigers the shaft, snakes the missile,’ for indeed tigers are here the shaft, and snakes the missile;—‘to them be homage . . .!’ the import of this has been explained.

19. Then on the left (north) side (he places one), with (Vāg. S. XV, 17), ‘This one on the left, of everflowing blessings;’ on the left is the sacrifice; and as to why he speaks of it as ‘on the left,’ it is because the sacrifice is performed from the left (north) side; and as to why he speaks of it as ‘of ever-flowing blessings (samyadvasu),’ they do indeed flow together (samyanti) to the sacrifice, thinking, ‘this is a blessing;’—‘and Târکشya and Arishṭanemi, his commander and chieftain,’ these are the two autumn-months; ‘and the nymphs Visvâḥ (the all-inclined) and Ghṛitâḥ (the ghee-inclined),’—‘quarter and intermediate quarter,’ said Māhitthi, but they are the vedi (altar) and the offering-spoon, for the altar is all-inclined<sup>1</sup>, and the offering-spoon is ghee-inclined;—‘water the shaft, wind the missile,’—water indeed is here the shaft, and wind the missile, for from this side it blows hot, and from that side cold;—‘to them be homage . . .!’ the import of this has been explained.

20. Then in the middle (he lays down one), with (Vāg. S. XV, 19), ‘This one above, the boon-bestower<sup>2</sup>,’ the one above, doubtless, is Parganya (the rain-god); and when he speaks of him as (being)

<sup>1</sup> That is, extending in every direction, or open (common) to all.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. ‘he whose boons are (bestowed) hitherwards.’

'above,' it is because Parganya is indeed above; and when he calls him the boon-bestower, it is because from there the boon, rain, food for creatures, is bestowed hitherwards;—'and Senagit (the conqueror of armies) and Sushena (leader of a fine army), his commander and chieftain,' these are the two winter-months;—'and the nymphs, Urvast and Pûrvasṅgitti,'—'quarter and intermediate quarter,' said Mâhitthi, but they are oblation and dakṣiṇâ (priest's sacrificial fee);—'thunder the shaft, lightning the missile,' for indeed thunder is here the shaft, and lightning the missile;—'to them be homage . . . !' the import of this has been explained.

21. These, then, are the shafts and missiles which the gods then put as protectors over these worlds, and as to offspring (or subjects<sup>1</sup>), they are the commander and chieftain; and as to the mates, they are those nymphs,—having thus become complete with offspring and with mates, the gods seated themselves on that firmament, in the world of heaven; and in like manner does the Sacrificer, having become complete with offspring and a mate, now seat himself on that firmament, in the world of heaven.

22. Now, these are ten (Nâkasad-Pañṅakûḍâ) bricks he lays down;—of ten syllables the Virâg consists, and this layer is virâg (far-shining). There are, however, only five of them, for he lays them down by two and two. And, verily, they are prayers for prosperity to Agni (the fire-altar). He places them in the last layer, for this, the last, layer is the end of Agni: it is thus at the end that he

---

<sup>1</sup> See paragraph 13.

pronounces the prayers for prosperity to Agni. There are five of them, for at the sacrifice there are five prayers for prosperity<sup>1</sup>. Between (each) two he throws loose soil, for these two bricks being fires, he does so fearing lest these two fires should blaze up together. And, moreover, loose soil means food: it is thus by means of food that he brings about concord between them.

23. Now, then, as to the order of proceeding. Having laid down (a brick) in front, he lays down those on the right, behind, on the left, and in the middle. Then the upper ones: having first laid down one in front, he lays down those on the right, on the left, in the middle, and behind. And, indeed, the world of heaven is entered from below, for the gods, having at that time, closed up these worlds on all sides, entered the world of heaven from below; and in like manner does the Sacrificer now, having closed up these worlds on all sides, enter the world of heaven from below.

## SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. He lays down *Khandasyâs*<sup>2</sup> (bricks pertaining to the metres). Completed now was the entire

<sup>1</sup> Viz. for long life, offspring, cattle, social distinction, and a seat in heaven;—see the *Sûktavâka* I, 9, 1, 12 seqq.

<sup>2</sup> The *Khandasyâs* represent the principal metres, the formulas used in laying down the bricks being composed in the respective metres. They consist of ten sets of three bricks each, representing the ten metres, and an additional (thirty-first) brick representing the *Atikhandas*, or redundant metre. Each of the ten sets consists of a central brick of full size (a foot square) placed on one of the two spines, and flanked on the two sides not in contact with the spines by two half-size bricks, viz.:—1. *gâyatrî* at the east end of the 'spine'; 2. *trishubh* on the *Retaṣi* range (joining the

Agni (fire-altar). He now wished for distinction<sup>1</sup>; for, indeed, heretofore he was not equal thereto, that he should sustain distinction; whence people here say even to this day, 'This one is not equal to sustain distinction, either in regard to kingship or to headmanship.' The gods bestowed on him this distinction, these *Kṛandasyās*; for the metres (*Kṛandas*) are cattle, and cattle are food, and (a position of) distinction is food.

2. He lays down triplets, for the beast is threefold—father, mother, son; and, embryo, amnion, chorion; and food also is threefold—ploughing, rain, seed. One of them is an *Atikṛandas*<sup>2</sup> (excessive metre); for even whilst being one, that one is beyond all the metres. And as to that distinction, it is this great hymn of praise<sup>3</sup>; and as to this great hymn of praise, it is these *Kṛandasyās*.

---

Gārhapatya on the front, or east, side); 3. *gagatī*, on the *Retaśiṭ* range (joining the Gārhapatya on the west side); 4. *anush/ubh*, immediately behind (west) of the preceding set; 5. *brīhatī*, immediately in front (east) of the *Aśhādḥā* range (on which the ring of *Stomabhāgās* lies); 6. *ushṇih*, immediately behind (west of) the *Gāyatrīs*; 7. *kakubh*, immediately in front of the *brīhatī* bricks; 8. *pañkti*, at the right (south) end of the 'cross-spine'; 9. *pada-pañkti*, at the left (north) end of the 'cross-spine'; 10. the single *atikṛandas*, immediately in front (east) of the fifth *Asapatnā* (see p. 84, note 1); 11. (three) *dvipadā* at the back, or west, end of the 'spine.'

<sup>1</sup> That is, a position of honour, or dignity (*śrī*).

<sup>2</sup> By the metres, here and in the sequel, we have to understand bricks laid down with verses of the respective metres (*Vāg. S. XV, 20 seq.*).

<sup>3</sup> That is, the so-called Great Litany (*mahad uktham*) recited, by the *Hotṛi*, in response to the *Mahāvṛata-sāman*, or Chant of the Great Rite, at the midday service of the last but one day—the so-called *Mahāvṛata* day—of the sacrificial session called '*Gavām ayanam*,' or 'cows' walk.' The Great Litany consists of numerous

3. Gâyatrî verses are the head thereof, Trishṭubh verses the body, Gagatî verses the spine, and Pañkti verses the wings; and of each of those Kakubh verses he takes four syllables<sup>1</sup>, and adds them to

hymns, and some detached verses and prose formulas; the whole matter recited being stated to amount to as many syllables as would make up a thousand *Brīhatî* verses (of thirty-six syllables each)—or 36,000 syllables in all. From an analysis I have made of the *Mahad uktham* (or *Brīhad uktham*, as it is also called) as contained in MS. Ind. Off. 1729 D, I find it very difficult to check the accuracy of this statement; my own calculation yielding somewhere about 37,200 syllables. By leaving out of account the prose formulas, as well as certain repetitions, this gross amount might, however, be reduced to something approximating the stated number of syllables; and, indeed, the calculation was probably not meant to be a strictly accurate one. Cf. II, 3, 3, 19, 20 (where read Litany, instead of Chant), part ii, p. 430. See also IX, 1, 1, 44; 3, 3, 19; 5, 2, 12.

<sup>1</sup> The three Kakubh verses (*Vâg. S. XV, 38-40*) consist each of three pādas, of eight, twelve, and eight syllables respectively, making together twenty-eight syllables. In muttering these verses, whilst laying down the Kakubh bricks, he is to omit four syllables from the middle pāda of each verse (so as to make it equal to the other two pādas), and mutter the words thus omitted at the beginning of the verse (*XV, 47*) used in laying down the *Atiṣṭhandas* brick. The syllables omitted make up complete words in each case, viz. 'bhadrâ râtiḥ' at the beginning of the middle pāda of the first verse, 'vr̥trâ tūrye' at the end of the middle pāda of the second verse, and 'ava sthirâ' at the beginning of the second pāda of the third verse. The remaining portions of the Kakubh verses consist each of twenty-four syllables, or a Gâyatrî verse. The references here made to the different parts of the *Mahad uktham* are not quite clear, and seem to point to a somewhat different arrangement of that sastra from that known from the *Aitareyāranyaka* and the *Sāṅkhâyana-sūtra*. The head, indeed, consists of Gâyatrî verses, viz. *Rig-veda* I, 7, either the whole, or, according to some, only certain verses of it; the first three, or nine, verses also forming the opening triplet, or triplets, of the *Mahāvratâ-sāman*, the chanting of which precedes the recitation of the Great Litany.—For the trunk (*âtman*) consisting of trishṭubh verses, see p. 113, note 1. The Pañkti verses, on the other hand, said to form the wings, would seem to be *Rig-veda* VIII, 40 (consisting of *mahāpañktis*),

the *Atikhandas*: that is just (what makes) that *Atikhandas* (excessive metre). The others result in *Gâyatrîs*: this is just that fourscore of *Gâyatrîs*<sup>1</sup>, the *Bṛihatîs* (make up) the *Bârhata* one, and the *Ushnihs* the *Aushniha* one. And as to the *Vasa* hymn<sup>2</sup>, the two half-verses, the *Aindrâgna* (hymn), and the insertion, they are *Atikhandas*; and as to

which in the *Aitareya* arrangement forms the thighs, whilst *Sâṅkhâ-yana* makes it part of the tail; and the *Gagatîs* here referred to as constituting the spine would seem to be X; 50, which immediately follows the hymn just referred to, and is not otherwise identified with any special part of the body. The MSS. of *Harisvâmin's* commentary are unfortunately hopelessly corrupt in this place.

<sup>1</sup> The Great Litany begins with seven sets of hymns and verses, meant symbolically to represent certain parts of *Agni-Pragâpati's* bird-shaped body which the ceremony is intended to reconstruct, viz. the trunk, neck, head, the roots (sinews) of the wings, the right and left wings, and the tail, between each two of which the so-called *Sûdadohas* verse (*Rîg-veda* VIII, 69, 3), meant to represent the vital air pervading the body, is inserted, as it also is between (and before) the succeeding parts. In the first place there follow three eighties of triplets (or, 3 sets of 240 verses each) in the *Gâyatrî*, *Bṛihatî* and *Ushnih* metres respectively. Then comes the *Vasa* hymn representing the belly, and finally a course of recitations (beginning with hymn VIII, 40) forming the thighs. For the part which the number eighty plays in the *Agnîkayana* ceremony, see Weber, *Ind. Stud.* XIII, p. 167. The term for 'eighty,' viz. 'asîti,' gives rise to a constant etymological play. *Sâyana*, on *Aitareyâranyaka* I, 4, 3, 1, takes it in the sense of 'food' (cf. above, VIII, 5, 2, 17); whilst the *Âranyaka* itself takes it in that of 'obtainment':—*yad evâsmin loke yaso, yan maho, yan mithunam, yad annâdyaṁ, yâ 'pakitis tad aṁnavai, tad âpnavâni, tad avarunadhâi, tan me 'sad iti.*

<sup>2</sup> This is the hymn *Rîg-veda* VIII, 46, ascribed to *Vasa Asvya*, and remarkable for the variety of metres in which the different verses are composed. In the *Aitareya* recension of the *Mahad uktham* (which is followed in the MS. of this *sastra* referred to in the preceding notes) only the first twenty verses are recited, but verse 15 being divided into two verses, a *dvipadâ* and an *ekapadâ*, they are thus made to consist of twenty-one verses.



the Nada-verse<sup>1</sup>, the Sûdadohas, the pâda-appendages, and whatever Anushṭubh matter there is, they make up the Anushṭubhs.

4. Dvipadâ verses are the feet. Thus much is the great hymn of praise, and the great hymn of praise means distinction: the gods bestowed upon him (Agni) all that distinction, and so does this (Sacrificer) bestow upon him all that distinction.

5. And, again, as to why he lays down the *Kṛandasyâs*. The gods at that time saw that firmament, the world of heaven, to wit, those Stomabhâgâs, and entered it. Of those entering, Pragâpati entered

---

<sup>1</sup> The Nada-verse, *Rig-veda* VIII, 69, 2 (in the *ushnih* metre) deriving its name from its first word 'nadam,' plays a peculiar part in the recitation of the Great Litany. The opening set of recitations, representing the trunk, consists of twenty-two trishṭubh verses; these are recited in such a way that after each pâda (or quarter of a verse) one of the four pâdas of the Nada-verse is inserted. The chief object of this insertion seems to be a metrical one, viz. that of making each two pâdas (trishṭubh = eleven, and *ushnih* = seven syllables) to form half a *br̥hatī* verse (eighteen syllables), the whole Litany being computed by *br̥hatī* verses. Moreover, of v. 3 of the first Trishṭubh hymn of this set (*Rig-veda* X, 120) only the first two pâdas are recited at this stage (whilst the remaining two are recited in different places later on), and this half-verse is followed by a *br̥hatī* and a *satobr̥hatī* pâda (VII, 32, 23 c, and VI, 46, 2 c), after which the recitation proceeds with verse 4 of the first hymn. This seems to account for one of the two half-verses here referred to, whilst the other would seem to be VII, 20, 1 a, b, recited later on in the *śastra*. Cf. Prof. F. Max Müller's translation of *Aitareyâr.*, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. i, p. 181 seqq.—The *Aindrâgna* hymn is VIII, 40, 1–9; 11; 12, being the first hymn of the portion representing the thighs. It consists of ten *mahâpañkti* verses (6 × 8 syllables)—each of which is split up into two *Gâyatri* verses (3 × 8 syllables)—and one trishṭubh verse.—The chief anushṭubh verses are those of *Rig-veda* I, 11, 1–8, which are recited in a peculiar way (towards the end of the *śastra*), the last pâda of each verse interchanging with the first pâda of the next verse.

last; and thus Pragâpati is the same as these *Khandasyâs*.

6. *Gâyatrîs* are his head; and as to its being *Gâyatrîs*, it is because the head is of *Gâyatrî* nature<sup>1</sup>. There are three, for the head is threefold. He places them on the forepart (of the altar), for the head (of the animal or bird) is in front.

7. *Trishûbhs* are the chest: he places them on the range of the two *Retaksik*; for the *Retaksik* are the ribs, and the ribs lie against the chest.

8. *Gagatis* are the hips; at whatever distance from the naturally-perforated (central) brick he places the *Trishûbhs* in front, at the same distance from it he places the *Gagatis* behind; for that naturally-perforated brick is this vital air in the middle (of the body), and as far from that vital air as the chest is in front, so far are the hips behind.

9. *Anushûbhs* are the thighs: he places them close to the *Gagatis*, and thereby places the thighs close to the hips.

10. *Brîhatîs* are the ribs, *Kakubhs* the breast-bone. The *Brîhatîs* he places between the *Trishûbhs* and *Kakubhs*, whence these ribs are fastened on both sides, on the breast-bone and the costal cartilages<sup>2</sup>.

11. *Ushûihis* are the neck: he places them close to the *Gâyatrîs*, and thereby places the neck close to the head.

12. *Pañktis* are the wings: and as to their being

<sup>1</sup> Either because the *Gâyatrî* is the foremost and noblest of metres (whence its symbolical connection with the priestly office and caste), and the one used for the first stoma at the Soma-sacrifice; or on account of its being best adapted for singing. For the threefold nature of the head, as consisting of skin, bone, and brain, see XII, 2, 4, 9.

<sup>2</sup> That is, on both sides of the chest; see XII, 2, 4, 11, with note.

Pañktis, it is because the wings are of Pañkti (five-fold) nature. He places them sideways, for these wings are sideways. Whatever metre is larger that he places on the right side: he thus makes the right half of the animal the stronger, and hence the right side of an animal is the stronger.

13. An Atikḥandas is the belly; for the metres are cattle, and cattle are food, and food is (what fills) the belly, because it is the belly that eats the food: hence when the belly gets the food, it becomes eaten and used up. And inasmuch as this (brick) eats (atti) the metres (ḥandas), the cattle, it is called Attikḥandas, for Attikḥandas is really what is mystically called Atikḥandas; for the gods love the mystic.

14. A (brick) covered with loose soil is the womb. These two he lays close to each other, for the belly and the womb are close to each other. They are connected with loose soil, for loose soil means flesh, and both the belly and the womb are connected with flesh. The former is an Atikḥandas, the latter a soil-bedded one (purishavatt), for the belly is higher, and the womb lower.

15. He places them so as to extend eastwards, for in an easterly direction<sup>1</sup> this Agni (fire-altar) is built; and, moreover, in one moving forward, both the belly and the womb are moving forward. Outside the Stomabhâgâs (he places them), for the Stomabhâgâs are the heart, and the heart is highest, then (comes) the belly, then the womb.

16. He places them south of the naturally-perforated (brick). Now, in the first layer, he places

<sup>1</sup> Or, as one tending (flying) eastwards.

both the belly and the womb north of the naturally-perforated one<sup>1</sup>; for that naturally-perforated one, indeed, is what this vital air in the middle (of the body) is: he thus places the belly and the womb on both sides of that (central) vital air, and hence the belly and the womb are on both sides of that central vital air.

17. The Dvipadâs are the feet (the stand);—and as to its being Dvipadâs (verses of two feet), it is because the feet are a pair. There are three (such verses), for a stand<sup>2</sup> (tripod) is threefold. He lays them down at the back, for the feet are at the back (of the body).

18. That body of his (Agni) is well-made;—and, indeed, for whomsoever they thus make that body of his so as to be well-made, he becomes possessed of that body of his as a well-made one; but for whomsoever they make it otherwise than that, for him they make that body of his so as to be ill-made, and he becomes possessed of an ill-made body.

19. It is with reference to this that these two sâma-nidhanas (finales of sâman-hymns) are uttered,—‘The light (is) in the highest heaven of the gods,’ and, ‘The gods (are) in the highest heaven of the

---

<sup>1</sup> According to VII, 5, 1, 38, the fire-pan is supposed to represent the belly, and the mortar the yoni; and these two were, in the first layer, placed north of the svayam-âtrinnâ, or naturally-perforated brick, so as to leave the space of a full brick between them and that central brick of the layer; cf. VII, 5, 1, 13. In the sketch of the central part of the first layer (p. 17), the two northernmost bricks, marked *p*, represent the fire-pan and mortar.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the feet and back part of the body, or the tail, the latter, in a sitting bird, forming, as it were, a third foot or support to the body.

light;—for when on that occasion the gods were entering (heaven), Pragâpati was the last to enter: that is why he says, 'The light (is) in the highest heaven of the gods.' And as to why he says, 'The gods (are) in the highest heaven of light,'—the light, doubtless, is this Agni (the fire-altar), and it is on his highest layer that all the gods have thus entered: this is why he says, 'The gods are in the highest heaven of light.'

### THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. He lays down the Gârhapatya. For the gods, having obtained this much, thought they had succeeded. They spake, 'Whereby have we succeeded in this?'—'By means of the Gârhapatya,' they said; 'for, after building the Gârhapatya<sup>1</sup> and mounting thereon, we saw the first layer, from the first (we saw) the second, from the second the third, from the third the fourth, from the fourth the fifth, and from the fifth this one.'

2. They spake, 'Think ye upon this, how there may be success here for us!' They spake, 'Meditate ye (kîti)!' whereby, indeed, they meant to say, 'Seek ye a layer (kîti)! seek ye whereby there may be success here for us!'

3. Whilst meditating, they said this: 'Let us bring this one here and put it on (the fire-altar)!' Having brought this (Gârhapatya) here, they put it

---

<sup>1</sup> For the building of the separate Gârhapatya hearth, on which the sacred fire was transferred from the Ukhâ (fire-pan), see part iii, p. 298 seq.; its sketch, p. 302. A similar hearth is now built on the fifth layer of the Âhavanîya fire-altar.

on. They disputed about it:—in the front part (of the fifth layer) the Vasus, on the right side the Rudras, on the hind part the Âdityas, on the left side the Maruts, and above it the Visve Devâs said, 'Here let us lay it down! here let us lay it down!'

4. They spake, 'Let us lay it down in the middle: when laid down in our midst, it will belong to all of us.' They laid it down in the middle (of the fifth layer), and thus they laid that success into the self (or the body of the altar);—in the middle (they laid it): they thus laid that success into the very middle of (Agni's and their own) self. And in like manner does the Sacrificer, when he lays down the Gârhapatya, lay that success into (his own) self; and (by laying it down) in the middle, he lays that success into the very middle of the self.

5. And, again, as to why he lays down the Gârhapatya. The Gârhapatya, doubtless, is food, and this built Agni is an eater: it is to the eater he thus offers that food;—in the centre (he lays down the Gârhapatya): in the very middle (of the body) he thus lays food into him.

6. And, again, as to why he lays down the Gârhapatya. The world of the gods, doubtless, is the Vedi (altar-ground); but that (original Gârhapatya) is built up outside the Vedi: thus, when he brings it here and lays it down (on the fire-altar), he then establishes it (or him, Agni) on the Vedi, in the world of the gods.

7. And, again, as to why he lays down the Gârhapatya. The lotus-leaf<sup>1</sup>, doubtless, is a womb, but

---

<sup>1</sup> For the lotus-leaf, which is the first thing laid down in the centre

that (Gârhapatya) is built up outside the womb, and outside of the womb indeed takes place that performance regarding the fire-altar which takes place prior to the (laying down of the) lotus-leaf: thus, when they bring it (the Gârhapatya) here and lay it down, he then establishes it in the womb, on the lotus-leaf; and thus indeed it is not outside. Eight bricks he lays down: the significance of this has been explained<sup>1</sup>. He builds it up with the same formulas and in the same order, for this one is the same as that (former Gârhapatya Agni): he thus brings it (or him) here and lays it down.

8. He then lays down the Punas̥k̥iti<sup>2</sup>. Now at that time the gods, having built the Gârhapatya, did not find success therein; for the Gârhapatya pile is a womb, and success in a womb consists in seed, in generative power; and in this womb they saw no seed, no generative power.

9. They spake, 'Think ye upon this, how we may lay seed and generative power into this womb!' They spake, 'Meditate ye!' whereby, indeed, they meant to say, 'Seek ye a layer! seek ye that we may lay seed and generative power into this womb!'

10. Whilst meditating, they saw this Punas̥k̥iti, and put it on (the Gârhapatya), and thereby laid seed and generative power into this womb;—in the centre (they placed it): they thus laid seed and

---

of the altar-site on which the (Āhavanīya) altar is to be raised, see VII, 4, 1, 7 seqq. The Gârhapatya had been built previous to that (VII, 1, 1, 1 seqq.).

<sup>1</sup> See VII, 1, 1, 19 seqq.

<sup>2</sup> The Punas̥k̥iti (re-piling) is a second pile or layer of eight bricks corresponding exactly to the first, and placed thereon.

generative power into the very middle of this womb. And in like manner does the Sacrificer now, when he lays down the Punaskiti, lay seed and generative power into this womb;—in the centre (he lays it down): he thus lays seed and generative power into the very middle of this womb.

11. Now some lay it down on the hind part (of the bird-like altar), because it is from the hind part that seed is introduced,—(to wit) on the juncture of the tail (and the body), for it is from (the part near) the tail that seed is introduced. Let him not do this, for they who do this lay seed and generative power outside the womb; but let him rather place it in the centre: he thus lays seed and generative power right into the womb.

12. He lays down eight bricks,—the Gâyatri (metre) consists of eight syllables, and Agni (the fire-altar) is of Gâyatri nature: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great he thus introduces him in the form of seed. Five times he 'settles' it,—of five layers consists the fire-altar, five seasons make a year, and Agni is the year: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus introduces him in the form of seed. Eight bricks he 'settles' five times, that makes thirteen,—thirteen months make a year, and there are thirteen 'layer-fillings' of the altar: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great he thus becomes.

13. And as to why he lays down the Punaskiti. Now, in laying down the Gârhapatya (hearth) upon the Âhavantya, he surely does what is improper; but when he lays down the Punaskiti he thereby brings this Agni (or altar) that has been built, and builds it up again thereon; and because he again



(punas) builds up (kī) that (Agni) already built, therefore (this is called) Punasṅiti.

14. Now some lay down the Gârhapatya on the hind part, and the Punasṅiti on the front part (of the built altar), for these two are the Âhavanīya and the Gârhapatya, and these two fires are (placed) in this way<sup>1</sup>. Let him not do this, for the Gârhapatya is this (terrestrial) world, and the Âhavanīya is the sky; and above this (earth) surely is yonder (sky); let him therefore place it (the Punasṅiti) on the top of that (Gârhapatya).

15. And as to why he lays down both the Gârhapatya and the Punasṅiti. These two, doubtless, are the Vedi and the Uttaravedi (high-altar) of Agni. Now those two former (altars of this kind) which he throws up<sup>2</sup> belong to the Soma-sacrifice, but these belong to the fire-altar; and when, after laying down these two, he deposits Agni (the fire) thereon, then he establishes him both on the Vedi and the Uttaravedi.

16. And, again, as to why he lays down the Punasṅiti. This, doubtless, is a repeated sacrifice (punaryagña), and higher (than the ordinary sacrifice) is this worship of the gods: he thus sets up a repeated sacrifice, and the higher worship of the gods; and the repeated sacrifice inclines (accrues) to him.

17. And, again, as to why he lays down the

<sup>1</sup> In the ordinary sacrifices the Gârhapatya hearth is placed behind (west of), and the Âhavanīya on the front (or east) end of, the Vedi.

<sup>2</sup> That is, at the performance of an ordinary Soma-sacrifice. For the vedi and uttaravedi on that occasion, see III, 5, 1, 1 seq.; 12 seqq. (part ii, p. 111 seqq.)

Punaskṛiti. This (altar), doubtless, is that same Agni whom in the beginning the vital airs, the *Rīshis*, made up<sup>1</sup>. He now builds him up again; and inasmuch as he again (punas) builds up (kṛi) that (Agni) already built, therefore also it is (called) Punaskṛiti.

18. [He lays down the first brick, with, Vāg. S. XV, 49], 'With what fervour the *Rīshis* entered upon the sacrificial session,'—he thereby means those *Rīshis* (the vital airs);—'kindling the fire and gaining the light,'—that is, 'kindling the fire, and gaining the heavenly world;'—'upon that firmament I place the Fire,'—the firmament, doubtless, is the heavenly world;—'whom thinkers call the straw-spreader,'—the thinkers (or men) are they who are wise; and 'straw-spreader' he says, because he (Agni) has ever the (sacrificial) straw spread for him.

19. [The second brick, with, Vāg. S. XV, 50], 'With our wives let us follow him, O gods! with our sons and brothers, or our golden treasures;'—that is, 'let us follow him with our all;'—'gaining the firmament in the world of righteousness;'—the firmament, doubtless, is the heavenly world: thus, 'gaining the heavenly world in the world of righteousness;'—'above the third luminous back of the sky,'—for this, indeed, is the third luminous back of the sky where this (Agni) now burns<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See part iii, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> That is, on this altar where the fire will soon be burning. It seems also to refer to the sun burning over the third heaven—as the counterpart of the Agni of the fire-altar.

20. [The third brick, with, Vâg. S. XV, 51], 'Unto the centre of speech did he mount, the nimble,'—for this, indeed, is the centre of speech where he now is built up; and 'the nimble (bhuranyu),' that is, 'the sustainer<sup>1</sup> (bhartar);'—'this Agni, the good lord, the heedful,'—that is, 'this Agni, the lord of the good, the heeding one;'—'established upon the back of the earth, he the brilliant,'—that is, 'established on the back of the earth, the shining one;'—'let him tread under foot any hostile!'—that is, 'let him tread under foot all evildoers.'

21. [The fourth brick, with, Vâg. S. XV, 52], 'This Agni, the most mettlesome bestower of strength,'—that is, 'the most vigorous bestower of strength;'—'may he glow a thousandfold, unremitting,'—that is, 'may he shine a thousandfold, not unheedful;'—'blazing in the middle of the sea,'—the sea, doubtless, means these worlds: thus, 'shining in these worlds;'—'go forth to the divine abodes!'—that is, 'go forth to the heavenly world!'

22. [The fifth brick, with, Vâg. S. XV, 53], 'Gather ye together! draw ye nigh together!'—he thereby says to those *Rishis*, 'Gather ye him together! draw ye nigh to him together!'—'Make ye Agni's<sup>2</sup> paths to lead to the gods!'—as the text so the meaning;—'making the parents

<sup>1</sup> That is, the sustainer of the world (*gagad-bhartar*), according to Mahîdhara; an etymological play on the word 'bhuranyu.'

<sup>2</sup> The texts have 'agne,' O Agni! the verbal form '*krinudhvam*' being explained by Mahîdhara as an irregular singular form for '*krinu*,' (make thou). The verse seems, however, corrupt.

young again,'—the young parents, doubtless, are speech and mind, and these two fires also are speech and mind;—'in thee hath he spun out this thread,'—he thereby means that thread (of the sacrifice) which has been spun out by the *Rishis*.

23. [The sixth brick, with, *Vâg. S. XV, 54*], 'Awake, O Agni, and be watchful!'—he thereby says to this Agni, 'Wake thou over this one<sup>1</sup>, and watch thou over him!'—'Wish and fulfilment, meet ye and he together<sup>2</sup>!'—as the text, so the meaning;—'Upon this, the higher seat,'—the higher seat, doubtless, is the sky;—'sit ye down, O All-gods, and the Sacrificer!'—he thereby makes the Sacrificer sit down together with the *Visve Devâs*.

24. [The seventh brick, with, *Vâg. S. XV, 55*], 'Whereby thou carriest a thousand, whereby, O Agni, all wealth,'—for that, indeed, is his most acceptable power whereby he carries a thousand, and all wealth;—'thereby lead thou this sacrifice of ours unto the light to go to the gods!'—that is, 'thereby lead thou this our sacrifice to the heavenly world to go to the gods.'—[The eighth brick, with, *Vâg. S. XV, 56*], 'This is thy natural womb . . .';—the meaning of this has been ex-

---

<sup>1</sup> The author (not Mahîdhara) seems rather to take 'udbudyasva' in a transitive sense ('wake thou him'), as Mahîdhara certainly does the second imperative 'pratigâgrîhi,' 'make him (the Sacrificer) careful!'

<sup>2</sup> The text has the 2nd person dual, which Mahîdhara explains by the 3rd dual (*yagamânena saha samsrîshite bhavatâm*—'May the two become united with the Sacrificer'), because of the nominative 'ish/âpûrve,' instead of the vocative.

plained<sup>1</sup>. Eight bricks he lays down : the meaning of this also has been explained<sup>2</sup>.

SEVENTH ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMANA.

1. He lays down two *Ritavyā* (seasonal bricks). The seasonal (bricks) are the same as these seasons: it is the seasons he thereby lays down. And, indeed, the seasonal ones are everything here, for the seasonal ones are the year, and the year is everything here : he thus lays down everything here. And generative power they also are,—for the seasonal ones are the year, and the year means generative power : it is generative power he thus lays down (or bestows on Agni and the Sacrificer).

2. And, again, as to why he lays down seasonal (bricks),—the seasonal (ones) are the nobility and these other bricks are the peasantry : he thus places the nobility as the eater among the peasantry. He lays down (some of) them in all the layers : he thus places the nobility as the eater among the whole people<sup>3</sup>.

3. And, again, as to why he lays down seasonal (bricks),—this fire-altar is the year, and it is joined together by means of the seasonal (bricks) : he thus makes the year continuous, and joins it together, by means of the seasons. These (formulas of the seasonal bricks) begin in a different way, but end in the same way ; for the seasons were created, and, when created, they were different.

4. They spake, ' While being thus, we shall not be

<sup>1</sup> Viz. VII, 1, 1, 28.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. VII, 1, 1, 32.

<sup>3</sup> Or, he places the chieftaincy in every clan.

able to procreate : let us unite with our forms !' They united in each single season with their forms, whence there is in each single season the form of all the seasons. As to their (formulas) beginning in a different way, it is because they were created different (or separately) ; and as to their ending in the same way, it is because they united with their forms.

5. He lays them down, with (Vâg. S. XV, 57), 'Tapa and Tapasya, the two dewy seasons,'—these are the names of these two : it is thus by their names that he lays them down. Tapa (the burner), doubtless, is yonder sun : from him these two seasons are not separated ; and inasmuch as these two seasons are not separated from him, they are called Tapa and Tapasya.

6. 'Agni's coupling-link thou art,'—this fire-altar is the year, and it is joined together by means of the seasonal (bricks) : he thus makes the year continuous, and joins it together by means of the seasons ;—'May Heaven and earth fit into one another ! may the waters and plants fit into each other !'—he thereby makes everything here<sup>1</sup> to fit in by means of the seasons :—'May the fires fit into one another, each singly, working harmoniously together for my supremacy !'—for these single bricks are the same as those fires : he thus says this so that they may fit in with each other for the supremacy of those two seasons ;—'whatever fires there are, at one with each other, within these two, Heaven and Earth ;'—as the text is, so is its meaning ;—'let them draw

---

<sup>1</sup> Or, all this universe.

together, fitting in with the two dewy seasons, even as the gods draw together unto Indra;—that is, ‘even as the gods are drawing together round Indra, so may they draw together for supremacy round these two seasons.’ Two bricks there are, because the season consists of two months. Only once he ‘settles’ them: he thereby makes the season to be one.

7. And as to why he now lays down these two;—this fire-altar is the year, and the year is these worlds: the fifth layer of this (altar) is the sky, and the dewy season of this (year) is the sky; and when he now lays down these two (bricks), he thereby restores to his (Agni’s) body what these two are thereto: this is why he now lays down these two (bricks).

8. And, again, as to why he now lays down these two;—this Agni (the fire-altar) is Pragâpati (the lord of generation), and Pragâpati is the year: the fifth layer is his (Agni’s) head, and the dewy season is its (the year’s) head; and when he now lays down these two (bricks), he thereby restores to his (or its) body what these two are thereto: this is why he now lays down these two (bricks).

9. He lays down the two seasonal ones prior to the naturally-perforated one and to the Visvagyotis; for the last naturally-perforated one is the sky<sup>1</sup>, and the last Visvagyotis<sup>2</sup> (all-light brick) is

<sup>1</sup> For the symbolic meaning of the three svayam-âtrinnâs, as the central bricks of the first and third layers, and the one lying on the centre of the fifth layer, see part iii, p. 155, note 8.

<sup>2</sup> On the three Visvagyotis bricks, placed in the same layers, as representing the gods Agni, Vâyu and Âditya respectively, see VI, 3, 3, 16; 5, 3, 3.

the sun: he thus places the seasons on this side of the sky and the sun; whence the seasons are on this side thereof. But generative power there also is (in these seasonal bricks)<sup>1</sup>: he thus places generative power on this side of the sky and the sun; whence procreation takes place only on this side of them, but stationary, indeed, is procreation beyond them, for just as many gods as there were of old, so many there are now.

10. Now, the (first) two seasonal (bricks) he lays down subsequently to the first naturally-perforated one, and to the first *Visvagyotis*; for the first naturally-perforated one is this (earth), and the first *Visvagyotis* is *Agni*: thereupon he places the seasons, whence the seasons are upwards from this (earth). But generative power there also is therein: he thus places generative power above this (earth); whence procreation only takes place above (upon, not under) this (earth).

11. Let him not derange these (seasonal bricks)<sup>2</sup> lest he should derange the seasons, for deranged are

<sup>1</sup> Or, But these (bricks) also are (or mean) generative power, cf. paragraph 1.

<sup>2</sup> That is, he is not to shift them from their proper place, but place each subsequent pair exactly on those laid down before. As a matter of fact, however, these two bricks (if we determine their site by mere calculation) would seem, in the fifth layer, to lie by half a foot further away from the central point, than the *Ritavyās* of the other layers do. This is owing to the fact that whilst, in the layers in which a *Svayamātrinnā* lies in the middle, only one half of these central bricks lie on the east side of the central point, in the present layer the eastern portion of the *Gārhapatya* (occupying the central part of the layer) consists of full-sized bricks. This discrepancy of half a foot was probably made good by some space being left, which was afterwards filled up with earth; unless, indeed, the *Svayamātrinnās*, as apparently natural stones, were allowed to somewhat exceed the ordinary size of bricks.



the seasons for him who dies : hence, in whatever place he lays down the first two, there let him lay down all.

12. But the seasonal (bricks), indeed, are also these (three) worlds : by the (different) layers he thus builds up these worlds one above the other. And the seasonal (bricks), indeed, are also the nobility : by the (different) layers he thus builds up the nobility above (the peasantry). And the seasonal ones, indeed, are also the year : by the (different) layers he thus builds up the year. Let him not thereafter place over them any other brick with a sacrificial formula, lest he should place the peasantry above the nobility.

13. Now these same (bricks) are indeed stepping-stones, for by means of the seasonal (bricks) the gods then stepped over these worlds, both from hence upwards and from above downwards : and in like manner does the Sacrificer now, by means of the seasonal (bricks), step over these worlds, both from hence upwards and from above downwards.

14. Now, the *Karakādhvaryu*s lay down here yet other 'stepping-stones' ; but let him not do so, for they do what is redundant, and these are indeed (all) the stepping-stones.

15. He then lays down a *Visvagyotis* (all-light brick) ;—the last *Visvagyotis*, doubtless, is the sun, for in yonder (celestial) world the sun, indeed, is 'all the light' : it is the sun he thereby sets up.

16. And, again, as to why he lays down a *Visvagyotis* :—the *Visvagyotis*, doubtless, means progeny, for progeny indeed is all the light :—he thus lays generative power into it (or into him, Agni and the Sacrificer).

17. He lays down the Visvagyotis prior to the naturally-perforated one;—for the last naturally-perforated one is the sky, and the last Visvagyotis is the sun: he thus places the sun on this side (below) the sky, whence he burns only on this side thereof. But there also is generative power therein: he thus places generative power on this side of the sky, whence procreation takes place only on this side thereof.

18. Now the (first) Visvagyotis he lays down subsequent to the first naturally-perforated one; for the first naturally-perforated one is this (earth), and the first Visvagyotis is Agni: he thus sets up Agni upwards from this (earth), whence the fire blazes upwards from here. But there also is generative power therein: he thus places generative power above this (earth), whence procreation only takes place above this (earth).

19. And the (second) Visvagyotis he lays down subsequent to the second naturally-perforated one (in the third, or central) layer; for the second naturally-perforated one is the air, and the second Visvagyotis is Vâyu (the wind): he thus places the wind in the air, whence that wind (has his abode) in the air.

20. These (three) then are the lights;—and when he lays down these (three Visvagyotis bricks) in this way, he thereby sets up those same lights so as to face each other; and hence the fire blazes upwards from this (earth), and yonder sun shines downwards, and that wind blows sideways in the air.

21. [He 'settles' the Visvagyotis, with, Vâg. S. XV, 58], 'May Parameshthin settle thee'—for Parameshthin saw this fifth layer;—'on the back

of the sky, thee, the luminous one!'—for on the back of the sky is yonder luminous sun.

22. 'For all out-breathing, and off-breathing, and through-breathing,'—for the Visvagyotis is the breath, and breath, indeed, is (necessary) for everything here;—'bestow thou all the light!'—that is, 'bestow thou the whole (or every) light;'—'Sûrya is thine overlord,'—he thereby makes Sûrya (the sun) its overlord. Having 'settled' it, he pronounces the Sûdadohas on it: its (symbolical) meaning has been told<sup>1</sup>.

23. Now, these (bricks) are indeed stepping-stones, for by means of the Visvagyotis (bricks) the gods then stepped over these worlds, both from hence upwards, and from above downwards: and in like manner does the Sacrificer now, by means of the Visvagyotis, step over these worlds, both from hence upwards, and from above downwards.

24. Now, the *Karakâdhvaryus* lay down here yet other 'stepping-stones'; but let him not do so, for they do what is redundant, and these are indeed the stepping-stones.

## SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. He then lays down a *Lokamprînâ*<sup>2</sup> (space-filling brick); the *Lokamprînâ*, doubtless, is yonder

<sup>1</sup> For this verse see part iii, p. 307, note 2; for its symbolic meaning (as the breath, or vital air) VII, 1, 1, 15; 26. See also VIII, 7, 3, 21, where the verse itself is explained.

<sup>2</sup> In laying down the *Lokamprînâs* of the fifth layer, he begins, as in the first layer, from the right shoulder, or the south-east corner, of the altar, but so that in this case the first 'space-filler' is laid down, not at the corner, but a cubit to the west of it. Starting from that spot, he fills up the available spaces, in two turns, moving in the sunwise fashion.

sun, for he fills these worlds: it is thus yonder sun he thereby sets up. He lays down this (Lokam-*prinâ*) in all the (five) layers, for those layers are these (three) worlds<sup>1</sup>: he thus places the sun in (all) these worlds, whence he shines for all these worlds.

2. And, again, as to why he lays down a Lokam-*prinâ*,—the Lokam*prinâ*, doubtless, is the nobility (or chieftaincy)<sup>2</sup>, and these other bricks are the peasants (or clansmen): he thus places the nobility (or chieftain), as the eater, among the peasantry. He lays it down in all the layers: he thus places the nobility, as the eater, among the whole peasantry (or in every clan).

3. Now this is only a single (brick): he thus makes the nobility (or the chieftaincy) and (social) distinction to attach to a single (person). And what second (such brick there is) that is its mate, —a mate, doubtless, is one half of one's own self, for when one is with a mate then he is whole and complete: (thus it is laid down) for the sake of completeness. With a single formula he lays down many bricks<sup>3</sup>: he thereby endows the nobility pre-

<sup>1</sup> Rather, the first, second, and third layers are the three worlds.

<sup>2</sup> At VI, 1, 2, 25 *Tândya* was made to maintain that the Yagush-mat̥s, or bricks laid down with special formulas, were the nobility, and that the Lokam*prinâ*s, laid down with one and the same formula, were the peasants, and as the noble (or chieftain) required a numerous clan for his subsistence, there should be fewer of the former kind of bricks, than the established practice was. This view was however rejected by the author of the Brâhmana, and here, in opposition to that view, the Lokam*prinâ* is identified with the nobility, and the Yagushmat̥s with the clan.

<sup>3</sup> The common formula used with these bricks, and from which they derive their name—beginning as it does 'Lokam *prina*,' 'Fill the space!' see parag. 6—is pronounced once only after every ten such bricks, and after any odd ones at the end.

eminently with power<sup>1</sup>, and makes the nobility more powerful than the peasantry. And the other (bricks) he lays down singly, with separate formulas: he thereby makes the peasantry less powerful than the nobility, differing in speech, and of different thoughts (from one another).

4. The first two (*Lokamprînâs*) he lays down in that (south-east) corner: he thereby places yonder sun in that quarter: from this (earth) he follows him (the sun) from that (place) there<sup>2</sup>; from this (earth) he follows him from that (place) there; from this (earth) he follows him from that (place) there; from this (earth) he follows him from that (place) there.

5. And in whatever place he lays down the first two (bricks), let him there lay down alongside of

<sup>1</sup> In the translation of VII, 5, 2, 14 (part iii, p. 404), the passage 'having taken possession of the man by strength,' which was based on a wrong reading (see Weber, Berl. Cat. II, p. 69), should read thus: 'having pre-eminently endowed man with power' (or, perhaps, 'having placed him above (others) in respect of power,' St. Petersburg. Dict.)

<sup>2</sup> I do not know whether 'atas' might be taken here in the sense of 'thither,' or whether it goes along with 'tasmât,' merely strengthening it. The meaning in either case would seem to be this. In the first turn of filling up the empty spaces he first moves along from the south-east corner (the point where the sun rises) to the back or west end of the spine (the place where the sun sets) and the central brick; and having thus, as it were, touched the earth again, he proceeds from there in the same sunwise fashion, filling up the north part of the altar until he reaches the east end of the spine, and there, as it were, touches the earth once more. In the second turn he again begins (with the second brick) in the south-east, and repeats the same process, in filling up the south part of the altar, and completing at the south-east corner. The laying down of the *Lokamprînâs* would thus be supposed to occupy the full space of two days and two nights.

them the last two (bricks): for (otherwise) having once revolved round these worlds, that sun would not pass by them. Let him lay down the two last alongside the two first by reaching over them: he thus causes that sun to pass by these worlds; and hence that sun revolves incessantly round these worlds again and again (from left) to right.

6. [He lays them down, with, Vâg. S. XV, 59], 'Fill the space! fill the gap!'—that is, 'fill up the space! fill up the gap;'—'and lie thou steady!'—that is, 'and lie thou firm, settled!'—'Indra and Agni, and *Bṛihaspati*, have settled thee in this womb;' that is, 'Indra and Agni, and *Bṛihaspati*, have established thee in this womb.' Thus (he establishes them) by an *anushṭubh* verse; for the *Anushṭubh* is speech, and Indra is speech, and the 'space-filler' is Indra. He does not settle them, for that (sun) is unsettled. He pronounces the *Sûdadohas* on them, for the *Sûdadohas* is vital air: he thus makes him (Agni) continuous and joins him together by means of the vital air.

7. Here now they say, 'How does that *Lokamprinâ* become of unimpaired strength?' Well, the *Lokamprinâ* is yonder sun, and he assuredly is of unimpaired strength. And the *Lokamprinâ* also is speech, and of unimpaired strength assuredly is speech.

8. Having laid down those (bricks) possessed of (special) sacrificial formulas, he covers (the altar) with the *Lokamprinâ*; for the bricks possessed of formulas mean food, and the *Lokamprinâ* means the body: he thus encloses the food in the body, whence food enclosed in the body is the body itself.

9. Those (bricks) possessed of formulas he places on the body (of the altar) itself, not on the wings and tail: he thus puts food into the body; and whatever food is put into the body that benefits both the body and the wings and tail; but that which he puts on the wings and tail benefits neither the body, nor the wings and tail.

10. On the body (of the altar) he places both (bricks) possessed of formulas and Lokamprinâs; whence that body (of a bird) is, as it were, twice as thick. On the wings and tail (he places) only Lokamprinâs, whence the wings and tail are, as it were, thinner. On the body (of the altar) he places them both lengthwise and crosswise, for the bricks are bones: hence these bones in the body run both lengthwise and crosswise. On the wings and tail (he places them so as to be) turned away (from the body), for in the wings and tail there is not a single transverse bone. And this, indeed, is the difference between a built and an unbuilt (altar): suchlike is the built one, different therefrom the unbuilt one<sup>1</sup>.

11. The Svayamâtrinnâ (naturally - perforated brick) he encloses with Lokamprinâ (bricks); for the naturally-perforated one is the breath, and the 'space-filler' is the sun: he thus kindles the breath by means of the sun, whence this breath (of ours) is warm. With that (kind of brick) he fills up the whole body: he thereby kindles the whole body by means of the sun, whence this whole body (of ours) is warm. And this, indeed, is the difference between one that will live and one that will die:

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, one not properly built.

he that will live is warm, and he that will die is cold.

12. From the corner in which he lays down the first two (*Lokamprinâs*) he goes on filling up (the altar) by tens up to the *Svayamâtrinnâ*. In the same way he goes on filling it up from left to right behind the naturally-perforated one up to (the brick on) the cross-spine<sup>1</sup>. He then fills it up whilst returning to that limit<sup>2</sup>.

13. The body (of the altar) he fills up first, for of (a bird) that is produced, the body is produced first, then the right wing, then the tail, then the left (wing): that is in the rightward (sunwise) way, for this is (the way) with the gods, and thus, indeed, yonder sun moves along these worlds from left to right.

14. The *Lokamprinâ*, doubtless, is the same as the vital air; he therewith fills up the whole body (of the altar): he thus puts vital air into the whole body. If he were not to reach any member thereof, then the vital air would not reach that member of him (*Agni*); and whatever member the vital air does not reach, that, assuredly, either dries up or withers away: let him therefore fill up therewith the whole of it.

15. The wings and tail he builds on to the body, for the wings and tail grow on to the body; but were he first to lay down those (bricks) turned away (from the body), it would be as if he were to take a limb from elsewhere and put it on again.

<sup>1</sup> This would seem to be the *Vikarnî* (see VIII, 7, 3, 9 seqq.) which, however, like the central *Svayamâtrinnâ*, is only to be laid down after the layer has been levelled up.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. to the east end of the 'spine.'



16. Let him not lay down either a broken (brick) or a black one ; for one that is broken causes failure, and sickly is that form which is black : ' Lest I should make up a sickly body,' he thinks <sup>1</sup>. Let him not throw aside an unbroken (brick), lest he should put what is not sickly outside the 'body. Whatever (bricks), in counting from the *dhishnya* hearths, should exceed a *Virâg* <sup>2</sup>, and not make up another, such (bricks) indeed cause failure : let him break them and throw them <sup>3</sup> (*ut-kir*) on the heap of rubbish (*utkara*), for the heap of rubbish is the seat of what is redundant : thus he thereby settles them where there is the seat of that which is redundant.

17. Now, then, of the measures of the bricks. In the first and last layers let him lay down (bricks) of a foot (square), for the foot is a support ; and the hand is the same as the foot. The largest (bricks) should be of the measure of the thigh-bone, for there is no bone larger than the thigh-bone. Three layers should have (their bricks) marked with three lines, for threefold are these worlds ; and two (layers

---

<sup>1</sup> Here, as so often before, the effect to be avoided is expressed by a clause in *oratio directa* with 'ned' ; the inserted clause with 'vai' indicating the reason why that effect is to be dreaded. To adapt the passage to our own mode of diction, we should have to translate :—Let him not lay down either a broken brick or a black one, lest he should form a sickly body ; for a brick which is broken comes to grief, and what is black is of sickly appearance.—In the next sentence of the translation, the direct form of speech has been discarded.

<sup>2</sup> The *pâda* of the *Virâg* consists of ten, and a whole *Virâg* stanza of thirty (or forty), syllables. Hence the number of the bricks is to be divisible by ten.

<sup>3</sup> Or, perhaps, dig them in.

may consist) of (bricks) marked with an indefinite number of lines, for these two layers are the flavour, and the flavour is indefinite; but all (the layers) should rather have (bricks) marked with three lines, for threefold are all these worlds.

18. Now, then, of the location<sup>1</sup> of (special) bricks. Any (special) brick he knows, provided with a formula, let him place in the middle (third) layer; for the middle layer is the air, and the air, doubtless, is the location of all beings. Moreover, bricks with (special) formulas are food, and the middle layer is the belly: he thus puts food into the belly.

19. Here, now, they say, 'Let him not lay down (such special bricks) lest he should do what is excessive.' But he may, nevertheless, lay them down; for such bricks are laid down for (the fulfilment of special) wishes, and in wishes there is nothing excessive. But let him rather not lay them down, for just that much the gods then did.

### THIRD BRĀHMANA.

1. He now throws loose soil (on the layer); for the loose soil means flesh: he thus covers him (Agni) with flesh. [He does so] after having laid down the bricks;—the bricks are the bone: he thus covers the bone with flesh.

2. He also strews it on (the place where lies) the naturally-perforated (brick), for the naturally-perforated one means vital air, and the loose soil

---

<sup>1</sup> Âvāpana has also the meaning of 'throwing in, insertion,' which is likewise understood here, whilst further on in this paragraph ('the air is the âvāpanam of all beings') it can scarcely have this meaning (? something injected). Cf. IX, 4, 2, 27.

means food : he thus puts food into (the channels of) the vital air. In that manner<sup>1</sup> he covers the whole body (of the altar) ; whence the food which is put into (the channels of) the vital air benefits the whole body, extends over the whole body.

3. 'Let him not strew it on (the place of) the naturally-perforated one,' say some, 'lest he should stop up (the channels of) the vital airs, for the naturally-perforated one is the vital air.' Let him, nevertheless, strew it, for the vital airs are sustained by food, and whoever eats no food his (channels of the) vital airs grow up (and close) : hence he for whom they act thus, comes to exist in yonder world even like a dry, hollow tube. Let him, therefore, by all means strew (loose soil) on (the place of) the naturally-perforated one.

4. Having strewed it on the *svayamâtrinnâ* (place) he goes on covering (the altar) from the (brick) on the cross-spine up to the enclosing-stones. In the same way he goes on covering it from left to right behind the naturally-perforated one up to the one on the cross-spine again.

5. The body (of the altar) he covers first, for of (a bird) that is produced, the body is the first to be produced ; then the right wing, then the tail, then the left wing : that is in the rightward (sunwise) way, for this is (the way) with the gods.

6. Now this loose soil, indeed, is the vital air ; he therewith covers the whole body : he thus puts vital air into the whole body. And, assuredly, whatsoever member thereof he should not reach, that member of him (Agni) the vital air would not

---

<sup>1</sup> Or, therewith (with loose soil).

reach ; and whatever member the vital air does not reach that either dries up or withers away : let him, therefore, cover it entirely therewith.

7. [He scatters the loose soil<sup>1</sup>, with, *Vâg. S. XV*, 56; *Rig-veda I*, 11, 1], ‘They all have magnified Indra,’—for all beings, indeed, magnify Indra;—‘the voices, him, of ocean-wide extent,’—he thereby alludes to his greatness;—‘the foremost of charioteers,’—for of charioteers he is the greatest charioteer;—‘the lordly lord of viands,’—viands mean food : thus, ‘the lordly lord of food.’ With this *anushṭubh* verse addressed to Indra he scatters it; for the loose soil belongs to Indra : that (layer of) loose soil is one half of Agni (the fire-altar), the (other) half is the collection of bricks.

8. Here, now, they say, ‘Whilst he lays down the bricks with all kinds of metres, and with (verses addressed to) all deities, he now scatters (the soil) with a single (verse) addressed to a single deity,—how is this one half of Agni?’ Indra, surely, is equal to all the gods; hence in that he scatters it with a (verse) addressed to Indra, this (soil) is one half of Agni. And as to its being (done) with an *anushṭubh* verse,—the *Anushṭubh* is speech, and all metres are speech : thereby also it is one half.

9. He then lays down the *Vikarṇī* and *Svayam-âtrinnâ* (bricks),—the *Vikarṇī* is *Vâyu* (the wind), and the last naturally-perforated one is the sky : he thus sets up both the wind and the sky. He lays them down as the last (highest), for wind and sky are the highest; and close together, for wind and

<sup>1</sup> Taking it from the edge of the *Kâtavâla* or pit, cf. VII, 1, 1, 36.

sky are close together. The Vikarṇī he lays down first : he thereby places the wind on this side of the sky ; whence that wind blows only on this side (thereof).

10. And, again, as to why he lays down the Vikarṇī. When, on that (former) occasion, they make the horse smell (the pile of bricks of) the (first) layer<sup>1</sup>, then yonder sun strings these worlds to himself on a thread. Now that thread is the same as the wind ; and that wind is the same as this Vikarṇī : thus when he lays down the latter, then yonder sun strings to himself these worlds on a thread.

11. And, again, as to why he lays down the Vikarṇī and the Svayamâtrinnâ ; the Vikarṇī, doubtless, is vital power, and the naturally-perforated one is vital air : he thus bestows both vital power and vital air. He lays them down as the two last (highest bricks), because vital power and vital air are the two highest (endowments) ; and close together, because vital power and vital air are closely (bound) together. The upper (northern) Vikarṇī he lays down first<sup>2</sup> : he thereby encloses the vital air on both sides in vital power.

12. [He lays it down, with, Vâg. S. XV, 62 ; *Rig-veda* VII, 3, 2], 'When, like a snorting steed, that longeth for the pasture, he started forth from the great enclosure, then the wind fanned his flame, and black then was thy path ;'—for when the wind fans his (Agni's) flame,

<sup>1</sup> See VII, 3, 2, 13.

<sup>2</sup> As 'uttarâm' means both 'northern' and 'higher,' so 'pûrvâm' means both 'first' and 'eastern,' hence, by a whimsical play on these double meanings, 'on both (or two) sides.'

then his path does become black. With a trishṭubh verse he lays it down, because Vāyu (the wind) is of trishṭubh nature; with one relating to Agni, because it is Agni's performance; with an undefined one, because Vāyu is undefined. And as to his saying 'the wind,' Vāyu indeed is the wind.

13. He then lays down the Svayamâtrinnâ, with (Vâg. S. XV, 63), 'I seat thee in the seat of the vital power,'—the vital power, doubtless, is yonder (sun), and his seat this is;—'the animating,'—for he (the sun) animates all this universe;—'in the shadow,'—for in his shadow all this universe is;—'in the heart of the sea,'—for this, indeed, is the heart of the (aerial) sea<sup>1</sup>;—'the radiant, the luminous,'—for radiant and luminous is the sky;—'thou that illumines the sky, the earth and the wide air;'—for thus, indeed, does he (the sun) illumine these worlds.

14. 'May Parameshṭhin settle thee,'—for Parameshṭhin saw this fifth layer<sup>2</sup>.

15. And, again, as to why he lays it down by means of Parameshṭhin. When Pragâpati had become disjointed, the deities took him and went off in different directions. Parameshṭhin took his head, and kept going away from him.

16. He spake to him, 'Come to me and restore unto me that wherewith thou hast gone from me!'—'What will therefrom accrue to me?'—'That part of my body shall be sacred to thee!'—'So be it!' So Parameshṭhin restored that to him.

17. Now that last self-perforated (brick) is just

<sup>1</sup> The topmost naturally-perforated brick represents the heavens.

<sup>2</sup> See VI, 2, 3, 5; 10.

that part of him (Pragâpati-Agni); and when he now lays it down in this place, he thereby restores to him what part of his body this is: that is why he lays it down in this place.

18. 'On the back of the sky, thee, the wide and broad one!'—for this (top of the altar) is indeed the back of the sky, and it is both wide and broad<sup>1</sup>;—'Sustain thou the sky! make firm the sky! injure not the sky!'—that is, 'Sustain thy self, make firm thy self, injure not thy self (body)!'

19. 'For all out-breathing, off-breathing, through-breathing, up-breathing!'—the naturally-perforated (brick) is the vital air, and the vital air truly serves for everything here;—'for a resting-place, for a moving-place!'—the naturally-perforated (bricks) are these worlds, and these worlds are the resting-place and the moving-place;—'May Sûrya guard thee,'—that is, 'May Sûrya protect thee,'—'with mighty well-being,'—that is, 'with great well-being;'—'with the safest roof!'—that is, 'with whatever roof (abode) is the safest.'

20. Separately he lays them down, for separate are wind and sky; and once only he 'settles' them: he thereby makes them the same, for vital power and vital air are the same. They are both of them stones and both of them naturally-perforated; for vital power and vital air are the same. He then pronounces the Sûdadohas over them,—the Sûdadohas means vital air; he thus makes them

---

<sup>1</sup> Though, in the text of the formula, the adjectives are feminine, and evidently refer to the brick, the author here makes them neuter, referring them to 'prish/ham,' the back (of the sky).

continuous, joins them together by means of the vital air.

21. 'Those his well-like milking ones',—a well (sûda) means water, and milking means food;—'the speckled ones mix the Soma,'—the speckled (cow) means food;—'at the birth of the gods,'—the birth of the gods is the year;—'the tribes,'—the tribes (vis), doubtless, are the sacrifice, for all beings are ranged (vishṭa)<sup>2</sup> under the sacrifice;—'in the three spheres of the heavens,'—the three spheres of the heavens, doubtless, are the (three) pressings (of Soma): he thus means the pressings. With an anushṭubh verse (he performs this rite), for the Anushṭubh is speech, and speech (includes) all vital airs; and by means of speech, that is vital air, he thus makes these two (bricks) continuous, and joins them together. This same Sûdadohas, whilst being a single (verse), extends over all the bricks, whence—the Sûdadohas being the vital air—this vital air, whilst being one only, extends over all the limbs, over the whole body.

#### FOURTH BRĀHMANA.

1. On the (three) naturally-perforated (bricks) he (the Sacrificer) sings sâmans; for the naturally-perforated ones are these (three) worlds; and they

<sup>1</sup> Part iii, p. 307, note 2, the following translation of this difficult and obscure verse was proposed:—'At his birth the well-like milking, speckled ones mix the Soma (draught), the clans of the gods in the three spheres of the heavens.'

<sup>2</sup> Literally, have entered, or settled. At XIV, 8, 13, 3, the same etymological word-play occurs, only 'food (anne)' being substituted for 'sacrifice (yagñe)'; where the St. Petersb. Dict. takes 'vishṭa' in the sense of 'entered, i. e. contained.'



are just these (ordinary) stones. The gods, having laid them down, saw them as such: that they were dry stones.

2. They spake, 'Think ye upon this, how we may lay sap, the means of subsistence, into these worlds!' They spake, 'Meditate ye!' whereby, doubtless, they meant to say, 'Seek ye a layer! seek ye how we may lay sap, the means of subsistence, into these worlds!'

3. Whilst meditating, they saw these sâmans (hymn-tunes), and sang them; and by means of them they laid sap, the means of subsistence, into these worlds; and in like manner does the Sacrificer now, when he sings these sâmans, lay sap, the means of subsistence, into these worlds.

4. Over the naturally-perforated ones he sings them: the naturally-perforated ones being these worlds, it is into these worlds that he thereby lays sap, the means of subsistence.

5. He sings (the tunes) on the (mystic) words 'Bhûs, Bhuvās, Svar';—bhûs (earth), doubtless, is this world, bhuvās is the air-world, and svar (light) is yonder world: into these worlds he thereby lays sap, the means of subsistence.

6. They have different preludes, and the same finale<sup>1</sup>; and as to their having different preludes, it

<sup>1</sup> These hymn-tunes are given, Sām. Ved. V, p. 487, in the way in which they are here to be chanted. They consist entirely of the respective words, separated four times by musical interjections (stobhas) inserted between them, ending with the common finale: thus, (1) bhûh-bhûh-hoyi-bhûh-hoyi-bhûh-hâ-ûvâ-e-suvargyotî-h; (2) bhuvâh-bhuvâh-hoyi-bhuvâh-hâ-ûvâ-e-suvargyotî-h; (3) suvâh-suvâh-hoyi-suvâh-hoyi-suvâh-hâ-ûvâ-e-suvargyotî-h. Along with these, as to be chanted on the same model, are given, (4) the 'satyam sâman,' beginning 'satyâm-satyam-hoyi' &c., and

is because they (the gods) saw them separately; and as to their having the same finale (nidhana), it is because there is only one foundation, only one finale to the sacrifice—even heaven: therefore they have ‘svar-gyotis (heaven-light)’ for their finale.

7. He then bestrews him (Agni, the fire-altar and Agni’s body) with chips of gold. Now that whole Agni had been completed, and the gods bestowed on him immortality, that highest form; and in like manner does this one now bestow upon him that highest, immortal form<sup>1</sup>.

8. And, again, as to why he bestrews him with chips of gold. Now on that former occasion he first lays into him that pleasing form, the gold plate and the (gold) man<sup>2</sup>; and he now decks him all over with a pleasing form.

9. With two hundred (chips he bestrews him) each time,—two-footed is the Sacrificer, and Agni

---

(5) the ‘purusha-sâman,’ beginning ‘purushâh-purusha-hoyi’ &c.; which are similarly chanted by the Sacrificer at the beginning of the first layer, when laying down the lotus leaf (part iii, p. 363, where note 1 should be corrected in accordance with the present note), and the gold man (ib. p. 369, where the note requires likewise to be corrected), as the ‘*kitre gâyati*,’ ‘he sings on the bright one,’ of the text cannot refer to the ‘*Kitra-sâman*’ there referred to. Cf. *Lâty. S. I*, 5, 8.—In regard to these sâmans (hymn-verses), the text might lead one to suppose that they only consist of two, instead of the usual four parts (omitting the intermediate Udgîtha and Pratihâra, cf. part ii, p. 310 note). The sâman being, however, sung by the Sacrificer himself, the usual distinction into parts to be performed by different chanters was probably dispensed with.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the Sacrificer bestows it on Agni; with probably, however, the *double entente*, ‘this Adhvaryu priest bestows it on the Sacrificer.’

<sup>2</sup> See VII, 4, 1, 10 seq.; 15 seq.

is the sacrificer : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus bestows upon him immortality, that highest form. Five times (he strews),—five-layered is the altar, five seasons make a year, and Agni is the year : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus bestows upon him immortality, that highest form. With a thousand (chips he bestrews him),—a thousand means everything : with everything he thus confers upon him immortality, that highest form.

10. First (he scatters them) at the back whilst standing with his face towards the east ; then on the left (north) side towards the south ; then in front whilst facing the west ; then, having gone round the back, from the south whilst facing the north : this is from left to right (sunwise), for that is (the way) with the gods. Then, having gone round, (he scatters chips) at the back whilst standing with his face to the east, for in this way that former performance of him<sup>1</sup> took place.

11. [He scatters, with, Vâg. S. XV, 65], 'The fore-measure of a thousand thou art,—The counter-measure of a thousand thou art,—The up-measure of a thousand thou art,—The thousandfold thou art,—For a thousand thee!'—a thousand, doubtless, means everything : thus, 'Everything thou art,—thee for everything!'

12. Now, then, the consideration of the layer-fillings. The first layer is this (terrestrial) world ; and the filling of soil means cattle : thus, in

---

<sup>1</sup> Viz. of Agni (and the Sacrificer). The ceremony alluded to was the fivefold libation of ghee offered on the gold man (representing Agni and the Sacrificer), see VII, 4, 1, 34-35.

covering the first layer with a filling of soil he covers this (terrestrial) world with cattle.

13. The second layer is the air, and the filling of soil means birds: thus, in covering the second layer with a filling of soil, he covers (fills) the air with birds.

14. The third layer is the sky, and the filling of soil means stars; thus, in covering the third layer with a filling of soil, he covers the sky with stars.

15. The fourth layer is the sacrifice, and the filling of soil means sacrificial gifts: thus, in covering the fourth layer with a filling of soil, he covers the sacrifice with sacrificial gifts (to the priests).

16. The fifth layer is the Sacrificer, and the filling of soil means progeny (or subjects): thus, in covering the fifth layer with a filling of soil, he covers (abundantly supplies) the Sacrificer with progeny (or subjects).

17. The sixth layer is the heavenly world, and the filling of soil means the gods: thus in covering the sixth layer with a filling of soil, he fills the heavenly world with gods.

18. The seventh layer is immortality,—that is the last (layer) he lays down, and thus bestows immortality as the highest thing of all this (universe): therefore immortality is the highest thing of all this (universe); therefore the gods are not separated therefrom; and therefore they are immortal. Thus much as to the deity<sup>1</sup>.

19. Now, as to the Self (body). The first layer is the legs, and the downward flowing vital air; and

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, so much as to the objects to which the different parts of the altar are sacred or dedicated.

the filling of soil is the flesh: thus, in covering the first layer with a filling of soil, he covers that (part) of his (Agni's) body with flesh. [He does so] after laying down bricks, and bricks mean bone: he thus covers the bone with flesh. He does not cover (the altar-site) below (the first layer), whence these vital airs are not closed up below; but he covers it above, and thereby covers that (part) of his body above with flesh; and hence that (part) of his body above, being covered with flesh, is not visible.

20. The second layer is that (part of the body) which is above the legs and below the waist; and the filling of soil is flesh: thus, in covering the second layer with a filling of soil, he covers that (part) of his body with flesh. [He does so] after laying down bricks, and bricks mean bone: he thus covers the bone with flesh. He places them on a filling of soil, and covers them with a filling of soil: he thus covers that (part) of his body on both sides with flesh; whence that part of his body, being on both sides covered with flesh, is not visible.

21. The third layer is the waist itself; the fourth layer is that (part of the body) which is above the waist and below the neck; the fifth layer is the neck, the sixth layer is the head, and the seventh layer is the vital airs. This he lays down as the last (or highest): he thus makes the vital airs the highest of all this (universe), and hence the vital airs are the highest thing of all this (universe). He places it on a filling of soil; and the filling of soil means flesh; he thus covers (the channels of) the vital airs with flesh. He does not cover it above, whence these (channels of the) vital airs are not closed up above.

## NINTH KĀṆDA.

THE BUILDING OF THE SACRED FIRE-ALTAR  
(continued).SATARUDRIYA LUSTRATION, INSTALMENT AND  
CONSECRATION OF FIRE, AND SOMA-SACRIFICE.

## FIRST ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMANA.

## THE SATARUDRIYA.

THIS solemn and awful ceremony consists of 425 oblations to Rudra, the representative of the fearful aspects of life and nature, accompanied by appropriate formulas addressed to the various forms of the terrible god, and his associates, with a view to appeasing their wrath. These formulas make up a complete *kāṇḍa* (XVI) of the *Vāgasaneyi-samhitā*, and constitute a special Upanishad. Though only a few of the formulas are actually referred to in the text of the *Brāhmaṇa*, the different portions of which this dismal litany consists are otherwise alluded to, and for this reason, as well as on account of its intrinsic interest, as doubtless reflecting, to a considerable extent, the popular belief in demoniac agencies to which man is constantly exposed, a complete translation of the Satarudriya formulas is here given. For a German translation of the *Taittirīya* recension of the text, with the various readings of the *Kāṇḍa* and *Vāgasaneyin* versions, see A. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* II, p. 14 seqq.

I. 1. Reverence, O Rudra, be to thy wrath; and to thine arrow be reverence; and to both thine arms be reverence! 2. What auspicious form there is of thine, free from terror and boding of evil, with that most propitious form look down upon us, O mountain-dweller! 3. The shaft thou bearest in thy hand to hurl, O mountain-dweller, make it harmless, O protector of mountains, injure not man nor beast! 4. With auspicious speech we call upon thee, O mountain-dweller, that all these living beings of ours may

be healthy and of good cheer! 5. May he plead for us as our intercessor, the first divine physician : crushing all serpents, turn thou aside all practices of witchcraft! 6. That tawny one, and the ruddy and the brown one, the auspicious—the Rudras that hover around him by thousands in the quarters : their wrath do we deprecate. 7. That one who glideth downwards (the sun) blood-red and blue-necked—the cowherds have seen him and the water-bearers (f. the clouds) have seen him—be he gracious unto us, when seen! 8. Reverence be to the blue-necked, thousand-eyed showerer; and what henchmen there are of his, to them do I render homage. 9. Loose thou the string from the ends of thy bow; and cast away the arrows in thy hand, O holy one! 10. Stringless be the bow of the coil-braided one, and arrowless his quiver! may his arrows be futile, and empty his scabbard! 11. With that plague-repelling weapon in thy hand, with thy bow, protect us, O best of showerers, on all sides! 12. May the shaft of thy bow spare us on all sides, and far from us lay down that quiver of thine! 13. Unstringing the bow, and breaking off the points of thy shafts, be thou gracious and well-disposed unto us, O thousand-eyed lord of a hundred quivers! 14. Reverence be to thine unstrung weapon, the powerful one; and reverence be to thine arms and to thy bow! 15. Neither our full-grown, nor our little one, neither the virile, nor the unborn, neither our father strike thou, nor our mother : harm not our dear bodies, O Rudra! 16. Neither to our children, and our children's children, nor to our life, neither to our kine nor to our horses do thou injury! smite not our shining warriors : with offering we ever invoke thee, O Rudra!

II. 17. Reverence be to the golden-armed leader of hosts, and to the lord of regions be reverence! reverence be to the green-haired trees, and to the lord of beasts be reverence! reverence be to the grass-hued shining one, and to the lord of roads be reverence! reverence be to the gold-locked wearer of the sacred cord, and to the lord of the strong-bodied be reverence! 18. Reverence be to the dusky smiter, and to the lord of food be reverence! reverence be to Bhava's weapon, and to the lord of moving creatures be reverence! reverence be to the strung-bowed Rudra, and to the lord of fields be reverence! reverence be to the inviolable charioteer, and to the lord of forests be reverence! 19. Reverence be to the ruddy architect, and to the lord of trees be reverence! reverence be to the ubiquitous producer of wealth, and to the lord of plants be reverence! reverence be to the wise merchant, and to the lord of forest retreats be reverence! reverence be to the loud-noised crier,

and to the lord of wanderers be reverence! 20. Reverence be to the onward-rushing one with his (weapon) levelled everywhere, and to the lord of beings be reverence! reverence be to the victorious smiter, and to the lord of victorious (hosts) be reverence! reverence be to the matchless swordsman, and to the lord of thieves be reverence! reverence be to the prowling rover, and to the lord of the forest be reverence! 21. Reverence be to the tricking arch-trickster, and to the lord of pilferers be reverence! reverence be to the well-quivered swordsman, and to the lord of robbers be reverence! reverence be to the slaying spearmen, and to the lord of pillagers be reverence! reverence be to the night-walking sword-wielders, and to the lord of cut-throats be reverence!

III. 22. Reverence be to the turbaned mountaineer, and to the lord of spoilers be reverence! reverence be to shooters of arrows, and to ye bowmen be reverence! reverence be to the bow-stretching, and to ye that fix the arrow be reverence! reverence be to ye that pull (the bow), and to ye that hurl be reverence! 23. Reverence be to ye that shoot, and to ye that pierce be reverence! reverence be to ye that sleep, and to ye that wake be reverence! reverence be to ye, the lying, and to ye, the sitting, be reverence! reverence be to ye, the standing, and to ye, the running, be reverence! 24. Reverence be to gatherings, and to ye, lords of the gathering, be reverence! reverence be to horses, and to ye, masters of horses, be reverence! reverence be to the victorious (armies), and to ye that smite be reverence! reverence be to the serried (hosts), and to ye that crush be reverence! 25. Reverence be to the troops, and to ye, chiefs of troops, be reverence! reverence be to the bands, and to ye, chiefs of bands, be reverence! reverence be to sharpers, and to ye, chiefs of sharpers, be reverence! reverence be to the unshapen, and to ye, the all-shaped, be reverence! 26. Reverence be to armies, and to ye, leaders of armies, be reverence! reverence be to chariot-fighters, and to ye, the chariotless, be reverence! reverence be to car-fighters, and to ye, charioteers, be reverence! reverence be to the adult, and to ye, children, be reverence!

IV. 27. Reverence be to carpenters, and to ye, wheelwrights, be reverence! reverence be to potters, and to ye, blacksmiths, be reverence! reverence be to the jungle tribes, and to ye, fishermen, be reverence! reverence be to dog-keepers, and to ye huntsmen be reverence! 28. Reverence be to dogs, and to ye masters of dogs be reverence! reverence be to Bhava and to Rudra! reverence be to Sarva and to Paśupati (lord of beasts)! reverence be to Nilagrīva



(the blue-necked) and to *Sitikantha* (the white-throated)! 29. Reverence be to him of the coiled hair and to the shaven-haired one! reverence be to the thousand-eyed and to the hundred-bowed one! reverence be to the mountain-dweller and to the bald one! reverence be to the chief of showerers and to the arrow-shooter! 30. Reverence be to the short and the dwarfish one! reverence be to the tall and the old one! reverence be to the full-grown and the growing one! reverence be to the topmost and first one! 31. Reverence be to the swift and agile one! reverence be to the fast and nimble one! reverence be to the surging and roaring one! reverence be to the river-dweller and the isle-dweller!

V. 32. Reverence be to the eldest and to the youngest! reverence be to the firstborn and to the afterborn! reverence be to the middlemost and to the abortive (?) one! reverence be to the hindmost and to the bottommost one! 33. Reverence be to him dwelling in the air-castles, and to him in the magic cord-ring! reverence be to him who is in Yama's (death's) power, and to him who liveth in safety! reverence be to him in (the height of his) fame, and to him who is at his end! reverence be to him on the tilled land, and to him on the threshing-floor! 34. Reverence be to him dwelling in the wood, and to him in the jungle! reverence be to the sound and to the echo! reverence be to him of the swift army, and to him of the swift chariot! reverence be to the hero and the shatterer! 35. Reverence be to the helmeted and the armoured one! reverence be to the mailed and the cuirassed one! reverence be to the famous one, and to the leader of the famous army! reverence be to him dwelling in the drum, and to him in the drum-stick! 36. Reverence be to the bold, and the deliberate one! reverence be to the swordsman, and to the quiver-bearer! reverence be to the sharp-shafted and the armed one! reverence be to the well-armed one, and to the wielder of a goodly bow!

VI. 37. Reverence be to him dwelling in the stream, and to him on the road! reverence be to him in the mere (?), and to him in the pool! reverence be to him in the ditch, and to him in the lake! reverence be to him in the river, and to him in the pond! 38. Reverence be to him dwelling in the well, and to him in the bank! reverence be to him in the clouded sky (?), and to him in the heat of the sun! reverence be to him in the cloud, and to him in the lightning! reverence be to him in the rain, and to him in the drought! 39. Reverence be to him dwelling in the wind, and to him in the storm-cloud (?)! reverence be to him dwelling in the house, and to the guardian of the house! reverence be to Soma

and Rudra! reverence be to the dusky and the ruddy one! 40. Reverence be to the propitious one, and to the lord of beasts! reverence be to the terrible and fearful one! reverence be to the near-hitter and the far-hitter! reverence be to the slayer and the slaughterer! reverence be to the gold-haired trees! reverence be to the deliverer!

VII. 41. Reverence be to the gentle and the friendly one! reverence be to the peaceful and pleasing one! reverence be to the kindly and the kindest!

VIII. 42. Reverence be to him who is on the further shore, and to him on the near shore! reverence be to him who ferrieth over, and to him who bringeth ashore! reverence be to him dwelling in the ford, and to him on the bank! reverence be to him dwelling in the sward, and to him in the foam! 43. Reverence be to him dwelling in the sand, and to him in the current! reverence be to him dwelling in the stony and to him in habitable places! reverence be to the coil-haired and to the straight-haired (?) one! reverence be to him dwelling in barren land, and to him on the beaten track! 44. Reverence be to him dwelling in the cow-pen, and to him in the cattle-shed! reverence be to him dwelling in the couch, and to him in the house! reverence be to him dwelling in the heart, and to him in the whirlpool! reverence be to him dwelling in the well, and to him in the abyss! 45. Reverence be to him dwelling in what is dried up, and to him in what is green! reverence be to him dwelling in the dust, and to him in the mist! reverence be to him dwelling in the copse, and to him in the shrub! reverence be to him in the ground, and to him in the gully! 46. Reverence be to him dwelling in the leaf, and to him in the leaf-fall (sere leaf)! reverence be to the growler, and to the smiter! reverence be to the snatcher, and to the repeller (?)! reverence be to the arrow-makers, and to ye bow-makers!—Reverence be to ye, the sparkling hearts of the gods! reverence be to the discriminating, reverence to the destructive, reverence to the irremovable!

IX. 47. Chaser, lord of the (Soma) plant! blue-red cleaver! fright and hurt not these people and these cattle: let none of us sicken! 48. These prayers we bring before the mighty Rudra, the coil-braided smiter of heroes, that there may be safety for the two-footed and the four-footed, and that everything in this village may be healthy and thriving. 49. That friendly form of thine, O Rudra, friendly and ever healing, friendly and healing to the stricken: therewith be gracious unto us that we may live! 50. May the shaft of Rudra spare us, and the ill-will of the violent and malevo-

lent one : unstring the strong (bow) from (hurting) our patrons, O showerer (of gifts), and be gracious unto our children and our children's children! 51. Be thou kindly *and* well-disposed towards us, O kindest chief of showerers, lay down thy weapon on the highest tree, and putting on the hide come and join us, bearing the spear! 52. O blood-red scatterer, reverence be unto thee, holy one, let those thousand shafts of thine lay low another than us! 53. The thousandfold thousand shafts of thine arms—turn thou away their heads from us, O holy lord! 54. What countless thousands of Rudras there are upon earth, their bows do we unstring (and cast away) at a thousand leagues. 55. The Bhavas in this great sea, the air : their bows do we unstring at a thousand leagues. 56. The blue-necked, white-throated Rudras seated in the sky : their bows do we unstring at a thousand leagues. 57. The blue-necked, white-throated Sarvas dwelling below the earth : their bows do we unstring at a thousand leagues. 58. The grass-green in the trees, the blue-necked, blood-red ones : their bows do we unstring at a thousand leagues. 59. They who are the chiefs of spirits, hairless and coil-braided : their bows do we unstring at a thousand leagues. 60. They who are the guardians of roads, food-bearers, life-fighters (?) : their bows do we unstring at a thousand leagues. 61. They who haunt the bathing-places, wielders of spear and sword : their bows do we unstring at a thousand leagues. 62. They who strike men at their meals, and in their cups those that drink : their bows do we unstring at a thousand leagues. 63. What Rudras are scattered over the regions, so many and more : their bows do we unstring at a thousand leagues.—64. Reverence be to the Rudras dwelling in the sky, whose arrows the rain is! to them (I stretch) ten (fingers) eastward, ten southward, ten westward, ten northward, ten upward : to them be reverence! may they be gracious unto us and help us : whomsoever we hate, and whosoever hateth us, him we cast into their jaws! 65. Reverence be to the Rudras dwelling in the air, whose arrows the wind is! to them (I stretch) ten (fingers) eastward, ten southward, ten westward, ten northward, ten upward : to them be reverence! may they be gracious unto us and help us : whomsoever we hate, and whosoever hateth us, him we cast into their jaws! 66. Reverence be to the Rudras dwelling upon earth, whose arrows food is! to them (I stretch) ten (fingers) eastward, ten southward, ten westward, ten northward, ten upward : to them be reverence! may they be gracious unto us and help us : whomsoever we hate, and whosoever hateth us, him we cast into their jaws!

1. He then performs the Satarudriya offering! This whole Agni has now<sup>1</sup> been completed: he now is the deity Rudra. Upon him the gods bestowed that highest form, immortality. Flaming he there stood longing for food. The gods were afraid of him lest he should hurt them.

2. They spake, 'Let us gather together food for him: therewith we will appease him!' They gathered for him that food, the Sântadevatya<sup>2</sup>, and thereby appeased him; and inasmuch as they thereby appeased (sam) the god (deva), it is called Sântadevatya;—Sântadevatya, doubtless, is here called mystically 'Satarudriya<sup>3</sup>,' for the gods love the mystic. And in like manner does this Sacrificer now bestow upon him that highest form, immortality. Flaming he there stands, longing for food. He gathers for him that food, the Sântadevatya, and thereby appeases him.

3. He offers wild sesamum seeds. He (Agni) grows when he is being built up: he grows for (the consumption) of every kind of food. And wild sesamum seeds represent both kinds of food, the cultivated as well as the wild-growing: inasmuch as they are sesamum seeds they are a cultivated (kind of food), and inasmuch as they ripen on unploughed land they are wild-growing; he thus satisfies him with both kinds of food, the cultivated as well as the wild-growing.

---

<sup>1</sup> Or, here, in this (atra), in the shape of this (altar) on which the fire is to be deposited.

<sup>2</sup> That is, that whereby the deity is propitiated or appeased.

<sup>3</sup> A fanciful etymology of Sata-rudriya, as if it were sânta (propitiated) + rudriya, instead of 'that which relates to a hundred Rudras'; cf. paragraph 7.

4. He offers by means of an arka-leaf<sup>1</sup>,—the Arka-tree (*Calotropis gigantea*) is food: he thus gratifies him with food.

5. He offers on (three) enclosing-stones:—these enclosing-stones are the (three) Agnis; and thus it is over Agni himself that these oblations of his become offered.

6. And as to why he performs the Satarudriya offering. When Pragâpati had become disjointed, the deities departed from him. Only one god did not leave him, to wit, Manyu (wrath): extended he remained within. He (Pragâpati) cried, and the tears of him that fell down settled on Manyu. He became the hundred-headed, thousand-eyed, hundred-quivered Rudra. And the other drops that fell down, spread over these worlds in countiess numbers, by thousands; and inasmuch as they originated from crying (rud), they were called Rudras (roarers). That hundred-headed, thousand-eyed, hundred-quivered Rudra, with his bow strung, and his arrow fitted to the string, was inspiring fear, being in quest of food. The gods were afraid of him.

7. They spake unto Pragâpati, 'We are afraid of this one, lest he should hurt us!' He spake, 'Gather food for him, and appease him therewith!' They gathered for him that food, the Satarudriya (offering), and thereby appeased him; and inasmuch as they thereby appeased (sam) the hundred-headed (sataśrsha) Rudra, it is called Sataśrsharudrasamanīya, —and sataśrsharudrasamanīya, doubtless, is what

---

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, the leaf is used in lieu of the ordinary offering-spoon. Whilst making continual oblations on one of the three stones from this leaf, held in his right hand, the priest holds a piece of arka wood in his left hand. Mahidh. on Vâg. S. XVI, 1.

they mystically call Satarudriya, for the gods love the mystic. And in like manner does this (Sacrificer) now gather for him that food, the Satarudriya, and appease him thereby.

8. He offers gavedhukâ flour; for from the place where that deity lay disjointed, gavedhukâ plants (coix barbata) sprang forth: he thus gratifies him by his own portion, by his own life-sap.

9. He offers by means of an arka-leaf; for that tree sprang from the resting-place of that god: he thus gratifies him by his own portion, by his own life-sap.

10. He offers on (three) enclosing-stones<sup>1</sup>, for the enclosing-stones are the hair, and neither poison nor anything else injures one at the hair. He offers whilst standing on the left (north) side of Agni (the altar), with his face to the north; for in that region lies the house of that god<sup>2</sup>: it is thus in his own region that he gratifies him, in his own region he contents him with offering.

11. The first Svâhâ ('hail') he utters on the knee-high one,—what is knee-high is, as it were, below, and below, as it were, is this (terrestrial) world: he thus gratifies those Rudras who entered this world.

12. Then on the navel-high one,—what is navel-

<sup>1</sup> The site of the altar is enclosed within a continuous line of 261 parisrits, about half a foot in width, running along its edge. Their height is indeterminate, with the exception of three of them, dug in at the back (west) corner of the left wing, of which one is to reach up to the knee, the second up to the navel, and the third up to the mouth; each of the latter two standing to the left (north) of the preceding one.

<sup>2</sup> See I, 7, 3, 20, with note. Agni, in the form of the formidable Rudra (who is to be kept at a distance), is referred to.

high is, as it were, the middle ; and the middle, as it were, is the air-world : he thus gratifies those Rudras who entered the air-world.

13. Then on the one reaching up to the mouth,—what reaches up to the mouth is, as it were, above, and above, as it were, is yonder world : he thus gratifies those Rudras who entered yonder world. [He does so] with Svâhâ,—the Svâhâ is food : with food he thus gratifies them.

14. [He offers, with, Vâg. S. XVI, 1], ‘Reverence, O Rudra, be to thy wrath!’ he thereby does reverence to that wrath which remained extended within him ;—‘And to thine arrow be reverence, and to both thine arms be reverence!’ for it was by his arrow and his arms that he was inspiring fear.

15. That god who became the hundred-headed (Rudra) is the chief (kshatra <sup>1</sup>), and those others who originated from the drops are the peasants (clansmen) : those peasants in the first place assigned to that chief this as his special share, to wit, this first chapter of formulas <sup>2</sup>, and gratified him thereby. And in like manner does this (Sacrificer) now assign this to him as his special fore-share, and gratify him thereby. Hence this (section) is addressed to a single deity, to Rudra ; for it is him he thereby gratifies.

16. There are here fourteen formulas,—thirteen months are a year, and Pragâpati is the fourteenth ;

<sup>1</sup> Literally, the ruling power.

<sup>2</sup> The first anuvâka of kâṇḍa XVI of the Vâg. S. consists of sixteen verses ; which of these the fourteen referred to in the next paragraph are is not clear to me.

and Pragâpati is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much food he thus gratifies him. 'Reverence! reverence!' he says;—reverence being sacrifice, it is by sacrifice, by reverence, that he thus reveres him. Therefore he must not mention any one unworthy of sacrifice, for it would be just as if he were to say to him, 'Sacrifice be to thee!'

17. He then makes offering to those forming pairs<sup>1</sup>: 'Reverence to so and so! reverence to so and so!' It is as if he were to say, 'Thou, N. N., and this one, do not ye two injure us!' for in no wise does a man who is known and appealed to<sup>2</sup> injure us.

18. [Vâg. S. XVI, 17], 'Reverence be to the golden-armed leader of hosts, and to the lord of regions be reverence!' for he (Rudra-Agni) is indeed the golden-armed<sup>3</sup> leader of hosts, and the lord of regions. And in that everything in this second chapter of formulas applies to one and the same deity, thereby he gratifies that (god Rudra), and makes the chief to have a share in the people (or the clan): hence whatever belongs to the people<sup>4</sup>, in that the chieftain has a share. And those (Rudras) that spread over these worlds, countless, by thousands<sup>5</sup>, they are the deities to whom he now offers.

19. He thus makes offering to the tribes (of Rudras), for it was those tribes, those Rudras, that spread, and wheresoever they are there he thereby gratifies them. And thus, indeed, (he gratifies) those tribes of Rudras; and, men being after the

<sup>1</sup> That is from Vâg. S. XVI, 17 seqq.

<sup>2</sup> Or, who is appealed to as being known to us, i.e. in terms showing that he is known to us.

<sup>3</sup> That is, aureis brachiis instructus.

<sup>4</sup> Pragâyâ yad dhanam asti, Sây.

<sup>5</sup> See paragraph 28.



manner of the gods, therefore also these tribes of men : tribe after tribe he thus gratifies them.

20. Now some of these (formulas) have 'reverence' on both sides, and others on one side only ;—more terrible and more unappeased, indeed, are those (Rudras) that have 'reverence' on both sides : on both sides he thereby appeases them by sacrifice, by reverence.

21. With (each set of) eighty (formulas) he utters the Svâhâ <sup>1</sup>,—on the first anuvâka, and on eighty, and on eighty ; and the formulas which follow as far as the 'unstringing'-formulas (Vâg. S. XVI, 54-63),—eighties <sup>2</sup> mean food : by means of food he thus gratifies them.

22. He thus mutters these formulas (the last four of Vâg. S. XVI, 46), 'Reverence be to you, the sparkling (hearts of the gods) !' for this is his favourite resort, either as a dear son or the heart : hence whenever he should be in fear of that god (Rudra), let him offer with those mystic utterances, for he draws nigh unto the favourite resort of that god, and so that god does not injure him.

23. 'Reverence be to you, the sparkling <sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> The calculation here, as so often in regard to metres, is rather a loose one. Anuvâka I, consisting of sixteen verses, is taken as amounting to the first fourscore formulas ; anuvâkas II and III, consisting of ten *kanḍikâs* (each of which is calculated to consist of eight mantras), constitute the second fourscore ; anuvâkas IV and V again form the third fourscore ; anuvâkas VI-VIII (save the last four formulas, see parag. 22), the fourth fourscore ; and from there to the 'unstringing'-formulas, that is, from within XVI, 46 to 53, the fifth fourscore. At the end of each eighty formulas he is to utter one Svâhâ (*sakṛî svâhâkâraḥ*, Sây.).

<sup>2</sup> An etymological play on the word 'asṭi,' as if derived from *as*, to eat.

<sup>3</sup> ? Or, scatterers, sprinklers (*kirika*), root *krî*. The author of the

for those (Rudras) produce (kar) everything here,—‘hearts of the gods!’—Agni, Vāyu and Āditya (fire, wind and sun), these truly are the hearts of the gods;—‘Reverence to the discriminating!’—for those (gods) discriminate everything here;—‘Reverence to the destructive!’—for those (gods) destroy whom they wish to destroy;—‘Reverence to the irremovable!’—for those (gods) are not (to be) removed from these worlds.

24. He then mutters those that follow (Vāg. S. XVI, 47 seq.), ‘Chaser! lord of the (Soma) plant!’—that (god) is indeed a repeller, for he chases away whom he wishes to chase away;—‘lord of the plant’—that is, ‘lord of the Soma-plant;’—‘O blue-red cleaver’<sup>1</sup>;—these are names and forms of him: he thus gratifies him by calling him by his names;—‘frighten and hurt not these people and these cattle! let none of us sicken!’ as the text, so the sense.

25. That god (Rudra) is the kshatra (ruling power; chieftainship or chief); and for that chief these peasants set apart this special fore-share, to wit, that first section (of formulas); and now he (the Sacrificer) sets apart for him that after-share, and thereby gratifies him; and hence this (section) also belongs to a single deity, to wit, to Rudra; for it is him he thereby gratifies.

---

Brāhmaṇa, on the other hand, evidently takes it in the sense of ‘maker, producer.’

<sup>1</sup> Thus (‘Zerspalter’) *daridra* is probably correctly interpreted (from root ‘dar,’ to split) by Prof. Weber; whilst the commentators take it in its ordinary sense of ‘poor’ (i.e. without an assistant, *Mahīdh.*); blue-red Rudra is called inasmuch as he is the ‘*nīla-kanīha*’ blue-necked, and red all over the rest of his body.

26. These are seven formulas,—of seven layers the fire-altar consists, and the year consists of seven months, and Agni is the year: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much food he thus gratifies him. These two kinds (of formulas) amount to twenty-one,—the twelve months, the five seasons, these three worlds, and yonder sun as the twenty-first (make up) this amount.

27. He then offers (the libations of the) 'unstringing'-formulas<sup>1</sup>. For at that time the gods, having gratified those (Rudras) by that food, unstrung their bows by means of these 'unstringing'-formulas; and in like manner this (Sacrificer), having gratified them by that food, now unstrings their bows by means of these 'unstringing'-formulas; for with an unstrung bow one injures no one.

28. Here now he says 'at a thousand leagues,' for a thousand leagues is the farthest distance; and he thus unstrings their bows at what is the farthest distance.

29. And, again, as to why he says 'at a thousand leagues,'—a thousand leagues means this Agni (fire-altar), for neither this way nor that way is there any other thing greater than he; and it is when he makes offering in the fire that he unstrings their bows at a thousand leagues.

30. 'Countless thousands,—in this great sea,'—thus, wheresoever they are, there he unstrings their bows.

---

<sup>1</sup> Viz. Vâg. S. XVI, 54-63: 'What countless thousands of Rudras there are upon earth, their bows do we unstring at a thousand leagues.—The Bhavas that are in this great sea, in the air, their bow do we unstring at a thousand leagues.' Thus each formula ends with the 'unstringing' refrain.

31. There are ten of these 'unstringing'-offerings he makes,—the Virâḡ consists of ten syllables, and Agni is Virâḡ (widely-shining or ruling); there are ten regions, and Agni is the regions; there are ten vital airs, and Agni is the vital airs: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus unstrings their bows.

32. He then offers the descending<sup>1</sup> (series of oblations). For then (in the preceding oblations) he ascends these worlds upwards from hence: this is, as it were, an ascent away from here. But this (earth) is a firm resting-place: the gods returned to this resting-place; and in like manner does the Sacrificer now return to this resting-place.

33. And, again, as to why he descends. Then (in the preceding oblations) he goes after those (gods), gratifying (propitiating) them. From thence he now recovers his own self unto life; and so does he by that self of his attain all vital power.

34. And, again, as to why he descends. He then (in the preceding oblations) gratifies those Rudras from hence upwards; he now does so again from thence hitherwards.

35. [Vâḡ. S. XVI 64], 'Reverence be to the Rudras dwelling in the sky,'—he thereby does reverence to those Rudras who are in yonder world; —'whose arrows the rain is,' for the rain is

---

<sup>1</sup> Vâḡ. S. XVI, 64-66. In making these three oblations to the Rudras in the sky, the air, and on earth respectively, the procedure is the reverse from that described in paragraphs 11-13, viz. first on the enclosing-stone which reaches up to his mouth, then on that reaching up to his navel, and lastly on that reaching up to his knee.

indeed their arrows, and by the rain they injure whom they wish to injure.

36. [Vâg. S. XVI, 65], 'Reverence be to the Rudras dwelling in the air,'—he thereby does reverence to those Rudras who are in the air;—'whose arrows the wind is,' for the wind is indeed their arrows, and by the wind they injure whom they wish to injure.

37. [Vâg. S. XVI, 66], 'Reverence be to the Rudras dwelling upon earth,'—he thereby does reverence to those Rudras who are in this (terrestrial) world;—'whose arrows food is,' for food is indeed their arrows, and by means of food they injure whom they wish to injure.

38. 'To them (I stretch) ten (fingers) forwards, ten to the right, ten backwards, ten to the left, ten upwards<sup>1</sup>,—of ten syllables consists the Virâg, and Agni is Virâg; there are ten seasons, and Agni is the seasons; there are ten vital airs, and Agni is the vital airs: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much food he thus gratifies them.

39. And as to why he says 'ten-ten,'—there are ten fingers in the joined hands<sup>2</sup>: he thus makes reverence to them in each direction; and hence he who is frightened places his hands together;—'To them be reverence!'—he thus does reverence to them;—'May they be gracious unto us!'—they thus are gracious unto him;—'whomsoever we hate, and whosoever hateth us, him we cast into their jaws!'—thus he casts into their jaws

<sup>1</sup> These words, as well as the spaced words in the next paragraph, are added to each of the three formulas in paragraphs 35–37.

<sup>2</sup> The joining of the hollow of the hands, by placing the tips of the fingers together, is a sign of reverence.

whomsoever he hates, and whosoever hates him. He may say, 'So-and-so I cast into their jaws!' naming him whom he hates, and then he has no longer any hold upon him. But let him take no notice of this (injunction), for indicated of himself is he whom he who knows this hates.

40. In three turns he descends,—Agni is three-fold: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much food he thus gratifies them. With 'Svâhâ' (he makes offering), for the Svâhâ is food: with food he thus gratifies them. Thrice (in three turns) he ascends from hence upwards,—that makes six: the significance of this has been explained<sup>1</sup>.

41. And as to why he descends in three turns,—it is because he ascends in three turns: thus in as many turns as he ascends, in so many turns does he descend.

42. He then throws that arka-leaf<sup>2</sup> into the pit; for it is therewith that he performs that sacrificial work sacred to Rudra, and that same (leaf) is inauspicious; he now puts it away, lest any one should tread on this inauspicious (leaf), and suffer injury thereby: hence (he throws it) into the pit. And, again, as to why (he throws it) into the pit,—the pit, doubtless, means the fire, and thus that fire consumes it. Now as to the (symbolic) correspondence.

43. As to this they say, 'How does this Sataru-driya of his attain to (conformity with) the year, and Agni? how does it correspond to the year, to

<sup>1</sup> Of objects numbering six, the seasons commonly occur, e.g. VI, 7, 1, 16.

<sup>2</sup> See paragraph 4. According to Kâty. Srautas. 18, 1, 6 both offering-utensils (the arka-leaf and the arka-stick) are thrown into the pit.

Agni?' Well, this Satarudriya includes three hundred and sixty (formulas); and (other) thirty, and thirty-five. Now, as to the three hundred and sixty which there are, so many are there days in the year : thereby it obtains the days of the year. And as to the thirty (formulas) which there are, they are the thirty nights of the month : thereby it obtains the nights of the month : thus it obtains both the days and nights of the year. And as to the thirty-five (formulas) there are, they are the thirteenth month<sup>1</sup>, (Agni's) self,—the body (consists of) thirty (limbs<sup>2</sup>), the feet of two, the breath of two (in-breathing and off-breathing), and the head is the thirty-fifth: so much is the year. And in this way this Satarudriya of his attains to (conformity with) the year, Agni, and corresponds to the year, Agni. And, indeed, in the *Sândîla* fire-altar as many bricks with formulas attached to them are placed in the middle, for these bricks are indeed the same as these different Agnis (invoked in the Satarudriya); and thus these Agnis of his come to have oblations offered to them separately by means of the Satarudriya.

44. As to this they say, 'How does this Satarudriya of his attain to (conformity with) the Great

<sup>1</sup> As Prof. Weber, 'Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Nakshatra,' p. 298, points out, this passage points to a six years' period of intercalation, since, in counting 360 days in the year, the remainder accumulates in six years to an intercalary month of thirty-five days (or thirty-six according to Sat. Br. X, 5, 4, 5); and accordingly in Vâg. S. XXX, 15, and Taitt. Âr. IV, 19, 1, the names of the six years of such a period of intercalation are mentioned; while a five years' period and the names of the respective years are more frequently referred to.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. twenty fingers and toes, the upper and lower arms, the thighs and shanks, and the hands.

Litany<sup>1</sup>?—how does it correspond to the Great Litany?' Well, those twenty-five formulas which there are on both sides of the eighties<sup>2</sup>, they are the twenty-five-fold body<sup>3</sup>; and where the body (of the altar-bird) is, that (includes) the head, and the wings and tail. And what eighties (of formulas) there are (in the Satarudriya), thereby indeed the (corresponding) eighties (of the Mahad uktham) are obtained, for by eighties the Great Litany is recited. And what there is (in the Satarudriya) after the eighties that is for him the same as what there, in the Great Litany, is after the eighties<sup>4</sup>; and in this way this Satarudriya

<sup>1</sup> For the mahad uktham, or Great Litany, recited on the Mahâvrata day, see p. 110, note 3. According to Sâyana, however, this does not refer to the Mahad uktham, or Great Litany, itself, but to its Stotra, the Mahâvrata-sâman (cf. note on X, 1, 1, 5), by the chanting of which it is preceded, and which, like the Great Litany itself, is represented as being composed of the different parts of Agni-Pragâpati's bird-shaped body. Now, that part of the chant which corresponds to the god's trunk (âman) is the only part of this Stotra which is chanted in the *Pañkavimsa-stoma*, or twenty-five-versed hymn-form, which, indeed, is the characteristic Stoma of the Mahâvrata day, all other Stotras of that rite being chanted in that form. It is, however, doubtful to me whether it is not rather the opening part of the Great Litany itself representing the trunk that is here referred to, and which, indeed, consists of twenty-five verses; cf. F. Max Müller, *Upanishads*, I, p. 183. Besides, it has always to be borne in mind that the particular arrangement of the Great Litany which the authors of the Brâhmana had before them, may have differed in some respects from those known to us.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 112, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the body with its twenty-four limbs, viz. the two arms, two legs, and the twenty fingers and toes.

<sup>4</sup> According to Sâyana, the *Pañkavimsa-stotra*, chanted after the Mahad uktham, is here referred to. See p. 111, note 1. Sâyana takes it to refer to the prose formulas at the end of the Sastra, which, he says, represent the mind (buddhi) of Pragâpati.



of his attains to (conformity with) the Great Litany; in this way it corresponds to the Great Litany.

## SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. He then sprinkles him (Agni-Rudra, the fire-altar). For the gods, having now appeased him by the Satarudriya, thereby appeased him still further; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer), now that he has appeased him by the Satarudriya, still further appease him thereby.

2. With water he sprinkles him<sup>1</sup>,—water is a means of appeasing (soothing): he thus appeases him thereby. He sprinkles him all over; he thus appeases him all over. Thrice he sprinkles,—three-fold is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus appeases him.

3. And, again, as to why he sprinkles him,—that Agni (the fire-altar), doubtless, is these worlds: by water he thus encompasses these worlds, by the ocean, indeed, he encompasses them. On every side (he sprinkles the altar): hence the ocean flows round these worlds on every side. From left to right (he sprinkles): hence the ocean flows round these worlds from left to right.

4. For safety from injury it is the Agnîdh who sprinkles, for the Agnîdh is the same as Agni, and no one injures his own self. From a stone (he sprinkles), for from the rock water springs forth;—from the arm-pit, for from the arm-pit water springs forth;—from the right arm-pit<sup>2</sup>, for from the right arm-pit water springs forth.

<sup>1</sup> Or rather, he pours water on it (the altar).

<sup>2</sup> That is, from the lower (or hindmost) point where the right

5. [He sprinkles the stone, with, Vāg. S. XVII, 1], 'The food that is lying in the rock, in the mountain,'—for that food, water, is indeed contained in the rock, in the mountains;—'the drink that is gathered from waters, plants and trees,'—for from all that that drink is indeed gathered;—'that sap and food bring ye unto us, O Maruts, as bountiful givers!'—for the Maruts are the rulers of the rain. With 'In the rock is thy hunger,' he (after watering the altar) sets down (the pitcher on the stone): he thus lays hunger into the stone, whence the stone is not fit for eating. But hard also is the stone, and hard is hunger: he thus puts the hard along with the hard. With, 'In me thy food!' he takes up (the pitcher): he thereby takes up the food into his own self. Thus (he does) a second and a third time.

6. Having (finally) set down the pitcher, he perambulates thrice (the altar); for when (in sprinkling) he walks all round it, he, as it were, makes light of him (Agni-Rudra). He now makes amends to him, for (his own) safety.

7. And, again, as to why he perambulates it,—he then (in sprinkling the altar) goes after him<sup>1</sup> (Agni-Rudra): thereupon he now recovers his own self unto life, and so does he by that self of his obtain all vital power.

8. Thrice he perambulates it, for thrice he walks round it (whilst sprinkling): thus as many times as he walks round it, so many times does he perambulate it.

---

wing joins the body of the altar. He there places a stone, from which he begins the sprinkling of the altar.

<sup>1</sup> See IX, 1, 1, 33.

9. Having thereupon put that stone into the water-pitcher, they throw it in that (south-western) direction, for that is Nirṛiti's region: he thus consigns pain<sup>1</sup> to Nirṛiti's region.

10. For at that time, the gods, having appeased him by the Satarudriya and the water, thereby drove out his pain, his evil; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) now, after appeasing him by the Satarudriya and the water, cast away his pain, his evil.

11. Outside the fire-altar he throws it; for this fire-altar indeed is the same as these (three) worlds: he thus puts pain outside these worlds;—outside the sacrificial ground (vedi); for the Vedi is this (earth): he thus puts pain outside this earth.

12. Whilst standing at the right thigh of the Vedi, with his face to the east, he throws it southwards, with, 'Let thy pain enter him whom we hate!' and thus its pain enters whomsoever he hates. He may say, 'Let thy pain enter so-and-so!' naming him whom he hates, and then he has no longer any hold upon him; but let him take no notice of this, for indicated of himself is he whom he who knows this hates. If it<sup>2</sup> should remain unbroken, let him bid (the Pratiprasthâtr̥) to break it; for only when it is broken, the pain enters him whom he hates. They return (to the altar) without looking back: they thus leave pain and evil behind without looking back to them.

13. Having returned, he makes the bricks his own

<sup>1</sup> The burning heat of the fire, and all physical and mental suffering.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. the stone, or the pot, according to others; cf. Kâty. Srautas. XVIII, 2, 5-8. According to Prof. Weber the stone is meant to represent the hungry greed of the fire.

milch cows; for the gods, having now appeased him (Agni-Rudra) by the Satarudriya and the water, and having driven out his pain and evil, returned (to the altar) and made the bricks their own milch cows; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) now, after appeasing him by the Satarudriya and the water, and casting off his pain and evil, return and make the bricks his own milch cows.

14. And some say, 'Let him make them his own whilst sitting, for sitting one milks the cow.' But let him rather make them his own standing; for that fire-altar is these worlds, and these worlds are, as it were, standing. And, moreover, one is stronger whilst standing.

15. [He does so], whilst standing (near the right thigh of the altar) with his face towards the north-east; in front stands that cow by the Sacrificer with her face towards the west (back), for from the right side they approach the cow which stands with its face towards the back (west).

16. And wherever he reaches (whilst stretching his arms over the altar), there he touches it and mutters this formula (Vâg. S. XVII, 2), 'Let these bricks be mine own milch cows, O Agni!' for Agni rules over this making of cows, whence he addresses Agni out of so many deities;—'One, and ten<sup>1</sup>. . . . and a hundred thousand millions, and a billion;'—for the one, to wit, one and ten, is the lowest quantity, and the other, to wit, a hundred thousand millions, and a billion, is the highest quantity; thus, having comprehended them by the

---

<sup>1</sup> The intervening numbers here omitted increase by multiples of ten.

lowest and the highest quantity, the gods made them their own milch cows; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer), having thus comprehended them by the lowest and the highest quantity, make them his own milch cows. Hence also he need not care to make many (cows) his own<sup>1</sup>, for in yonder world that (Sacrificer), by means of the Brahman (holy writ), the Yagus, will make many (cows) his own. And in that he carries on (the numbers) uninterruptedly, thereby he carries on, without interruption, his objects of desire.

17. And as to why he makes the bricks his own milch cows,—this fire-altar is speech, for with speech it is built up; and when he says, ‘One, and ten, . . . and a hundred thousand millions, and a billion,’—‘one’ is speech, and a hundred thousand millions is speech, and a billion is speech: it is Speech herself that the gods thereby made their own milch cow; and in like manner does the Sacrificer thereby make Speech herself his own milch cow. And in that he carries on (the numbers) uninterruptedly, thereby it is Speech herself that he carries on:—‘Let these bricks be mine own milch cows, O Agni, hereafter in yonder world!’ He thereby makes them his own milch cows in this world, and he also makes them his own milch cows in yonder world; and thus they are profitable to him in both worlds, in this one and in the other.

18. [Vâg. S. XVII, 3], ‘The seasons ye are,’—for these (bricks) are indeed the seasons;—‘law-sustaining,’ that is, ‘truth-sustaining;’—‘be ye season-abiding, law-sustaining!’—for the bricks

---

<sup>1</sup> ? That is to say, he need not touch the altar more than once.

are the days and nights, and the days and nights indeed abide in the seasons;—‘fat-showering, honey-showering,’—he thereby makes them fat-showering and honey-showering for himself.

19. ‘The widely-shining by name,’—for the gods then called those bricks to them by their names, and in the same way in which they called them, they turned unto them; but the ‘space-fillers’ alone stood with averted faces discharging water, having no names applied to them. They called them by the name ‘the widely-shining,’ and they turned unto them. Hence, each time he has laid down ten bricks, he addresses them with the ‘space-filling’<sup>1</sup> (verse): he thereby makes them widely-shining (virâg), for the Virâg (metre) consists of ten syllables:—‘wish-milking, never-failing,’—he thereby makes them wish-milking and never-failing.

20. He then draws a frog, a lotus-flower, and a bamboo-shoot across (the central part of the altar). For the gods having now appeased him by the Satarudriya and the water, and having driven out his pain and evil, thereby still further appeased him; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer), now that he has appeased him by the Satarudriya and the water, and driven out his pain and evil, still further appease him thereby. In every direction he draws them: he thus appeases him everywhere.

21. And, again, as to why he draws them across. Now, in the beginning, when the *Rishis*, the vital airs, made up that Agni<sup>2</sup>, they sprinkled him with water: that water dripped off and became the frogs.

<sup>1</sup> That is with the verse Vâg. S. XII, 54, beginning ‘Lokam prîna,’ ‘Fill thou the space;’ see part iii, p. 153 note.

<sup>2</sup> See VI, 1, 1, 1-5.

22. They (the waters) said to Pragâpati, 'Whatever moisture<sup>1</sup> we had, has gone down.' He said, 'This tree shall know it!—he shall know (vettu), he shall taste it (*sam* vettu)—that one, indeed, they mystically call 'vetasa' (bamboo), for the gods love the mystic. And because they said, 'Down (avâk) has gone our moisture (ka),' they became avâkkâs;—'avâkkâs,' they mystically call 'avakâs (lotuses),' for the gods love the mystic. These, then, are those three kinds of water, to wit, the frog, the lotus-flower, and the bamboo-shoot: by means of these three kinds of water he appeases him.

23. And, again, why he draws them across it;—when he (Agni, the fire-altar) is built up, he is being born, and he is born for every kind of food; and these are every kind of food, to wit, the frog, the lotus-flower, and the bamboo-shoot, for these, indeed, are animals, water, and trees: with all this food he gratifies him.

24. With the frog, on the part of animals, whence, of animals, the frog is the one affording least subsistence, for he is used up;—with the lotus-flower, on the part of water, whence of the kinds of water (plants), lotus-flowers are those affording least subsistence, for they are used up;—and with the bamboo-shoot, on the part of trees; whence, of trees, the bamboo is the one affording least subsistence, for it is used up.

25. Having tied them to a cane, he, in the first place, draws them eastwards along the right (south) part of the (body of the) altar inside the enclosing-

---

<sup>1</sup> Thus, or essence (*rasa*), according to Sâyana; cf. X, 6, 5, 1. The word 'ka' has, however, also the meaning 'joy.'

stones, with (Vâg. S. XVII, 4), 'With the lotus-flower of the ocean we encompass thee, O Agni: be thou bright and propitious unto us!' that is, 'With the waters of the ocean we appease thee.'

26. Then northwards along the hind part (of the altar), with (Vâg. S. XVII, 5), 'With an outer vesture of cold we encompass thee, O Agni: be thou bright and propitious unto us!'—that part of the cold which is frozen hard is an outer vesture of cold: thus, 'By the frozen part of cold we appease thee!'

27. Then eastwards along the left (north) part, with (Vâg. S. XVII, 6), 'Upon the earth, into the reed, into the rivers descend thou, O Agni, thou art the bile<sup>1</sup> of waters: with them, come thou, O she-frog, and make the sacrifice bright-coloured and propitious for us!' as the text, so the meaning.

28. Then southwards along the forepart, with (Vâg. S. XVII, 7), 'Thou art the receptacle of waters, the abode of the ocean: let thy darts burn others than us! unto us be thou bright and propitious!' as the text, so the meaning. He first draws them thus<sup>2</sup>, then thus, then thus, then thus: that is from left to right, for so it is with the gods.

29. Over the body (of the altar) he draws them

<sup>1</sup> That is, 'the heat' which is considered the chief property of the bilious humour.

<sup>2</sup> The procedure in this case is an exact counterpart of the ploughing of the altar-site, for which see VII, 2, 2, 8-12, with notes. Hence also the verbs expressive of the two actions are closely analogous, viz. *vikṛishati* and *vikarshati*.



first, for of (the bird, or Agni) that is born the body is born first, then the right wing, then the tail, then the left wing: that is from left to right, for so it is with the gods.

30. Over the wings and tail he draws them in the direction of the body (self): he thus lays calmness into his own self;—from the further end (he draws) hitherwards: he thus lays calmness into his own self from the further end hitherwards. The right wing, with (Vâg. S. XVII, 8), ‘O bright Agni, with thy light, (with thy dainty tongue, O god, bring hither the gods, and worship them)!’ The tail, with (Vâg. S. XVII, 9), ‘O bright and shining Agni, (bring hither the gods to our sacrifice and our offering)!’ The left wing, with (Vâg. S. XVII, 10), ‘He who with bright and glittering light (shineth upon the earth, as the dawns with their glow, who, the ever young, speeding, as in the race, in the battle, of the steed, thirsteth not in the heat).’ ‘Bright,’ he says each time, for whatever is kindly and propitious is bright: he thus propitiates him thereby.

31. With seven (formulas) he draws them across,—the altar consists of seven layers, and seven seasons are a year, and Agni is the year: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus crosses him. Having thrown the cane on the heap of rubbish;—

32. [The Adhvaryu] then sings hymns round it (the altar);—for therein that whole Agni is completed; and the gods laid into him that highest form, immortality; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) thereby lay into him that highest form, immortality. Sâman-hymns are (used), for sâmans are vital airs,

and the vital airs are immortality: immortality, that highest form, he thus lays into him. On every side he sings around it: everywhere he thus lays immortality, that highest form, into him.

33. And, again, as to why he sings sâman-hymns round about it;—the gods then desired, ‘Let us make this body of ours boneless and immortal.’ They spake, ‘Think ye upon this, how we may make this body of ours boneless and immortal!’ They spake, ‘Meditate (k̥it) ye!’ whereby indeed they meant to say, ‘Seek ye a layer (k̥iti)! seek ye how we may make this body of ours boneless and immortal!’

34. Whilst meditating, they saw those sâman-hymns, and sang them round about it, and by means of them they made that body of theirs boneless and immortal; and in like manner does the Sacrificer, when he sings the sâman-hymns round about it, make that body of his boneless and immortal. On every side he sings: everywhere he thus makes that body of his boneless and immortal. Standing he sings, for these worlds stand, as it were; and whilst standing one doubtless is stronger. He sings, after uttering (the syllable) ‘him,’ for therein the sâman-hymn becomes whole and complete.

35. He first sings the Gâyatra hymn<sup>1</sup>, for the Gâyatrî metre is Agni: he thus makes Agni his

---

<sup>1</sup> The Gâyatra-sâman is the hymn-tune composed on the verse called ‘the Gâyatrî,’ *par excellence*, or ‘Sâvitṛî’ (tat savitur vareṇyam, Rig-veda III, 62, 10), which plays an important part in the religious life of the Hindu. The verse, as figured for chanting, is given, Sâma-v. Calc. ed. vol. v, p. 601. On the present occasion, according to Lâṭy. Sr. I, 5, 11, a different text, viz. Sâma-v. II, 8, 14 (Rig-veda IX, 66, 19, agna âyûmshi pavase), is to be sung to this tune.

head, and that head of his (or of him, Agni) he thus makes boneless and immortal.

36. The Rathantara<sup>1</sup> (hymn he sings) at the right wing; for the Rathantara is this (earth), and this (earth), doubtless, is the most essential (rasatama) of these worlds, for it is in her that all these essences (rasa) are contained, and 'rasantama,' indeed, they call mystically, 'rathantara,' for the gods love the mystic: he thus makes this (earth) his right wing, and that right wing of his he thus makes boneless and immortal.

37. The Brihat<sup>1</sup> (hymn he sings) at the left wing; the Brihat (great), doubtless, is the sky, for the sky is the greatest (of worlds): he thus makes the sky his (Agni's) left wing, and that left wing of his he thus makes boneless and immortal.

38. The Vâmadevya<sup>1</sup> (hymn he sings) on the body (of the altar); for the Vâmadevya is the breath, and the breath is air (vâyu, the wind), and he, Vâyu, doubtless, is the self (body) of all the gods: he thus makes the air (wind) his body, and that body of his he thus makes boneless and immortal.

39. The Yagñâyagñiya<sup>1</sup> (hymn he sings) near the tail;—the Yagñâyagñiya, doubtless, is the moon; for whenever a sacrifice becomes completed<sup>2</sup>, the essence of its oblations goes up to him (the moon);

---

<sup>1</sup> The Rathantara, Brihat, Vâmadevya, and Yagñâyagñiya tunes are apparently to be sung here on their original texts (Sâma-v. II, 30, 31, abhi tvâ sîra nonumaḥ; II, 159, 160, tvâm id dhi havâmahe; II, 32, 33, kayâ nas kitra â bhuvat; and II, 53, 54, yagñâ-yagñâ vo agnaye), though hardly in their elaborate setting, as performed in chanting.

<sup>2</sup> It should be remembered that the chanting of the Yagñâyagñiya (or Agnishoma)-sâman marks the completion (samsthâ) of the ordinary (Agnishoma) Soma-sacrifice.

and inasmuch as sacrifice after sacrifice (*yagña*) goes up to him, the moon is the *Yagnāyagñiya* : he thus makes the moon his (Agni's) tail, and that tail of his he thus makes boneless and immortal.

40. He then sings the heart of *Pragāpati*<sup>1</sup>;—the heart assuredly is yonder sun, for he (the sun) is smooth, and the heart is smooth ; he is round, and the heart is round. On the body (of the altar) he sings, for the heart is in the body;—at the arm-pit<sup>2</sup>, for the heart is in (the vicinity of) the armpit;—

<sup>1</sup> The *Pragāpati-hridaya*, or *Pragāpater hridayam*, as figured for chanting, is given, *Sāma-v. Calc. ed. vol. ii, p. 499*. It consists of the words, *imāḥ pragāḥ pragāpate(r) hridayam pragārūpam aṣṭigane*, with inserted stobhas and modulations. It is followed by a simpler form, which is perhaps the one used on the present occasion.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. on the place where the right wing joins the body of the altar. According to other authorities, the *Syaita* hymn-tune is likewise to be sung near the left arm-pit (or, according to *Sāṇḍilya*, at the place where the *Adhvaryu* mounts the altar). For other variations, see *Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, p. 276*. I do not think that the ritual of the *White Yagus*, in omitting the left arm-pit, shows any gap or inconsistency, since the right arm-pit is marked out, not for any bodily parallelism, but for the simple reason that it is supposed to indicate the position of the heart. Whilst all the other places on which hymns are sung are essential parts of the bird *Agni*, the arm-pit is not an essential part, but is merely indicative of the central organ of the body. *Lāṭy. I, 5, 11 seqq.* supplies the following directions, apparently implying a somewhat different order of procedure from that followed in our text : He passes along the south, and whilst standing (east of the altar) with his face towards the west, he sings the *Gāyatra* at the head. Returning, he sings the *Rathan-tara* at the right wing. Going round behind, he sings the *Br̥rhat* at the left wing. Going back, and standing behind the tail, with his face towards the east, he sings the *Yagnāyagñiya*. The *Vāmadevya* he sings at the right, and the *Pragāpati-hridaya* at the left, arm-pit. Then follow different views held by different teachers.—With this ceremony, by which homage is paid to the different parts of *Agni-Pragāpati's* body, compare the similar, but more elaborate, ceremony of the *Parimāda* at the *Mahāvratā*, *X, 1, 2, 9* with note.

at the right armpit, for the heart is nearer thereto<sup>1</sup>: he thus makes the sun his (Agni's) heart, and that heart of his he thus makes boneless and immortal.

41. He sings about offspring (*pragâ*) and *Pragâpati* (the lord of creatures and procreation);—when he sings about offspring, he lays the heart into offspring; and when he sings about *Pragâpati*, he lays the heart into Agni.

42. And, again, as to why he sings about offspring and *Pragâpati*;—this Agni, doubtless, is both offspring and the lord of offspring, and hence, when he sings about Agni, he lays the heart both into the offspring and into the lord of offspring.

43. These (hymns) are the immortal bricks; he lays them down last (highest) of all:—he thereby makes immortality the highest thing of all this (universe), and hence immortality is the highest thing of all this (universe). Let none other but the *Adhvaryu*<sup>2</sup> sing; for these (hymns) are bricks, and he (Agni, the fire-altar) would be built up in the wrong way<sup>3</sup>, were any other than the *Adhvaryu* to sing.

## SECOND ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

### DAY OF PREPARATION FOR SOMA-SACRIFICE.

1. On the day of preparation, early in the morning, when the sun has risen, he releases his speech.

<sup>1</sup> That is, by taking the auricles as parts of the heart.

<sup>2</sup> According to *Lâ'y.* I, 5, 1 seq., it is the *Prastotri* who sings these *sâmans*. A similar conflict of competence in this respect is referred to not only in regard to detached *sâmans* (cf. *Kâty.* IV, 9, 6–9), but even in regard to such solemn performances as the chanting of the *Mahâvrata-sâman* (cf. note on X, 1, 1, 5).

<sup>3</sup> *Vi-ñita*, in this sense, appears to be a *ἡττα* λεγόμενον. *Sâyana* seems to have read *vigita* (*parâbhûta*, defeated) instead.

Having released his speech, he takes clarified butter, in five ladlings, and throws five chips of gold thereon. Then these three (materials), sour curds, honey and ghee, are poured together, either into a dish, or a pot with a wide mouth ; and he puts a handful of sacrificial grass thereon.

2. He then mounts the fire-altar, with (Vâg. S. XVII, 11), 'Homage be to thy heat, thy fire!<sup>1</sup> homage be to thy flame!'—for that Agni has now been completely restored, and he now is equal to injuring whomever he might wish to injure; and whomever he injures, he injures either by his heat, or by his fire, or by his flame; in this way he does not injure him thereby (*etaiḥ*);— 'Let thy darts burn others than us! unto us be thou bright and propitious!' as the text, so the sense.

3. Having mounted the altar, he makes the libation of fivefold-taken ghee on the naturally-perforated (brick): the significance of this has been explained<sup>2</sup>.

4. On the naturally-perforated (brick) he makes the libation—the naturally-perforated one is the breath: into (the channel of) the breath he thus puts food.

5. And, again, as to why he offers on the naturally-perforated one;—this (brick) is an *uttara-vedi* (high-altar) of Agni (the fire-altar); and that former libation which he makes<sup>3</sup> belongs to the

<sup>1</sup> Or, 'Homage be to thy burning (consuming) fire!' as *Maht-dhara* takes '*harase soḥishe*,' and perhaps also the *Brāhmana*, though '*etaiḥ*,' used in reference to Agni's weapons, would rather seem to indicate a plurality of them.

<sup>2</sup> See VII, 2, 3, 4; VIII, 6, 3, 15.

<sup>3</sup> See III, 5, 2, 9-11; the libation of ghee there offered on the

Soma-sacrifice, but this one belongs to the fire-altar; this he now offers.

6. On that (former) occasion he makes the libation whilst looking at the gold; for distinct is what one sees, and distinct was that high-altar; and thrown down<sup>1</sup>, indeed, are (the gold chips) on this occasion, and indistinct is what is thrown down, and indistinct is this high-altar.

7. With the Svâhâ-call he makes the libation on that (high-altar), for distinct (manifest) is the Svâhâ, and distinct is that high-altar; but with the Vet-call (he offers) on this (brick), for indistinct is the Vet-call, and indistinct is this high-altar. With ghee (they offer), for with ghee they offer on the high-altar;—with fivefold-taken (ghee), for with fivefold-taken (ghee) they offer on the high-altar;—by turns (he makes the libations), for by turns<sup>2</sup> they make the libations on the high-altar.

8. [He offers, with, Vâg. S. XVII, 12, a-c resp.], 'To the man-seated, vet!'—the man-seated one, doubtless, is the breath, and men mean human beings: he thereby gratifies that fire (or Agni), the breath, which is in human beings;—'To the water-seated, vet!'—he thereby gratifies the fire which is in the waters;—'To the barhis-seated, vet!'—he

---

uttara-vedi being preparatory to the leading forward of the fire to the high-altar.

<sup>1</sup> Each time he has poured out some of the ghee on one of the corners, or in the centre, of the stone; he throws one of the chips of gold thereon, without looking at it.

<sup>2</sup> That libation was made crosswise—first on the right shoulder, then on the left thigh, then on the right thigh, then on the left shoulder, and finally in the centre, of the (navel of the) high-altar. In the same way he offers crosswise on the svayamâtrinnâ brick.

thereby gratifies the fire which is in plants<sup>1</sup>;—‘To the wood-seated, *vet!*’—he thereby gratifies the fire which is in trees;—‘To the heaven-winning, *vet!*’—the heaven-winning one is this Agni (*ĥitya*): it is this Agni he thereby gratifies.

9. And as to why he says, ‘To the man-seated, *vet!* To the water-seated, *vet!*’ &c., these are names of this Agni: these names he thereby pleases. By means of the oblation he makes them a deity: for whatever deity the oblation is prepared, that deity (they are), not that deity for whom it is not prepared. And, in calling them by their names, he also thereby places those fires along with this fire.

10. These are five oblations he offers,—the fire-altar consists of five layers, the year of five seasons, and Agni is the year: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much food he thus gratifies him.

11. He then sprinkles him (Agni, the fire-altar) with the sour curds, honey and ghee; when he is built up, he is born, and he is born for every (kind of) food; and these, to wit, sour curds, honey and ghee, are every (kind of) food: with every (kind of) food he thus gratifies him. Everywhere (he sprinkles the altar): everywhere he thus gratifies him with every (kind of) food.

12. And, again, as to why he sprinkles him;—here that Agni has been built up complete: on him the gods now bestowed the highest (or last) form; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) now bestow on him the highest (or last) form; but form means

---

<sup>1</sup> Inasmuch as ‘*barhis*’ is the sacrificial grass spread over the *vedi*, or altar-ground.



food, and these, to wit, sour curds, honey and ghee, are the most excellent kind of food: this, the most excellent form he thus bestows upon him as his highest (property). Everywhere he sprinkles, even outside the enclosing-stones; everywhere he thus bestows on him the highest form;—by means of sacrificial grass-stalks (he sprinkles), for they are pure and meet for sacrifice; by means of their tops (he sprinkles), for the top (is sacred) to the gods.

13. And, again, as to why he sprinkles them;—of old, when the *R̥ishis*, the vital airs, joined him together, they made that 'sag̥ûrabd̥itya' (oblation)<sup>1</sup> his special fore-share, and, when he had been built up, they made this (sprinkling) his after-share: thus, in sprinkling him, he gratifies those *R̥ishis*, the vital airs, who, when he (Agni) had been built up, made this his after-share. With sour curds, honey and ghee (he sprinkles): the significance of this has been explained.

14. [He sprinkles, with, *Vâg. S. XVII, 13, 14*], 'The gods of the gods, the worshipful of the worshipful,'—for they (the vital airs) are indeed the gods of (among) the gods, and the worshipful of the worshipful;—'who draw nigh unto the year-long share,' for they do indeed draw near to this their year-long share;—'not eaters of oblations, —at this offering of sacrificial food,'—for the vital airs, indeed, are not eaters of oblations;—'may themselves drink of the honey and the ghee!'

<sup>1</sup> That is, the oblation (made on the bunch of sacrificial grass placed in the centre of the freshly ploughed altar-site, where the furrows meet) with the formula (*Vâg. S. XII, 74*) beginning 'sag̥ûrabdo.' See VII, 2, 3, 8.

that is, 'should themselves drink of this honey and ghee.'

15. 'The gods who attained godhead over the gods,'—for these gods have indeed attained a divine state over the gods;—'who are the fore-runners of this holy work,'—the holy work is this fire-altar (and sacrifice), and they are the fore-runners thereof;—'without whom no dwelling-place becometh pure;' for without the vital airs no dwelling-place becomes pure<sup>1</sup>;—'they are not on the backs of the sky and the earth,'—that is, 'they are neither in the sky nor on earth: whatever breathes therein they are.'

16. With two (verses) he sprinkles,—two-footed is the Sacrificer, and the Sacrificer is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus sprinkles him.

17. He then descends again (from the altar), with (Vâg. S. XVII, 15), 'Givers of in-breathing, givers of off-breathing,'—for this Agni who has been built up is all these breathings; were he not to utter at this time this (declaration of) self-surrender, then that (Agni) would possess himself of those breathings of his (the Sacrificer's); but now that he gives utterance to this self-surrender, that (Agni) does not possess himself of those breathings of his;—'Givers of in-breathing, givers of off-breathing, givers of through-breathing, givers of lustre, givers of room,'—he thereby says, 'A giver of this thou art to me,'—'let thy darts burn

---

<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful in what sense the author understands this part of the verse. Mahîdhara takes it to mean, 'without whom no body moves.'

others than us! unto us be thou bright and propitious!'—as the text, so the meaning.

18. Having returned (to the hall-fire) he proceeds with the (forenoon performance of the) Pravargya<sup>1</sup> and Upasad<sup>1</sup>; and having performed the Pravargya and Upasad, he hands to him (the Sacrificer) the fast-food or semi-fast-food. He then (proceeds) with the (afternoon performance of the) Pravargya and Upasad, and having obtained the object for which he puts the (Pravargya-) cauldron on the fire, he sets out (the apparatus of) the Pravargya.

19. Let him set it out on an island; for, when heated, that (cauldron) is suffering pain; and were he to set it out on this (earth) its pain would enter this (earth); and were he to set it out on water, its pain would enter the water; but when he sets it out on an island, then it does not injure either the water or this (earth): in that he does not throw it into the water, it does not injure the water; and in that the water goes all round it—water being a means of soothing—it does not injure this earth;—let him therefore set it out on an island.

20. But let him rather set it out on the fire-altar;—for that fire-altar is these worlds, and the enclosing-stones are the waters;—so that when he sets it out on the fire-altar, he indeed sets it out on an island.

21. And, again, as to why he sets it out on the fire-altar;—that fire-altar is these worlds, and those Pravargya (vessels) are Agni (fire), Vâyu (wind), and Âditya (sun): hence, were he to set them out in any other place than the fire-altar, he would place those gods outside these worlds; but in that he sets them

---

<sup>1</sup> For the Pravargya, see part i, p. 44 note; and the Upasads, part ii, p. 104 seq.

out on the fire-altar, he places those gods in these worlds.

22. And, again, as to why he sets it out on the fire-altar,—the Pravargya is the head of the sacrifice, and this built-up fire-altar is the body: hence were he to set it out in any other place than the fire-altar, he would place that head away from that (body), but in that he sets it out on the fire-altar, he, having put together that body of him (Agni), restores the head to it.

23. The first Pravargya (vessel) he sets out close to the naturally-perforated (brick);—the naturally-perforated one is the breath, and the Pravargya is the head, and this built-up Agni is the body: he thus connects and puts together the head and the body by means of (the channel of) the breath. Having set out the Pravargya as is the way of its setting out,—

## SECOND BRÂHMANA.

### LEADING FORWARD OF AGNI TO THE FIRE-ALTAR.

1. Having returned to the (Gârhapatya<sup>1</sup>) in order to take forward the fire, he offers oblations, and puts on pieces of firewood. For now that Agni was about to go forward (to the fire-altar), the gods regaled him with food, both with oblations and pieces of firewood; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer), now that he (Agni) is about to go forward, regale him with food, both with oblations and pieces of firewood. He takes (ghee) in five ladlings: the meaning of this has been explained.

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, the newly-built Gârhapatya-hearth (part iii, p. 302) on which the Ukhya fire has been deposited.

2. He then takes (ghee) in sixteen ladlings<sup>1</sup>,—Pragâpati consists of sixteen parts, and Pragâpati is Agni: he thus regales him with food proportionate to his body; and the food which is proportionate to the body satisfies and does no injury; but that which is excessive does injury, and that which is too little does not satisfy. He takes (the oblations) in the same offering-ladle, for one and the same (Agni) is he whom he regales therewith. With two (verses) addressed to Visvakarman he offers; for this Agni is Visvakarman (the all-worker): it is him he thereby gratifies. Three oblations he offers,—threefold is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much food he thus regales him.

3. He then puts on the pieces of firewood: this is as if, after regaling some one, one were to attend upon him. They are of udumbara (ficus glomerata) wood; for the Udumbara is food and sap: with food and sap he thus regales him. They are fresh (green), for that part of trees which is fresh is uninjured and living: he thus regales him with what is uninjured and living in trees. They are soaked in ghee; for ghee is sacred to Agni: with his own portion, with his own sap he thus regales him. They remain the whole night in it, for there they become imbued with sap. Three pieces of wood he puts on,—threefold is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much food he thus regales him.

4. And, again, as to why he offers those oblations;—now that he (Agni) was about to go forward,

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, he ladles sixteen sruva-spoonfuls of ghee into the sruṣ or offering-ladle.

the gods restored (recruited) him beforehand with food, with these oblations; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer), now that he (Agni) is about to go forward, restore him beforehand with food, with these oblations.

5. He takes (ghee) in five ladlings, for fivefold divided is that vital air in the head,—the mind, speech, the breath, the eye, and the ear,—he thus lays that fivefold divided vital air into this head. [He offers it, with, Vâg. S. XVII, 16], ‘Agni, with sharp flame, (may destroy every demon! Agni gaineth wealth for us)’ thus with a (verse) containing (the word) ‘sharp’: he therewith sharpens his head so as to become sharp.

6. He then takes (ghee) in sixteen ladlings: eight vital airs, and eight limbs<sup>1</sup>,—this (the symbolical) amount. He takes it in the same spoon, for, indeed, the vital airs and the limbs are in the same body. Separately<sup>2</sup> he offers: he thereby makes a distinction between the vital airs and the limbs. With two (verses) addressed to Visvakarman he offers: Visvakarman is this Agni, it is him he thus puts together. Three oblations he offers,—threefold is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much food he thus restores him. With seventeen verses (he offers)<sup>3</sup>,—Pragâpati is seventeenfold, and Pragâpati is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus restores him.

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the upper and fore-arms, the thighs and legs.

<sup>2</sup> That is, he offers this ladleful (obtained by sixteen ladlings with the dipping-spoon) in two separate libations (âhuti) or, according to Kâty., in two halves.

<sup>3</sup> Viz. Vâg. S. XVII, 17–32 (sixteen verses, eight for each oblation) and verse 16 (given above) used with the oblation of five ladlings.

With (ghee) taken in twenty-one ladlings (he offers the two oblations),—there are twelve months, five seasons, these three worlds, and yonder sun as the twenty-first: this is the (symbolical) amount (or, correspondence).

7. And, again, as to why he puts the pieces of firewood on; the gods having set him up wholly and completely, now regaled him with this food, these pieces of firewood; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer), now that he has set him up wholly and completely, regale him with this food, these pieces of firewood. They are of udumbara wood, and fresh, and remain for a whole night (being) soaked in ghee: the significance of this has been explained. [He puts them on, with, *Vâg. S. XVII, 50-52*], 'Upwards lead thou him, O Agni!... Forward lead thou him, O Indra!... In whose house we make offering...', as the text, so the meaning. Three pieces of firewood he puts on,—threefold is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much food he thus regales him. Three oblations he offers,—that makes six: the significance of this has been explained.

### THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. He (the Adhvaryu) then gives orders (to his assistant, the Pratiprasthâtri), 'Lift the log!<sup>1</sup> hold up the underlayer!'—[To the Hotri], 'Recite for

<sup>1</sup> Viz. a burning piece of wood taken from the Gârhapatya hearth to serve as the new Âhavanîya on the great fire-altar. The Gârhapatya fire, it will be remembered, was the Ukhyā Agni, or the sacred fire carried in a pan (ukhâ) by the Sacrificer during his time of initiation (dikshâ) lasting for a year (or some other definite period), till, at the end of that period, at the beginning of the Prâyanîya, or opening-offering, it was transferred from the pan to the newly-built Gârhapatya hearth.

Agni as he is taken forward!'—'Agnîdh, follow up with the single sword (-line)!'—'Brahman, mutter the Apratiratha (hymn)!'

2. For at that time, as the gods were about to come up in order to perform this sacrifice, the Asuras, the mischievous fiends, tried to smite them from the south, saying, 'Ye shall not sacrifice! ye shall not perform the sacrifice!'

3. The gods said to Indra, 'Thou art the highest and mightiest, and strongest of us: do thou hold those fiends in check!'—'Let the Brahman (n.) be my ally!' he said.—'So be it!' They made *Bṛihaspati* his ally, for *Bṛihaspati* is the Brahman (the priesthood); and having had the Asuras, the mischievous fiends, chased away in the south by *Bṛihaspati* and Indra, they spread this sacrifice in a place free from danger and devilry.

4. Now what the gods did then, that is done on this occasion. Those fiends, it is true, have now been chased away by the gods themselves, but when he does this, he does so thinking, 'I will do what the gods did;' and having had the Asuras, the mischievous fiends, chased away in the south by Indra and *Bṛihaspati*, he performs this sacrifice in a place free from danger and devilry.

5. As to that Indra, he is that Apratiratha (irresistible hymn); and as to that *Bṛihaspati*, he is the Brahman (priest): thus, when the Brahman mutters the Apratiratha (hymn) he (the Sacrificer), having the Asuras, the mischievous fiends, chased away in the south, by Indra and *Bṛihaspati*, performs this sacrifice in a place free from danger and devilry. This is why the Brahman mutters the Apratiratha (hymn, Vâg. S. XVII, 33-44; *Rîgv.* S. X, 103, 1-12).



6. 'The swift (Indra), sharpening (his weapon), like a terrible bull,'—these are twelve suitable (verses) relating to Indra,—a year consists of twelve months, and Agni (the fire-altar) is the year: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he drives off the Asuras, the mischievous fiends, in the south. With trishṭubh<sup>1</sup> (verses he does so),—the Trishṭubh is the thunderbolt: by the thunderbolt he thus drives off the Asuras, the mischievous fiends, in the south. They amount to twenty-two Gâyatrīs<sup>1</sup>, and thus they relate to Agni, for this is Agni's performance.

7. He then takes him up (in the form of a burning piece of firewood), with [Vâg. S. XVII, 53], 'Upwards may the All-gods bear thee, O Agni, by their thoughts!...' the meaning of this has been explained<sup>2</sup>.

8. They then go forward, with (Vâg. S. XVII, 54–58), 'May the divine regions, the goddesses, protect the sacrifice!'—The gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Pragâpati, were contending for the regions, and the gods wrested the regions from the Asuras; and in like manner does the Sacrificer now wrest the regions from his hateful rival. 'Divine' he says, and thereby makes them divine for himself;—'may the goddesses protect the sacrifice,' that is, 'may the goddesses protect this sacrifice!'—'keeping off want and ill-will,'—want is hunger: thus, 'keeping off hunger;'—'grant-

<sup>1</sup> The trishṭubh verse consists of  $4 \times 11$  syllables, hence the twelve verses of together 528 syllables. The gâyatṛī verse, on the other hand, consists of  $3 \times 8$  syllables; and twenty-two such verses would thus consist of altogether 528 syllables.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. VI, 8, 1, 7.

ing to the lord of the sacrifice a share in wealth-affluence,' that is, 'granting to the lord of the sacrifice a share in wealth and in affluence;' 'may the sacrifice be founded on wealth-affluence!'—that is, 'may the sacrifice be founded on wealth and affluence!'

9. 'Glorifying on the kindled fire,'—the glorifying one is the Sacrificer;—'the hymn-winged,'—for hymns are his wings;—'taken,'—that is, 'held;'—'praiseworthy,'—that is, 'worthy of worship;'—'(when) they sacrificed, encircling the heated cauldron,'—for they did sacrifice, whilst encircling the heated (Pravargya) cauldron; 'when the gods offered the sacrifice with food,'—for the gods did offer this sacrifice with food.

10. 'To the divine, fostering upholder,'—for he, Agni, is the divine upholder, the most fostering;—'he, the approacher of gods, the well-disposed, of a hundred draughts,'—for he is indeed an approacher of the gods, and well-disposed, and possessed of a hundred draughts;—'encircling, the gods drew nigh unto the sacrifice,'—for encircling him (Agni), the gods drew nigh to the sacrifice;—'the gods stood ready to perform the cult unto the gods,'—the cult, doubtless, is the sacrifice, thus, 'the gods stood ready to perform the sacrifice to the gods.'

11. 'The welcome oblation slaughtered by the slaughterer<sup>1</sup> to sacrifice,'—that is, 'wished-for, much wished-for;'—'where the fourth sacrifice goeth to the offering,'—the Adhvaryu first mutters the formulas, the Hotri afterwards recites

<sup>1</sup> Mahīdhara takes 'samitā' to stand for 'samitrā.'

the verses, the Brahman mutters the Apratiratha (hymn) on the south side; this (set of verses), then, is the fourth sacrifice;—‘may the prayers, the blessings favour us!’—that is, ‘may both prayers and blessings favour us!’

12. ‘The sun-rayed, golden-haired Savitri ever lifted up<sup>2</sup> the light in front,’—this Agni, doubtless, is yonder sun, and that sun-rayed, golden-haired Savitri in front ever lifts up that light;—‘at his behest Pûshan goeth, the wise,’—Pûshan, doubtless, means cattle, and they indeed start forth at his (Agni-Sûrya’s) behest;—‘viewing all beings as their guardian,’—for he indeed views everything here, and he is the protector of all this world.

13. Now, the gods thereby (viz. by these five verses) wrested from the Asuras the five regions which are on this side of yonder sun, and then ascended them; and so does the Sacrificer now wrest them from his hateful rival, and then ascend them. And by means of them the gods reached this place, and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) by means of them reach this place<sup>3</sup>.

14. He then sets up a variegated stone;—the

<sup>1</sup> ? Or, ‘May they favour our prayers and blessings!’ These verses are rather enigmatical.

<sup>2</sup> The author of the Brâhmaṇa connects ‘udayâm’ with ‘yam,’ Mahîdhara with ‘yâ’ (udayân for udayât).

<sup>3</sup> ? Or, reach *that* place; Sâyaṇa, in the first instance, takes it to mean ‘as far as this place’ (from beyond the sun down to the end of the air); but in the second instance, he takes it as referring to the particular spot on the sacrificial ground near which this part of the ceremonial is performed, viz. the Âgnîdhra’s fire-shed (as representing the air), south of which the Adhvaryu lays down a variegated stone close to the ‘spine.’

variegated stone, doubtless, is yonder sun : it is thus yonder sun that is set up. It is variegated, for by means of its rays that disk is variegated. He sets it up between the Âhavanīya and the Gârhapatya ; for the Gârhapatya is this (terrestrial) world, and the Âhavanīya is the sky : he thus places him (the sun) between these two worlds, whence he shines between these two worlds.

15. On the Âgnīdhra range<sup>1</sup> (he places it), for the Âgnīdhra's fire-shed is the air ; he thus places it in the air, whence that (sun) has the air for his seat. Halfway (between the two fires he places it) ; for that (sun) is halfway from this (earth).

16. This (stone) is the breath,—he thus puts the breath into the body ; and it is the vital power,—he thus puts vital power into the body ; it is food, for it is vital power, and vital power is indeed food. It is a stone, for a stone is firm : he thus makes the vital power firm. It is variegated, for food is variegated (varied).

17. He sets it up (with, Vâg. S. XVII, 59, 60), 'Measuring he keeps in the middle of the sky,'—for that (sun) indeed keeps measuring in the middle of the sky ;—'filling the two worlds and the air,' for even in rising he fills these (three) worlds ;—'he scans the all-reaching, the butter-reaching,'—he thereby means the offering-ladles and the offering-grounds ;—'between the front and back lights,'—that is, between this world and that one ; or that (fire-altar) which is here at this moment being built, and that which was there built at first.

<sup>1</sup> That is, where the Âgnīdhra shed and hearth will afterwards have to be erected (see IX, 4, 3, 5-6) on the northern edge of the Vedi, midway between the Gârhapatya and Âhavanīya fire-places.

18. 'The showering ocean, the ruddy bird,'—for he (the sun) is indeed a showering ocean, and a ruddy bird,—'hath entered the seat of his easterly father,'—for he indeed enters that seat of his easterly<sup>1</sup> father;—'the many-hued rock set up in the middle of the sky,'—for that variegated stone is indeed set up in the middle of the sky;—'hath traversed and guardeth the two ends of the atmosphere;'—for in traversing he guards the ends of these worlds.

19. With two (verses) he sets it up;—two-footed is the Sacrificer, and the Sacrificer is Agni : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus sets him (the sun, Agni) up. With trishṛubh (verses he sets him up),—for that (sun) is related to the Trishṛubh. He does not 'settle' (the stone), for unsettled is that (sun); nor does he pronounce the Sûdadohas over it;—the Sûdadohas means the breath, and that (sun) is the breath, and why should he put breath into (or on) the breath? Having deposited it in such a way that it is not lost;—

20. They now approach (the fire-altar, with, Vâg. S. XVII, 61-64), 'They all have magnified Indra,'—the meaning of this has been explained<sup>2</sup>. 'Let the god-invoking sacrifice lead hither, let the favour-invoking sacrifice lead hither (the gods)!—both god-invoking and favour-invoking indeed is the sacrifice;—'let Agni, the god, make offering and lead hither the gods!' that is, 'may

<sup>1</sup> Thus Mahîdhara here takes 'pūrva,' and apparently also the author of the Brāhmaṇa; the easterly father being the Āhavaniya, and hence the sky. In the formula it would rather seem to mean 'former, old.'

<sup>2</sup> See VIII, 7, 3, 7.

Agni, the god, both make offering and bring hither the gods!’

21. ‘The creation of strength hath upheaved me with upheaval, and Indra hath laid low mine enemies by subdual,’—as the text, so the meaning.

22. ‘May the gods advance the Brahman both by upheaval and subdual; and may Indra and Agni scatter asunder mine enemies!’—as the text, so the meaning.

23. Now, the gods thereby (viz. by these four verses) wrested from the Asuras the four regions which are above yonder sun, and then ascended them; and in like manner does the Sacrificer thereby wrest them from his hateful enemy, and then ascend them. And by means of them the gods then attained to that place; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) by means of them attain thither.

24. They then mount the fire-altar, with (Vâg. S. XVII, 65-69), ‘By Agni ascend ye to the firmament!’—the firmament, doubtless, is the heavenly world: thus, ‘by means of this Agni (fire-altar) ascend ye to that heavenly world!’—‘holding the Ukhya in your hands,’—for the Ukhya (the fire in the pan) they do hold in their hands<sup>1</sup>;—‘having gone to the back of the sky, to heaven, keep ye mingling with the gods!’—that is, ‘having gone to the back of the sky, to the heavenly world, keep ye mingling with the gods!’

---

<sup>1</sup> Viz. inasmuch as the firebrand now being carried forward to the great fire-altar, where it is henceforth to serve as Âhavanîya, was taken from the Gârhapatya fire, which itself is identical with the Ukhya Agni, or fire carried about by the Sacrificer in the Ukhâ, or pan, during his period of initiation. See p. 191, note 1.

25. 'Go thou forth to the eastern quarter, knowing!'—the eastern quarter, doubtless, is Agni's: thus, 'To thine own quarter go thou forth, knowing!'—'be thou Agni's fore-fire here, O Agni!'—that is, 'Of this Agni (*kitya*) be thou, O Agni, the fore-fire!'—'Shine thou, illumining all regions!'—that is, 'shine thou, illuminating every region!'—'Grant thou food to our two-footed and four-footed one!' he thereby invokes a blessing.

26. 'From the earth have I ascended the air; from the air have I ascended the sky;'—for from the *Gârhapatya* they go to the *Âgnidhriya*, and from the *Âgnidhriya* to the *Âhavantiya*;—'from the sky, the back of the firmament, have I gone to heaven, to the light;'—that is, 'from the sky, the back of the firmament, have I gone to the heavenly world.'

27. 'The heaven-going look not round, they ascend the heaven, the two worlds,'—those who go to the heavenly world do not indeed look round<sup>2</sup>; 'the wise who performed the all-sustaining sacrifice,'—for that sacrifice is indeed all-sustaining<sup>3</sup>, and they who perform it are indeed wise.

28. 'Go forward, Agni, first of the godward-going,'—he thereby says to this Agni (that is carried forward), 'Go thou forward, as the first of these godward-going ones;'—'the eye of the gods

<sup>1</sup> Mahîdhara takes 'puro'gni' in the sense of fore-goer (*puras agre aṅgati gakkhati*).

<sup>2</sup> That is, according to Mahîdhara, they think not of their sons, cattle, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Thus Mahîdhara takes 'virvatodhâra;' 'flowing in every direction' (*virvato + dhârâ*), St. Petersburg. Dict.

and of mortals,'—for this (Agni) is indeed the eye of both gods and men;—'they who love to sacrifice together with the *Bhrigus*,'—that is, 'sacrificing together with the *Bhrigus*,'—'let the offerers go unto heaven, hail!'—that is, 'may the offerers go to the heavenly world, hail!'

29. Now, the gods thereby (viz. by these five verses) wrested from the Asuras the five regions which are in yonder world, and then ascended them; and so does the Sacrificer thereby wrest them from his hateful enemy, and then ascend them. And by means of them the gods attained thither, and so also does this (Sacrificer) by means of them attain thither.

30. He then makes offering on that (firebrand);—for now that he (Agni) had arrived the gods thereupon gratified him with food, this oblation; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer), now that he (Agni) has arrived, thereupon gratify him with food, this oblation. With milk from a black (cow) which has a white calf (he makes offering); the black (cow) with a white calf is the night, and her calf is yonder sun: he thus regales him with his own share, with his own relish. On it (the firebrand, he offers) while it is held above (the naturally-perforated brick); for above (everything) is he whom he thereby gratifies. By means of the milk-pail (he offers), for with the milk-pail milk is given away.

31. And, again, as to why he makes offering upon it. That (*Āhavantya*) fire is the head of the sacrifice, and milk means breath: he thus puts breath into the head. He should make the offering so that it (the milk) flows on the naturally-perforated (brick);—the naturally-perforated one is breath, and this



(milk) is vital sap: he thus connects and puts together the head and the breath by means of vital sap. [He pours it out, with, *Vâg. S. XVII, 70, 71*], 'Night and Dawn, of one mind, unlike in form,'—the meaning of this has been explained<sup>1</sup>.

32. 'O Agni, thousand-eyed!—through the chips of gold<sup>2</sup> Agni is indeed thousand-eyed;—hundred-headed,'—inasmuch as, at that time<sup>3</sup>, he was created as the hundred-headed Rudra;—'thine are a hundred out-breathings, and a thousand through-breathings,'—his indeed are a hundred out-breathings and a thousand through-breathings who is hundred-headed and thousand-eyed;—'thou art the master of wealth,'—that is, 'thou art the master of all wealth;—'to thee, our strength, do we give honour!'—he (Agni) is indeed the strength<sup>4</sup>: it is him he thereby gratifies.

33. With two (verses) he makes offering thereon,—two-footed is the Sacrificer, and the Sacrificer is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus makes offering to him.

34. He then lays it (the firebrand) down, with (*Vâg. S. XVII, 72, 73*), 'A well-winged bird thou art,'—for on that former occasion he, by means of the fashioning-formula, fashions him into a well-winged bird<sup>5</sup>; that well-winged bird he builds up, and having fashioned that well-winged bird, he finally sets him down;—'seat thee on the back

<sup>1</sup> Viz. VI, 7, 2, 2.

<sup>2</sup> See IX, 2, 1, 1.

<sup>3</sup> See IX, 1, 1, 6.

<sup>4</sup> ? Or, that (firebrand) is indeed food (*vâga*). Mahîdhara interprets this part of the formula thus: To thee do we give food (*vâgâya* for *vâgam*).

<sup>5</sup> See VI, 7, 2, 5 seq.

of the earth, fill the air with thy shine, prop the sky with thy light, and uphold the quarters by thy lustre!'—for that one (Agni) indeed does all this.

35. 'Receiving offering, kind-faced, in front,'—that is, 'receiving offering, kind-faced for us, in front;'—'seat thee, O Agni, aright in thine own seat!'—for this (fire-altar) is his (Agni's) own seat: thus, 'do thou rightly seat thee in it!'—'in this higher abode,'—the higher abode, doubtless, is the sky;—'sit ye down, the All-gods and the Sacrificer!'—he thus establishes the Sacrificer together with the All-gods. With two (verses) he deposits it: the significance of this has been explained,—with the Vasha<sup>t</sup>-call: the significance of this (will be explained) farther on.

36. He then puts pieces of firewood thereon; for now that he (Agni) had arrived, the gods thereupon gratified him with food, both pieces of firewood and oblations; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer), now that he has arrived, thereupon gratify him with food, both pieces of wood and oblations.

37. He first puts on one of saml-wood (acacia suma). For at that time, when this oblation had been offered, he (Agni) was enkindled and blazed up. The gods were afraid of him, lest he might injure them. They saw this saml tree, and therewith appeased him; and inasmuch as they appeased (sam) him by that saml, it is (called) Saml; and in like manner this (Sacrificer) now appeases him by means of that saml (wood),—just with a view to appeasement, not for food.

38. [He puts it on, with, Vâg. S. XVII, 74], 'I desire the manifest favour of the admirable

Savitri, enjoyed by all men; that great cow of his, the thousand-streamed, teeming with milk, which Kaṇva was wont to milk;—for Kaṇva indeed saw her, and she, the thousand-streamed, milked him all his wishes (objects of desire); and in like manner does the thousand-streamed one now milk to the Sacrificer all his objects of desire.

39. He then puts on one of vikaṇkata (flacourtia sapida) wood—the significance whereof has been explained—with (Vâg. S. XVII, 75), ‘To thee give we honour, O Agni, in the highest home;’—his highest home, doubtless, is the sky;—‘to thee give we honour, in hymns of praise, in the lower abode;’—the lower abode, doubtless, is the air;—‘the birth-place whence thou hast arisen do I worship,’—that is, ‘this is his (Agni’s) own birth-place: that I worship;’—‘on thee, when kindled, offerings are poured forth;’—for when he (the fire) is kindled, they make offerings on him.

40. He then puts on one of udumbara (ficus glomerata) wood;—the Udumbara means strength and sap: with strength and sap he thus gratifies him. It has forking branches<sup>1</sup>,—forking branches mean cattle: with cattle, as food, he thus gratifies him. If he cannot get one with bifurcate branches, let him take up a globule of sour curds and put it on (the wood): that globule of sour curds which supervenes is a form of cattle. With the virâg (verse, Vâg. S. XVII, 76; Rîg-veda VII, 1, 3),

<sup>1</sup> Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, 281, takes ‘kaṇakavat’ to mean ‘one that has a knot-hole;’ but Deva’s explanation, ‘kaṇako dvitīya-sākhodbhedaḥ,’ probably means nothing else than ‘showing the appearance of a second branch,’ or ‘one in which a second branch (side branch) has struck out.’

‘Kindled, blaze forth, O Agni, before us, (with inexhaustible flame, O youngest! perpetual viands accrue unto thee!)’—he puts it on;—the *Virâg* means food: with food he thus gratifies him. Three pieces of wood he puts on,—threefold is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much food he thus gratifies him.

41. He then offers oblations,—this is just as if, after serving food to some one, one gives him something to drink. With the dipping-spoon (*sruva*) he offers the first two, with the offering-ladle (*sruk*) the last (oblation); (the first) with (*Vâg*. S. XVII, 77), ‘O Agni, may we, with hymns and thoughts, speed this day this (sacrifice) of thine, even as a steed, as a noble, heart-stirring deed!’—that is, ‘whatever heart-stirring hymn is thine, may I speed (perform) that for thee.’ With a *pañkti* (verse) he offers,—of five feet consists the *Pañkti*, of five layers the fire-altar, five seasons are a year, and Agni is the year: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much food he thus gratifies him.

42. He then offers (the second oblation), the one for *Visvakarman*,—*Visvakarman* (the all-worker) is this Agni: it is him he thereby gratifies,—with (*Vâg*. S. XVII, 78), ‘Thought I offer, with mind and ghee,’—that is, ‘The thought of these (priests and Sacrificer) I offer with mind and ghee;’—‘that the gods come hither,’—that is, ‘that the gods may come hither;’—‘enjoying their offering-meal, the holy-minded,’—that is, the true-minded;—‘to *Visvakarman*, the lord of all existence, I offer,’—that is, ‘to that *Visvakarman* who is the lord of all that here exists I offer;’—‘every day the

unimpaired oblation,'—that is, 'always the uninjured oblation.'

43. He then offers a full (-spoon) oblation,—the full means everything: with everything he thus gratifies him.

44. [He offers, with, Vâg. S. XVII, 79], 'Thine, O Agni, are seven logs,'—logs mean vital airs, for the vital airs do kindle him;—'seven tongues,'—this he says with regard to those seven persons which they made into one person';—'seven *Rishis*,'—for seven *Rishis* they indeed were;—'seven beloved seats,'—this he says with regard to the metres, for his seven beloved seats are the metres;—'sevenfold the seven priests worship thee,'—for in a sevenfold way the seven priests indeed worship him;—'the seven homes,'—he thereby means the seven layers (of the altar);—'fill thou!'—that is, 'generate thou';—'with ghee,'—ghee means seed: he thus lays seed into these worlds;—'svâhâ!'—the svâhâ (hail!) is the sacrifice; he thus at once makes everything here fit for sacrifice.

45. 'Seven' he says each time,—of seven layers the fire-altar consists, and of seven seasons the year, and Agni is the year: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus gratifies him. Three oblations he offers,—threefold is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much food he thus gratifies him. Three logs he puts on,—that makes six: the significance of this has been explained.

46. Standing he puts on the logs,—the logs are bones, and bones stand, so to speak. Sitting he

---

<sup>1</sup> See VI, I, I, I seq.

offers the oblations,—oblations are the flesh, and the flesh sits (lies), so to speak. The logs are inside (the fire), and the oblations outside, for the bones are inside, and the flesh is outside.

47. Now, then, as to the (mystic) correspondence (or, amount). Six he offers before (the leading forward of the fire), and six afterwards; with six (formulas) they proceed up to the variegated stone; with two he lays down the variegated stone; with four they proceed as far as the fire-altar; with five they mount the fire-altar: that makes twenty-nine, and the oblation itself is the thirtieth. With two (verses) he deposits the fire,—that makes thirty-two, and of thirty-two syllables consists the Anushṭubh: such, then, is this Anushṭubh.

48. And this one (Anushṭubh) they bring hither from those three Anushṭubhs which they make up on the Gârhapatya<sup>1</sup>; and inasmuch as they bring this (therefrom) hither, thereby this whole Agni (fire-altar) becomes completed. But now he was not yet fit to eat food<sup>2</sup>.

49. He said to Agni<sup>3</sup>, 'By thee I will eat food!'—'So be it!' Hence it is only when they bring him hither, that this (Āityāgni) becomes fit to eat food, to eat oblations.

50. Moreover, they say, 'It is Pragâpati himself who takes this (Agni) as his dear son to his bosom;' and verily, whosoever so knows this, takes thus a dear son to his bosom.

<sup>1</sup> See VII, 1, 2, 16-19.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, he was not equal thereto that he should eat food.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the Āityāgni (fire-altar) said to the Agni (fire) about to be led forward.

51. And, again, as to why they bring it here,—the Agni (fire-altar) which is built up here is the same as those seven persons which they made into one person; and that excellence and life-sap of them which they concentrated above, that is the fire which they now bring here,—hence, when they now bring it here, they concentrate above (in the head) that excellence and life-sap which belonged to those seven persons,—that is his (Agni's) head, and this built-up fire-altar is the body: having thus completed his body, he restores the head to it.

### THIRD ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRÂHMĀNA.

#### INSTALLATION AND CONSECRATION OF AGNI.

1. He then offers the Vaisvânara (cake). That Agni has now been completely restored; he now is that deity, (Agni) Vaisvânara (belonging to all men): to him he offers this oblation, and by the oblation he makes him a deity, for for whatever deity an oblation is prepared that is a deity, but not one for whom no (oblation) is prepared. It is one of twelve potsherds: twelve months are a year, and Vaisvânara is the year.

2. And, again, as to why he offers the Vaisvânara (cake),—it is as the Vaisvânara that he is about to produce that Agni: on that former occasion, at the initiation-offering<sup>1</sup>, he pours him out in the form of seed; and what the seed is like that is poured

<sup>1</sup> Cp. VI, 6, 1, 6. Whilst the initiation-offering of the ordinary Soma-sacrifice consists only of a cake on eleven potsherds to Agni and Vishṇu, that of the Agnikayana requires two further oblations, viz. a cake on twelve potsherds to Vaisvânara, and a rice-pap with ghee to the Âdityas; cf. part iii, p. 247 note.

into the womb, such like (is the child that) is born ; and inasmuch as there he pours out Vaisvânara in the form of seed, therefore he now is born as Vaisvânara. Silently<sup>1</sup> it is (performed) there, for there seed (is implied) in the sacrifice, and silently seed is infused ; but distinctly on the present occasion, for distinct (manifest) is the seed when born.

3. Now, that Vaisvânara is all these worlds : this earth is the All (visva), and Agni is its man (nara) ; the air is the All, and Vâyu (the wind) is its man (ruler) ; the sky is the All, and Âditya (the sun) is its man.

4. And these worlds are the same as this head,—this (lower part of the head) is the earth, the plants (being) the hair of its beard : this is the All, and Agni is Speech, he is the man. That (speech) is at the top thereof, for Agni is on the top of this (earth).

5. This (central part of the face) is the air, whence it is hairless, for hairless, as it were, is the air ; it is this All, and Vâyu (the wind) is the breath, he is the man ; he is in the middle thereof, for the wind is in the middle of the air.

6. The sky is the (upper part of the) head, and the stars are the hair ; it is the All, and Âditya (the sun) is the eye, he is the man : it is in the lower part of the (upper) head, for the sun is below the sky. Vaisvânara is the head thereof, and this built-up Agni (the altar) is the body : thus, having completed his body, he restores the head thereto.

7. He then offers the (cakes) to the Maruts ;—

---

<sup>1</sup> Or, rather, in a low voice, the name of the deity being pronounced in an undertone while the oblation is poured into the fire ; see VI, 6, 1, 11. No special formula is, however, used on either occasion.



the Maruts' (cakes) are the vital airs : he thus puts the vital airs into him (Agni). [He does so] after offering the Vaisvânara ; for the Vaisvânara is the head : he thus puts vital airs into the head.

8. That (Vaisvânara oblation) is a single one, for single, as it were, is the head ; the others (viz. the Mârutas) are seven in number, of seven potsherd each ; and though 'seven-seven' means 'many times,' here it is only seven<sup>1</sup> : he thus places seven vital airs in the head.

9. That (Vaisvânara oblation) is (performed in a) distinct (voice), for the head is distinct ; but indistinct the other (oblations), for indistinct, as it were, are the vital airs. Standing he offers the former, for the head stands, so to speak ; sitting the others, for the vital airs are, so to speak, seated.

10. Now, the first two Mâruta (oblations) he offers are these two vital airs (in the ears) : he offers them in the middle<sup>2</sup> of the Vaisvânara (oblations), for these two vital airs are in the middle of the head.

11. And the second pair are these two (vital airs

<sup>1</sup> See VIII, 1, 1, 2. Also VI, 5, 3, 11, where the translation should be altered accordingly.

<sup>2</sup> In baking the cakes, the Vaisvânara is placed on the centre of the fire, and the first two Mâruta cakes are placed north and south of it, then the following pair of cakes behind the first, but more closely together, and behind these the third pair, still more closely together, and finally the last cake forming, as it were, the apex of a phalanx of Mâruta cakes (or wind-deities) protecting (that of) Agni Vaisvânara. In offering the cakes a similar method is to be followed ; except that the first pair of Mâruta cakes may be offered, not in the fire itself, but on the previously flattened out Vaisvânara cake lying on the fire. Whilst the Kâûya-sûtra (XVIII, 4, 23) admits this as an alternative mode (though not very clearly expressed), our passage seems to require it as the only possible mode. Both the Vaisvânara and the Mâruta cakes are offered whole.

in the eyes); he offers them closer together, for closer together, as it were, are these two vital airs.

12. And the third pair are these two (vital airs in the nostrils). He offers them closer together, for closer together, as it were, are these two vital airs. The one to be recited in the forest<sup>1</sup> is speech: it is to be recited in the forest, for by speech one gets into much terrible (trouble).

13. And, again, as to why he offers the Vaisvânara and Mârutas,—the Vaisvânara is the ruling power (chieftaincy), and the Mârutas are the clan: he thus sets up both the chief and the clan. The Vaisvânara he offers first: thus, having set up the chief, he sets up the clan.

14. The former is a single (oblation): he thus makes the ruling power (chieftaincy) to attach to a single (person), and (social) distinction to attach to a single (person). The others are numerous: he thus bestows multiplicity on the clan.

15. The former is (offered in a) distinct (voice), for the ruling power is something distinct, so to speak; and the others are indistinct, for indistinct, so to speak, is the clan. Standing he offers the former, for the ruling power (the chief) stands, so to speak; and sitting (he offers) the others, for the clan sits, so to speak.

16. The former he offers with the offering-ladle,

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Aranye-nûkya' is the technical term applied to the odd, or seventh, Mâruta oblation. According to Sâyaṇa it is so called after an anuvâka of the Samhitâ, to be recited only in the forest. Possibly, however, it is to the particular formula (Vâg. S. XXXIX, 7), also called 'vimukha' (? to be pronounced 'with averted face'), and containing the names of the seven most terrible Maruts, that the name applies.

when the Vashaṭ is uttered, with both an invitatory formula (anuvākyā) and an offering-formula (yāgyā); with the hand the others sitting, with the Svāhā-call: he thus makes the clan subservient and obedient to the chieftain.

17. As to this they say, 'How do these (Mâruta oblations) also come to be offered for him by the offering-ladle, at the Vashaṭ-call, and with invitatory and offering formulas?' Well, the first three feet of those seven-footed Mâruta (verses), being a three-footed Gâyatrî, are the invitatory formula, and the last four, being a four-footed Trishubh, are the offering-formula. The one is the bowl, and the other the handle (of the offering-ladle), and the Svāhā-call is the Vashaṭ-call: in this way, then, these (Mâruta oblations) also become offered for him by the offering-ladle, at the Vashaṭ-call, and with invitatory and offering-formulas.

18. And the first Mâruta (cake) which he offers on the right (south) side, is the seven (rivers) which flow eastwards. It is one of seven potsherds, for there are seven of those (rivers) which flow eastwards.

19. And the first (cake) which he offers on the left (north) side, is the seasons; it is one of seven potsherds, for there are seven seasons.

20. And the second (cake) which he offers on the right side, is animals; it is one of seven potsherds, for there are seven domestic animals. He offers it close to the preceding one (representing the rivers): he thus settles animals near water.

21. And the second (cake) which he offers on the left side, is the seven Rishis; it is one of seven potsherds, for the seven Rishis are seven in number.

He offers it close to the preceding one: he thus establishes the seven *Rishis* in the seasons.

22. And the third (cake) which he offers on the right side, is the vital airs; it is one of seven potsherds, for there are seven vital airs in the head. He offers it close to the preceding one: he thus puts the vital airs so as to be close to (not separated from) the head.

23. And the third (cake) which he offers on the left side, is the metres; it is one of seven potsherds, for there are seven metres increasing by four (syllables respectively). He offers it close to the preceding one: he thus places the metres close to the *Rishis*.

24. And the *Aranye-nûkya* is the seven (rivers) which flow westwards; it is one of seven potsherds, for there are seven of those (rivers) which flow westwards. It is that downward vital air of his. That *Aranye-nûkya* belongs to this *Pragâpati*; for the forest (*aranya*) is, as it were, concealed, and concealed, as it were, is that downward vital air; whence those who drink of these (downward flowing) rivers become most vile, most blasphemous, most lascivious in their speech. Whenever he here speaks of them as belonging to the *Maruts*, he makes them food for him (*Agni*)<sup>1</sup> and offers it to him, and gratifies him thereby.

25. That *Vaisvânara* (cake), doubtless, is yonder sun, and the *Mâruta* (cakes) are those rays. They are of seven potsherds each, for the troops of the *Maruts* consist of seven each.

---

<sup>1</sup> Probably, inasmuch as the *Maruts* (and the *Mâruta* oblations) represent the clansmen who are considered the legitimate 'food' or the chief, *Agni Vaisvânara*.

26. He offers (the first Māruta cake), with (Vāg. S. XVII, 80), 'The clear-lighted, and the bright-lighted, and the true-lighted, and the light, and the clear, and the law-observing, and the sinless one!'—these are their names: having completed that disk (of the sun, in the shape of the Vaisvānara), he bestows those rays on it by calling them by their names.

## SECOND BRĀHMANA.

### THE SHOWER OF WEALTH AND OTHER OBLATIONS.

1. Thereupon<sup>1</sup> he (the Sacrificer<sup>2</sup>) offers the Vasor dhârâ. That whole Agni has now been completed, and he is here the Vasu (good one): to that Vasu the gods offered this shower (dhârâ), whence it is called 'Vasor dhârâ<sup>3</sup>;' and in like manner this (Sacrificer) offers to him this shower, and gratifies him thereby.

2. And, again, as to why he offers the 'Vasor dhârâ;'—this is his (Agni's) Abhisheka<sup>4</sup>; for the

<sup>1</sup> That is, after offering all the seven Māruta cakes, the formulas of the last six of which (Vāg. S. XVII, 81-85; XXXIX, 7) are not given in the Brāhmaṇa. At the end the Adhvaryu mutters the verse XVII, 86, and thereupon he either makes the Sacrificer mutter (or mutters himself) verses 87-99 in praise of Agni. Kāty. Sr. XVIII, 4, 25; 26.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, according to Kāty. XVIII, 5, 1 (the Adhvaryu, according to Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, p. 283).

<sup>3</sup> It would rather seem to mean 'stream, or shower, of wealth;' cf. paragraph 4.

<sup>4</sup> That is, the consecration ceremony, in which the king is 'sprinkled' with sacred water, or, so to speak, anointed. The 'Vasor dhârâ,' or 'shower of wealth,' consisting of an uninterrupted series of 401 libations to Agni (through which all the powers of the god are to be secured to the Sacrificer), is intended as the

gods, having now completed him wholly and entirely, showered upon him those wishes (or, objects of desire), this 'Vasor dhârâ;' and in like manner does this (Sacrificer), now that he has completed him wholly and entirely, shower upon him those wishes, this 'Vasor dhârâ.' With ghee taken in five ladlings, and an offering-ladle of udumbara wood (he offers): the significance of this has been explained.

3. [He offers it] after offering the Vaisvânara (cake)—for the Vaisvânara is the head, and food is taken in from the head (downwards); and, besides, it is from the head (downwards) that he who is anointed is anointed;—and after offering the Mâruta (cakes), for the Mârutas are the vital airs, and through (the channels of) the vital airs food is eaten; and, besides, it is at (the openings of) the vital airs that he who is anointed is anointed<sup>1</sup>.

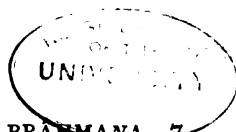
4. And, furthermore, (it is offered) upon the Aranye-nûkya<sup>2</sup>; for the Aranye-nûkya is speech, and it is through (the channel of) speech that food is eaten; and, besides, it is with speech that he who

---

equivalent of that ceremony for the consecration of Agni as king; and, indeed, as a kind of superior consecration ceremony for the (royal) Sacrificer himself, more potent than the Râgasṭya and Vâgapeya. There is thus to be noticed here the same tendency as elsewhere of exalting the efficacy of the Agnikâyana, and of making it take the place of the whole of the ordinary sacrificial ceremonial.

<sup>1</sup> When anointed, or consecrated, the king is first sprinkled from the front and then from behind, and finally rubbed all over, with the consecrated water; see V, 4, 2, 1 seq.

<sup>2</sup> That is, as soon as the Adhvaryu has put the Aranye-nûkya cake in the fire the Sacrificer begins to pour the ghee on it with a large offering-ladle of udumbara wood, and the Adhvaryu begins to mutter the formulas.



is anointed is anointed. And everything here is wealth (vasu), for all these (cake-offerings) are (connected with special) wishes<sup>1</sup>; and in order that this shower, be it of milk or of ghee, (may be) fraught with wealth, this oblation of ghee is thus offered for the beginning; and inasmuch as this shower is fraught with wealth, it is called 'shower of wealth.'

5. He (as it were) says, 'This is mine, and that is mine;'—that is, 'Herewith I gratify thee, and therewith;—herewith I anoint thee, and therewith;' or, 'Give me this, and that!' And as soon as that shower reaches the fire, that prayer is fulfilled.

6. Now the gods, having gratified him (Agni) by this food, or by these objects of desire<sup>2</sup>, and having anointed him by this shower of wealth, solicited from him these objects of desire<sup>3</sup>; and having received offering, and being gratified and anointed, he granted them these objects of desire; and in like manner this (Sacrificer), having gratified him by this food, and by these offerings of desire, and anointed him with this shower of wealth, now solicits from him these objects of desire; and having received offering, and being gratified and anointed, he (Agni) grants him these objects of desire. In order to avoid discontinuance, he each time embraces two wishes,—even as one would connect those living away from one another,—thinking, 'In this way shall they prosper by sacrifice!'

7. The gods now spake, 'Through whom shall we receive these objects of desire?'—'By our own

<sup>1</sup> Or, all these (objects) for which offerings are made are objects of desire.

<sup>2</sup> Or, perhaps, 'for (prompted by) these objects of desire.'

<sup>3</sup> Or, asked him these wishes (boons).

self,' they said; for the sacrifice is the self of the gods, and so is the sacrifice that of the Sacrificer; and when he says, 'By the sacrifice they shall prosper!' he means to say, 'By my own self they shall prosper!'

8. In twelve (things) he causes them to prosper<sup>1</sup>, the year consists of twelve months, and Agni is the year: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much food he thus gratifies him, and by so much food he thus consecrates him. In fourteen he causes them to prosper; in eight he causes them to prosper; in ten he causes them to prosper; in thirteen he causes them to prosper.

9. He then offers the Ardhendra (libations)<sup>2</sup>;—the ardhendras are everything here<sup>3</sup>: he thus gratifies him (Agni) with everything, and with everything he thus consecrates him.

10. He then offers (the libations relating to) the Grahas<sup>4</sup>;—the grahas (cups of soma, offered to

<sup>1</sup> That is, he makes the objects of desire mentioned in the formulas used during the Vasoṛ dhārā, accrue to himself, or turn out well for himself. The formulas usually contain the names of twelve such objects (in six pairs), those in XVIII, 1 being—'(may) strength and gain, endeavour and attempt, thought and wisdom, sound and praise, fame and hearing, light and heaven, prosper for (or accrue to) me by sacrifice!' In XVIII, 4, however, fourteen objects are enumerated, in XVIII, 15 (and 27) eight, in XVIII, 23 (and 26) ten, in XVIII, 28 thirteen.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, 'the half-Indra ones,' the technical term for the formulas of three sets of libations (XVIII, 16–18), in which three sets of twelve deities are named, each pair of whom consists of Indra coupled with some other deity, thus 'May Agni and Indra, Soma and Indra, &c., prosper for (or accrue to) me by sacrifice!'

<sup>3</sup> Viz. inasmuch as Indra represents the ruling power, and everything submits to him (III, 9, 4, 15); or inasmuch as Indra and Agni are the whole universe (IV, 2, 2, 14).

<sup>4</sup> These are three sets of libations (still forming part of the con-



the deities), doubtless, are sacrifice : by sacrifice, by food, he thus gratifies him ; and by sacrifice he thus consecrates him.

### THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. He then offers these *Yagñakratuṣ*<sup>1</sup> (sacrificial rites), with, 'May the Agni and the Gharma (prosper) for me!'—by these sacrificial rites he thus gratifies him, and by these sacrificial rites he thus consecrates him.

2. He then offers (the libations relating to) the Uneven Stomas<sup>2</sup>;—for the gods, having now obtained their desires, by means of the uneven Stomas went up to heaven ; and in like manner does the Sacrificer, now that he has obtained all his desires, by means of the uneven Stomas go up to heaven.

3. Now this (set runs) up to the thirty-three-versed (hymn-form), for the *Trayastrimsa* is the last of the uneven Stomas : at the last the gods thus

tinuous 'Vasor dhârâ,' or 'wealth-stream'), the formulas of which (XVIII, 19–21) enumerate each six pairs of cups of Soma (graha) and of sacrificial implements.

<sup>1</sup> These are two sets of libations in the formulas of which (XVIII, 22 ; 23) objects connected with 'special sacrifices' are enumerated. Thus, of the first pair, 'Agni and Gharma,' 'Agni,' according to Mahîdhara, represents either the *Agnîkayana* or the *Agnishoma* (ordinary Soma-sacrifice) ; whilst the 'Gharma (cauldron)' stands for the *Pravargya* offering (part i, p. 44 note).

<sup>2</sup> The formula of this set of libations (XVIII, 24) enumerates the seventeen uneven numbers (in the feminine gender) from 1 to 33, repeating the second number of each pair, so as to be the first number of the next pair (thus, 1 and 3, 3 and 5, &c.). These numbers are meant to represent the corresponding Stomas, consisting of an uneven number of verses, up to the *Trayastrimsa*, or thirty-three-versed hymn-form.

went up to heaven; and in like manner does the Sacrificer thereby at the last go up to heaven.

4. He then offers (those relating to) the Even (Stomas)<sup>1</sup>;—for the metres then said, ‘The uneven stomas are worn out, by means of the even ones we will go up to heaven!’ By means of the even stomas they went up to heaven; and in like manner does the Sacrificer thus, by means of the even stomas, go up to heaven.

5. This (set runs) up to the forty-eight-versed (hymn-form), for the *Ashṭākatvārimśa* is the last of the even stomas: at the last the metres thus went up to heaven; and in like manner does the Sacrificer thereby at the last go up to heaven.

6. He says, ‘May the One and the Three (prosper) for me!’—‘May the Four and the Eight (prosper) for me!’—even as one climbing a tree would climb up by taking hold of an ever higher branch, so is this. And as to why he offers the Stomas,—the stomas are food: it is with food he thus consecrates him.

7. He then offers (the libations relating to) the Age-grades<sup>2</sup> (of cattle),—age-grades mean cattle: it is by cattle, for his food, that he thus gratifies

<sup>1</sup> The formula of this set of libations (XVIII, 25) enumerates the twelve quadruples of 4 (in the feminine gender), from 4 to 48 (again repeating each number, except the first and last), as representing the Stomas consisting of an even number of verses, up to the *Ashṭākatvārimśa*, or forty-eight-versed hymn-form.

<sup>2</sup> The two formulas relating to these two sets of libations (XVIII, 26; 27) contain respectively five and four pairs of teams of cattle of different ages, beginning with ‘tryavi and tryavī,’ ‘an eighteen-months bull and an eighteen-months cow;’ and ending with ‘a bullock and a milch cow.’

him ; and by cattle, for his food, he thus consecrates him.

8. He then offers whilst mentioning names<sup>1</sup>;—for the gods, having obtained all their wishes, now gratified him directly ; and in like manner does the Sacrificer, having obtained all his wishes, now gratify him directly. ‘To Strength, hail! to Gain, hail!’—these are his (Agni’s) names: it is by mentioning his names that he thus gratifies him.

9. There are thirteen of these names,—a year consists of thirteen months, and the layers and fillings of the fire-altar amount to thirteen: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus gratifies him. And as to why he offers while mentioning names,—it is thus in mentioning his (Agni’s) names that he consecrates him.

10. He then says, ‘This is thy realm; a supporter and sustainer art thou for the friend: for sustenance, for rain, for the lordship of creatures (do I consecrate) thee;’—sustenance, doubtless, means food, and rain means food: by food he thus gratifies him.

11. And when he says, ‘This is thy realm; a supporter and sustainer art thou for the friend: for sustenance, for rain, for the lordship of creatures—thou!’ this is to say, ‘This is thy kingdom; thou art consecrated (anointed)! thou art thy friend’s supporter and sustainer: for our sustenance art thou, for rain unto us art thou, for our lordship of

---

<sup>1</sup> This set of thirteen libations (XVIII, 28) is offered to the months Vâga, Prasava, &c., here apparently considered as manifestations of Agni (the year). Each name is followed by ‘svâhâ (hail!);’ and the last of these dedicatory formulas is followed by the special benedictory formula, referred to in paragraph 10.

creatures art thou!' They thereby entreat him, 'For all this art thou unto us: for all this have we consecrated thee!' And therefore people thus entreat a human king who has been consecrated.

12. He then offers the Prospering<sup>1</sup> (libations);—the prospering (libations) are the vital airs: it is the vital airs he thus puts into him.—'May the vital strength prosper by sacrifice! may the vital air prosper by sacrifice! . . .' He thus puts proper vital airs into him.

13. Twelve prospering (libations) he offers,—a year consists of twelve months, and Agni is the year: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus puts proper vital airs into him. And as to why he offers the prospering (libations),—the prospering (libations) are vital airs, and the vital airs are the immortal element: with the immortal element he thus consecrates him.

14. He then says, 'The Stoma, and the Yagus, and the *Rîk*, and the *Sâman*, and the *Bṛîhat*, and the *Rathantara*,'—this, doubtless, is the triple science, and the triple science is food: it is with food he thus gratifies him, and with food he thus consecrates him;—'to the heavenly light we gods have gone, we have become immortal,'—for he indeed goes to the heavenly light, and becomes immortal;—'Pragâpati's children have we become!'—for he indeed becomes Pragâpati's child,—'vet! svâhâ!'—the *Vet*-call, doubtless, is

---

<sup>1</sup> This final set of twelve (or sixteen) libations is called thus (kalpa), because, in the formulas used with them (*Vâg. S. XVIII, 29*), the verb '*kṛîp* (to prosper, to be right and proper)' is repeated each time. At the conclusion of these twelve formulas the priest mutters the final benediction given in full in paragraph 14.

esoterically the same as the Vasha/-call, and either with the Vasha/-call, or the Svâhâ-call is food offered to the gods: he thus gratifies him by both the Vasha/ and the Svâhâ, and also consecrates him by both of them. He now throws the offering-ladle after (the ghee into the fire) lest what there is anointed with ghee should remain outside of the fire.

15. Now as to this same shower of wealth, the body (from which it flows) is the sky, the udder the cloud, the teat the lightning, and the shower (of ghee) is the (rain-) shower: from the sky it comes to the cow.

16. Its body is the cow, its udder the (cow's) udder, its teat the (cow's) teat, its shower the shower (of milk): from the cow (it comes) to the Sacrificer.

17. Its body is the Sacrificer, its udder his arm, its teat the offering-ladle, its shower (of milk) the shower of (ghee): from the Sacrificer (it goes) to the gods; from the gods to the cow, from the cow to the Sacrificer: thus circulates this perpetual, never-ending food of the gods. And, verily, for whosoever knows this, there will thus be perpetual, never-ending food. Now as to the (mystic) correspondence.

18. As to this they say, 'How does this wealth-shower of his obtain (conformity with) the year, and Agni? how does it correspond to the year, to Agni?' Well, this shower of wealth consists of three hundred and sixty (libations), and of (other) six, and of thirty-five. Now, the three hundred and sixty which there are,—so many being the days in the year,—thereby it obtains the days of the year. And what six there are,—the seasons being

six in number,—thereby it obtains the nights of the seasons: thus it obtains both the days and nights of the year. And what thirty-five there are, they are the (intercalary) thirteenth month<sup>1</sup>, and that is the body,—the body (consists) of thirty (limbs), the feet of two, the breath of two (in-breathing and up-breathing), and the head is the thirty-fifth: so much is the year; and thus that shower of wealth of his obtains (conformity with) the year, and Agni; and thus it corresponds to the year, to Agni. And so many are the bricks with special formulas which are placed in the centre of a *Sândīla* fire-altar; for these bricks indeed are the same as these different Agnis<sup>2</sup>; and thus these Agnis of his come to have oblations offered to them separately by means of the shower of wealth.

19. As to this they say, 'How does this shower of wealth of his attain to (conformity with) the Great Litany, how does it correspond to the Great Litany?' Well, the first nine formulas of this shower of wealth are the threefold<sup>3</sup> head; and the forty-eight which follow are the twenty-four-fold wings<sup>4</sup>; and the twenty-five which follow are the twenty-five-fold body<sup>5</sup>; and the twenty-one which follow are the tail, as the twenty-first<sup>6</sup>; and the

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 167, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. the different forms, or powers, of Agni, to which the 401 libations are offered. See IX, 1, 1, 43, where the very same calculations are applied to the *Satarudriya*.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 114, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Paksha*, wing, also means half-month, fortnight, of which there are twenty-four in the year.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 168, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently in addition to the fingers and toes (? of monkeys).

thirty-five which follow are the Vasa (hymn); and by the eighties (of verses) which follow those eighties (of the mahad uktham) are obtained, for by eighties the Great Litany is counted; and what there is after the eighties, that to him (corresponds to) what, in the Great Litany, there is after the eighties<sup>1</sup>; and thus this shower of wealth of his attains to (conformity with) the Great Litany, and corresponds to the Great Litany.

#### FOURTH BRĀHMANA.

1. He then offers the Vâgaprasaviya<sup>2</sup> (set of fourteen libations),—‘vâga’ (strength, sustenance) means food (anna): it thus is an ‘anna-prasaviya’ for him, and it is food he thereby raises (pra-sû) for him (Agni).

2. For the gods, now that they had gratified him by that food, and consecrated him by those objects of desire, (to wit) by that stream of wealth<sup>3</sup>, hereby gratified him once more; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer), now that he has gratified him by that food, and consecrated him by those objects of desire, that shower of wealth, hereby gratify him once more.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 110, note 3; 112, n. 1; 113, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> That is, oblations capable of promoting or quickening strength (or food,—vâga); see part iii, p. 37 (where read Vâgaprasaviya). While the formulas of the first seven of these oblations are the same as those used for those of the Vâgapeya (see V, 2, 2, 5-11), the formulas of the last seven of these oblations are Vâg. S. XVIII, 30-36 (for the first of which, being the same as IX, 5, see VI, 1, 4, 4).

<sup>3</sup> This seems to be in apposition to both ‘that food,’ and ‘those objects of desire.’

3. And, again, as to why he offers the Vâga-prasaviya. This, to be sure, is his (Agni's) Abhi-sheka. For, the gods, having gratified him by that food, and consecrated him by those objects of desire, (to wit) by that shower of wealth, then by this (offering) consecrated him once more; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer), having gratified him by that food, and consecrated him by those objects of desire, that shower of wealth, hereby consecrate him once more.

4. It consists of (seeds of) all (kinds of) plants,—that which consists of all plants is all food: he thus gratifies him with all food, and with all food he thus consecrates him. Let him set aside one of these kinds of food, and not eat thereof as long as he lives. With an udumbara (*ficus glomerata*) cup<sup>1</sup> and an udumbara dipping-spoon (he offers): the significance of these two has been explained. They are both four-cornered,—there are four quarters: he thus gratifies him with food from every quarter, and by means of food from every quarter he thus consecrates him.

5. And, again, as to why he performs the Vâga-prasaviya;—he thereby gratifies those same deities who have been consecrated by this very rite of consecration by which he is now about to be consecrated, and, thus gratified by offering, they grant him permission (to perform) this rite of consecration, and, permitted by them, he becomes consecrated; for only he becomes king whom the (other) kings allow to assume the royal dignity, but not he whom

---

<sup>1</sup> Or, pan. It has a handle, and serves on this occasion in place of the offering-ladle as well as for anointing the Sacrificer.



they do not (allow to do so). Thus when he offers in the fire he consecrates Agni, and when he offers to these deities, he gratifies those gods who rule over this consecration ceremony.

6. And, indeed, he offers here also the Pârtha<sup>1</sup> (oblations);—for the gods now desired, ‘May we be consecrated even on this occasion by all the rites of consecration!’ They were indeed consecrated on this occasion by all the rites of consecration; and in like manner is the Sacrificer on this occasion consecrated by all the rites of consecration.

7. Now these Pârtha (oblations) are the Vâga-prasaviya of the Râgasûya; and by offering these (oblations) he is consecrated by the Râgasûya; and the first seven of the succeeding fourteen (Vâga-prasaviya oblations) are the Vâgaprasaviya ceremony of the Vâga-peya<sup>2</sup>: thus, by offering these he is consecrated by the Vâga-peya. And what other seven there are, they belong to Agni (or, the Agni-*ñayana*): by offering these, he is consecrated by the Agni-consecration.

8. He first offers those of the Râgasûya, then those of the Vâga-peya; for by performing the Râgasûya one becomes king (*râgâ*) and by the Vâga-peya emperor (*samrâg*), and the position of king is (obtained) first, and thereafter that of

<sup>1</sup> In the same way as, at the Râgasûya, six Pârtha oblations were offered before, and as many immediately after, the Consecration ceremony, or ‘anointment’ (see part iii, p. 81 seq.), so also on the present occasion, except that, between the first six Pârthas and the consecration ceremony, the Vâgaprasaviya set, referred to in the preceding paragraphs, is inserted.

<sup>2</sup> For these seven oblations, see V, 2, 2, 6–11. Only the second set of seven thus is peculiar to the Agni-*ñayana*.

emperor<sup>1</sup>: hence after performing the Vâgapeya, one could not perform the Râgasûya,—it would be a descent, just as if one who is emperor were to become king.

9. Those (seven Vâḡaprasaviya oblations) of the fire-altar he offers last, for the Agni-consecration indeed is (equal to) all those rites of consecration, and he who is consecrated by the Agni-consecration rite becomes everything, king and emperor: therefore he offers those of the fire-altar last of all.

10. He then anoints him on a black antelope skin,—for the black antelope skin is (a symbol of) the sacrifice: it is thus at the sacrifice that he anoints him. On the hairy side (of the skin),—for the hairs are the metres: on the metres he thus anoints him. On the left (north) side (of the fire-altar he anoints him): the significance of this (will be explained) further on. On (the skin laid down) with the neck-part towards the front, for that (tends) godwards.

11. Some, however, anoint him on the right (south) side of the fire-altar, on the ground that it is from the right side that food is served, and that they thus anoint him from the food-side. But let him not do so, for that (southern) region belongs to the Fathers, and quickly he goes to that region whom they anoint in that way.

12. And some, indeed, anoint him on the Âhavanîya, on the ground that the Âhavanîya is the world of heaven, and that they thus anoint him in the world of heaven. But let him not do so, for that (Âhavanîya, the fire-altar,) is his (the Sacrificer's)

<sup>1</sup> See V, 1, 1, 12.

divine body, and this (Sacrificer, or Sacrificer's real body) is his human one: they thus attach that divine body of his to this his mortal body, if they anoint him in this way.

13. Let him anoint him on the left (north) side and nowhere else, for that north-eastern region belongs to both gods and men: they thus anoint him whilst seated and established in his own region, for he who is established in his own seat suffers no injury.

14. One who has gained a position in the world should be anointed sitting, for one who has gained a position is seated, so to speak;—and one who is striving to gain one standing, for one who wishes to gain a position, stands, so to speak. On a he-goat's skin should be anointed one desirous of prosperity, on a black-antelope skin one desirous of spiritual lustre, on both (kinds of skins) one desirous of both: that (skin) he spreads north of the tail (of the fire-altar) with its hair uppermost and its neck-part towards the east.

15. Close to the enclosing-stones<sup>1</sup>: inasmuch as the black-antelope skin is close to the enclosing-stones, so that divine body of his is consecrated on the black-antelope skin; and inasmuch as he is consecrated whilst keeping hold of the fire-altar he is not cut off from that divine consecration (of the Fire).

16. He anoints him after making offering on the fire-altar, for that (altar) is his divine body, and

<sup>1</sup> Sâyana takes 'âsprisham parisritaḥ' to mean 'lightly touched (just touched) by an enclosing-stone.' The participle would rather seem here to have an active meaning, like 'anvârabdha' in the same paragraph.

this (Sacrificer himself) is his human one; and the gods indeed were first, and thereafter the men: therefore, after making offering, he anoints him with what remains over of that same (offering-material)<sup>1</sup>. He then throws the dipping-spoon after (the oblations into the fire).

17. Placing himself near the (Sacrificer's) right arm, he then anoints him<sup>2</sup>, with (Vāg. S. XVIII, 37), 'At the impulse of the divine Savitri, I anoint thee, by the arms of the Asvins, by the hands of Pûshan, by the support of Sarasvatî Vâê, the supporter, by the universal sovereignty of Agni!'—for Sarasvatî is Vâê (speech), and hers is all this support. Impelled by Savitri, he thus anoints him by all this support of Sarasvatî Vâê, the supporter, and by the universal sovereignty of Agni. Here he throws the cup (into the fire), lest what is anointed (with offering material) should remain outside the fire.

18. He anoints him in the middle of the Pârtha oblations, for the Pârtha oblations are the year: he thus places him in the middle of the year. Six he offers before, and six after (the consecration ceremony), for there are six seasons: by the seasons he thus encloses (guards) him who is consecrated on both sides. Brîhaspati is the last of the first (six<sup>3</sup>), and Indra the first of the

<sup>1</sup> That is, with the remainder of the mess of different kinds of seed mixed with milk and water.

<sup>2</sup> That is, by sprinkling him with the liquid, or pouring it on him.

<sup>3</sup> The formulas of the twelve Pârtha oblations are the same as those used on the occasion of the Râgasûya (V, 3, 5, 8. 9), the sixth of which is 'To Brîhaspati hail!' and the seventh 'To Indra hail!'

last (six),—*Bṛihaspati* is the priesthood (or priestly office), and *Indra* is the nobility (or political power): by the priesthood and the nobility he thus encloses him who is consecrated on both sides.

#### FOURTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. He then offers the *Râshṭrabhr̥it* (realm-sustaining) oblations;—the realm-sustainers, doubtless, are the kings, for it is they that sustain realms. These deities, indeed, have been consecrated by this same consecration ceremony by which he (the Sacrificer) is now to be consecrated: it is them he thereby gratifies, and thus gratified by offering, they grant him permission (to perform) this consecration ceremony, and, permitted by them, he is consecrated; for only he becomes king whom the (other) kings allow (to assume) the royal dignity, but not he whom they do not (allow to assume it). And inasmuch as the kings sustain realms, and these gods are kings, therefore Realm-sustaining (oblations are performed).

2. And, again, as to why he offers the Realm-sustaining (oblations). From *Pragâpati*, when dismembered, couples went forth, in the form of *Gandharvas* and *Apsaras*; and he, having turned into a chariot, enclosed them, and having enclosed them, he took them to himself and made them his own; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer), thereby enclosing them, take them to himself and make them his own.

3. Now that *Pragâpati* who was dismembered, is this very *Agni* who is here being built up; and

those couples which went forth from him, are these same deities to whom he now makes offering.

4. He makes offering to the Gandharvas and Apsaras, for in the form of Gandharvas and Apsaras they went forth (from Pragâpati). But the Gandharvas and Apsaras also busy themselves with sweet scent (gandha) and beauteous form (rûpa<sup>1</sup>), whence if any one goes to his mate he cultivates sweet scent and a beautiful appearance.

5. He offers pairs (of oblations), for birth originates from a pair; and he alone is (ruler of) a kingdom who propagates offspring, but not he who does not propagate offspring. And inasmuch as couples sustain the realm, and these deities consist of couples, these (oblations are called) Realm-sustainers. With ghee taken in twelve ladlings (he offers), and there are twelve of these oblations: the significance of this has been explained.

6. To the male (deity) he makes offering first, then to the females: he thereby endows the male pre-eminently with power<sup>2</sup>. To a single male he makes offering, and to many females, whence even a single man has many wives. To the male (deity) he makes offering both with the Vashaṭ-call and the Svâhâ-call, to the female (deities) only with the Svâhâ: he thereby endows the male pre-eminently with power.

7. [He offers, with, Vâg. S. XVIII, 38-43], 'The

<sup>1</sup> This is apparently intended as an etymological explanation of the two names; Apsaras being taken as derived from 'apsas,' in the sense of 'beauty.' Cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, p. 135, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Or, perhaps, 'he places the male above (the female) in respect of power;' see p. 133, note 1.

law-upholding, law-abiding,'—that is, the truth-upholding, truth-abiding, — 'Agni is the Gandharva: his Apsaras are the plants,'—for as a Gandharva, Agni, indeed, went forth with the plants as the Asparas, his mates,—'Delights (mud) by name,'—the plants are indeed delights, for everything here delights in plants;—'may he protect this our priesthood and nobility: to him Hail! Vâṭ! To them (fem.) Hail!' The meaning of this has been explained<sup>1</sup>.

8. 'The Close-knit,'—yonder sun is indeed close-knit, for he knits together the days and nights;—'all-wealthy,'—for that (sun) indeed is every kind of wealth;—'Sûrya is the Gandharva: his Apsaras are the sun-motes,'—for as a Gandharva, the sun, indeed, went forth with the sun-motes as the Apsaras, his mates,—'Mobile (âyu) by name,'—for moving together<sup>2</sup>, as it were, the sun-motes float;—'may he protect this our priesthood and nobility,'—the meaning of this has been explained.

9. 'The most blessed,'—that is, the most worthy of worship,—'sun-rayed,'—for like the sun's are the moon's rays;—'Kandramas (the

---

<sup>1</sup> In accordance with the preceding paragraph, that part of the formula which relates to the male deity, viz. 'The law-upholding, law-abiding Agni is the Gandharva—may he protect this our priesthood and nobility: to him Svâhâ! Vâṭ!' is to be uttered first, and the first oblation to be offered at the call 'Vâṭ,' i.e. Vashaṭ, 'may he (Agni) carry it (to the gods)!' Then that part relating to the female deities is uttered, after which the second oblation is offered. In the same way the other five formulas are to be treated. See Mahîdhara's remarks on the present formula.

<sup>2</sup> Â-yuvânâḥ, literally 'holding to each other,' a wrong etymology of 'âyu,' 'lively.'

moon) is the Gandharva: his Apsaras are the stars;—for as a Gandharva the moon, indeed, went forth with the stars as the Apsaras, his mates;—‘Luminous (bhekuri) by name;—light-giving (bhākuri<sup>1</sup>) these, indeed, are called, for the stars give light;—‘may he protect this our priesthood and nobility!’ the meaning of this has been explained.

10. ‘The Agile,’—that is, the swift,—‘all-expansive,’—for the wind (air), indeed, makes up all this expanse;—‘Vāta (the wind) is the Gandharva: his Apsaras are the waters,’—for as a Gandharva the wind, indeed, went forth with the waters as the Apsaras, his mates;—‘Viands (ûrg) by name,’—the waters, indeed, are called ‘ûrgah,’ for food is produced from the waters;—‘may he protect this our priesthood and nobility!’ the meaning of this has been explained.

11. ‘The beneficent, well-winged,’—beneficent (bhugyu<sup>2</sup>) indeed is the sacrifice, for the sacrifice benefits all beings,—‘Yagñā (the sacrifice) is the Gandharva: his Apsaras are the offering-gifts,’—for as a Gandharva the sacrifice, indeed, went forth, with the offering-gifts as the Apsaras,

<sup>1</sup> This etymological explanation of ‘bhekuri’ is doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> The real meaning of bhugyu in this passage is very doubtful; while it usually means ‘flexible,’ the St. Petersburg Dictionary here tentatively assigns to it the meaning ‘adder.’ Whether the author of the Brāhmaṇa really connects it with ‘bhug (bhunakti),’ ‘to enjoy, benefit’ (instead of with ‘bhug,’ ‘to bend’), or whether the explanation is merely meant as an etymological play of words, is not clear. Mahīdhara indeed derives it from the former root, in the sense of ‘to protect.’ The order of the words ‘yagñō vai bhugyuh’ would properly require to be rendered by—The ‘bhugyu’ doubtless is the sacrifice.



his mates;—‘Praises (stâvâ) by name,’—the offering-gifts are indeed praises, for the sacrifice is praised for offering-gifts; and whosoever gives an offering-gift (to priests) is praised;—‘may he protect this our priesthood and nobility!’ the meaning of this has been explained.

12. ‘The lord of creatures, the all-worker,’—Pragâpati (lord of creatures) is indeed the all-worker, for he has wrought all this (universe);—‘Manas (the mind) is the Gandharva: his Apsaras are the hymn-verses and hymn-tunes,’—as a Gandharva, the Mind indeed went forth, with the hymn-verses and hymn-tunes as the Apsaras, his mates;—‘Wishes (eshî) by name,’—the hymn-verses and hymn-tunes are indeed wishes, for by verses and tunes people pray, ‘May this accrue unto us! may it fare thus with us!’—‘may he protect this our priest and nobility!’ the meaning of this has been explained.

13. He then makes an offering on the Head of the Chariot;—this, indeed, is that very rite of consecration,—and by that he is now consecrated,—which this (Sacrificer) is permitted to perform by those deities with whose permission he is consecrated<sup>1</sup>; for he alone becomes king whom the (other) kings allow (to assume) the royal dignity, and not he whom (they do) not (allow to assume it). With ghee taken in five ladlings (he offers), and this is offered as five oblations: the significance of this has been explained.

14. On the head (or front part of the chariot the

---

<sup>1</sup> The construction of the text (occurring again at IX, 4, 8) is rather irregular.

offering is made), for it is from the head (downwards) that he who is anointed is anointed,—whilst it is held above (the Âhavaniya), for above (others) is he who is thus anointed;—with the same formula (repeated each time), for one and the same (person) is he who is thus anointed;—whilst taking round (the chariot-head) in every direction<sup>1</sup>: on every side he thus is anointed.

15. And, again, as to why he makes offering on the head of the chariot;—it is because this chariot is yonder sun; for it was by assuming that form that Pragâpati enclosed those couples, and took them to himself, and made them his own; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) thereby enclose them, and take them to himself, and make them his own. Whilst it (the chariot-head) is held above (the fire, he offers), for above (others) was he who, enclosing those couples, took them to himself, and made them his own;—and with the same formula, for one and the same is he who, by enclosing those couples, took them to himself, and made them his own.

16. [He offers each time, with, Vâg. S. XVIII, 44], ‘O Lord of the world, Lord of creatures!’—for this (Agni), indeed, is the lord of the world, and the lord of creatures;—‘thou whose dwellings are on high, or here below,’—both on high and

---

<sup>1</sup> The body (or ‘nest,’ seat-part) of the chariot is shifted sunwise round the fire on the great altar, so that the fore-part keeps over the fire where the Adhvaryu’s assistant holds it, and in each of the four directions, as well as in the centre of the fire, the Adhvaryu offers a libation of ghee, whilst facing the chariot-head. According to a comment on the respective rules (Kâty. XVIII, 5, 17–20) alluded to by Prof. Weber (Ind. Stud. XIII, p. 286), the fore-part of the chariot would, however, seem to be taken off the seat-part; the latter being carried round the fire as the oblations are made.

here below, indeed, are his dwellings;—‘to this priesthood and this nobility of ours,’—for this Agni is both the priesthood and the nobility,—‘grant thou mighty protection, hail!’—that is, ‘grant thou powerful protection!’

#### SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. He then offers (three) oblations of air;—this fire-altar is these (three) worlds, and the oblations of air are wind: he thus places the wind into these worlds, and hence there is wind here in these worlds.

2. He takes (the air) from outside the Vedi; for that wind which is in these worlds is already contained in this (fire-altar), and he now puts into it that wind which is beyond these worlds.

3. From outside the Vedi (he takes it),—for the Vedi is this (earth), and the wind which is on this (earth) is already contained in this (fire-altar): he now puts into it the wind which is beyond this (earth).

4. By his two hollow hands (he takes it), for only in this way is the catching of that (wind brought about). With the Svâhâ-call (he offers), for he offers just under the shafts (of the chariot),—this chariot is yonder sun: he thus places the wind on this side of the sun, and hence that one blows on this side thereof.

5. [He offers, with, Vâg. S. XVIII, 45], ‘Thou art the cloudy ocean,’—the cloudy ocean, doubtless, is yonder world (of the sky),—‘the giver of moisture,’—for that (wind) indeed gives moisture: he thus bestows on this (fire-altar) the wind which is in yonder world;—‘blow thou kindly and propitiously upon me, hail!’—that is, ‘blow favourably and gently upon me!’

6. 'Thou art the stormy (region), the troop of the Maruts,'—the stormy (region), the troop of the Maruts, doubtless, is the air-world: he thus bestows on this (fire-altar) the wind which is in the air-world;—'blow thou kindly and propitiously upon me, hail!'—that is, 'blow favourably and gently upon me!'

7. 'Thou art the one affording protection and worship,'—the one that affords protection and worship, doubtless, is this (terrestrial) world: he thus bestows upon this (fire-altar) the wind which is in this world;—'blow thou kindly and propitiously upon me, hail!'—that is, 'blow favourably and gently upon me!'

8. With three (formulas) he offers,—three are these worlds, and threefold is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus puts air into these worlds.

9. And as to why he offers the oblations of air: he thereby yokes that chariot of his; for it was thereby that the gods yoked that chariot for (the obtainment of) all their wishes, thinking, 'By it, when yoked, we shall obtain them;' and by that yoked (chariot) they indeed obtained their wishes; and in like manner does the Sacrificer thereby yoke that chariot of his for (the obtainment of) all his wishes, thinking, 'By it, when yoked, I shall obtain them;' and by that yoked (chariot) he indeed obtains all his wishes.

10. He yokes it with the oblations of air<sup>1</sup>,—the oblations of air are the vital airs: it is thus with the

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, these oblations are, as it were, to represent the team of the chariot.

vital airs he yokes it<sup>1</sup>. With three (oblations) he yokes it,—there are three vital airs, the out-breathing, up-breathing, and through-breathing: it is with these he thus yokes it. Just below the shaft (he offers), for just below the shaft the horse is yoked;—with his hands, for by the hands the horse is yoked;—in moving round<sup>2</sup>, for in moving round the horse is yoked.

11. The right yoke-horse he puts to first, then the left yoke-horse, then the right side-horse: for thus it is (done) among the gods, otherwise in human (practice). Let him not yoke that (chariot<sup>3</sup>) again, lest he should yoke again the yoked one; but let him give away the vehicle, thinking, 'I shall reap the benefit of the yoking of it<sup>4</sup>.' They carry it as far as the Adhvaryu's dwelling, holding it right upwards, for above is that (Agni). He presents it to the Adhvaryu, for it is he that performs therewith. Let him, however, (not) assign it to him (till) the time of the offering-gifts.

12. He then offers the 'Lightsome<sup>5</sup>' oblations.

<sup>1</sup> Or, he supplies him (Agni).

<sup>2</sup> According to Kāty. Sr. XVIII, 6, 1, 2, the Adhvaryu first takes a double handful of air from beyond the east side of the Vedi, and offers it below the right (south) shaft; then from beyond the north side to be offered up below the left shaft, and lastly from beyond the south side to be offered below the shaft where the right side-horse would be yoked. In each case the girth (or yoke-tie) is to be carried round in the same way as if a real horse were yoked.

<sup>3</sup> Sāyana takes it to mean 'that horse'; and according to Kāty. Sr. XVIII, 6, 3-5, the carriage is to be carried to the Adhvaryu's house, and, at the time when the dakṣiṇās are presented to the priests, it is to be given to that priest along with three horses. The Brāhmaṇa, however, does not seem to mention the horses.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, of the yoked one.

<sup>5</sup> These oblations are here called 'ruṇmatī,' because the three

For now the whole Agni was completed; he now wished for brilliance (*ruḥ*), and the gods, by means of these lightsome (oblations), endowed him with brilliance; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) now endow him therewith.

13. And, again, as to why he offers the lightsome oblations. When Pragâpati was dismembered, his brilliance departed from him. When the gods restored him, they, by means of these lightsome oblations, endowed him with brilliance; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) endow him therewith.

14. [He offers, with, Vâg. S. XVIII, 46-48], 'O Agni, what lights of thine in the sun<sup>1</sup> . . .,' 'O ye gods, what lights of yours are in the sun . . .'<sup>1</sup>—'Bestow thou light upon our priests, (work thou light in our kings, light in our people and Sûdras, bestow light upon me by thy light)!' He thus says 'light' each time,—light is immortality: it is immortality he thus bestows upon him.

15. He then offers one relating to Varuṇa. That whole Agni has now been completed, and he now is the deity Varuṇa: it is to him that he offers this oblation, and by the oblation he makes him (Agni) a deity, for that one alone is a deity to whom offering is made, but not that one to whom (offering is) not (made). With a verse addressed to Varuṇa (he offers): he thus gratifies him by his own self, by his own deity.

16. And, again, as to why he offers one relating

---

verses used with them contain the word '*ruḥ*,' being prayers for the bestowal of light.

<sup>1</sup> These two verses had already been used in laying down the Dviyagus bricks; see VII, 4, 2, 21.

to Varuṇa. When Pragâpati was dismembered, his strength departed from him. When the gods restored him they, by this (oblation), bestowed strength upon him ; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) bestow it upon him. With a verse addressed to Varuṇa (he offers),—Varuṇa is the ruling power, and ruling power means strength : it is thus by strength that he bestows strength upon him.

17. [He offers, with, Vâg. S. XVIII, 49]. ‘For this I appeal to thee, worshipping thee with prayer,’—that is, ‘For that I beseech thee, worshipping thee with prayer;’—‘for this the Sacrificer implores thee with offerings,’—that is, ‘for this, this Sacrificer implores thee with offerings;’—‘without wrath listen thou here, O Varuṇa!’—that is, ‘without anger listen thou here to us, O Varuṇa!’—‘take not our life from us, O far-ruler!’—he thereby gives utterance to a surrender of his own self.

18. He then offers the Arkâsvamedha-santati<sup>1</sup> oblations. The light (arka), doubtless, is this fire (Agni), and the Asvamedha (horse-sacrifice) is yonder sun,—when created, these two were separate: by means of these oblations the gods drew them together and connected them; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer), by means of these oblations, now draw them together and connect them.

19. [He offers, with, Vâg. S. XVIII, 50], ‘Heaven-like heat, hail!’—the heat, doubtless, is yonder sun ; he thus establishes yonder sun in Agni.

20. ‘Heaven-like flame, hail!’—the flame is

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, the joining together of the fire and the horse-sacrifice.

this Agni : he thus establishes this Agni in yonder sun.

21. 'The Heaven-like shining one, hail!'—the shining one, doubtless, is yonder sun : he places him again up there.

22. 'Heaven-like light, hail!'—the light is this Agni : he places him again here (on the fire-altar).

23. 'The heaven-like Sûrya, hail!'—Sûrya, doubtless, is yonder sun : he thus places yonder sun highest of all this (universe), whence he is the highest of all this (universe).

24. These are five oblations he offers,—the fire-altar consists of five layers, a year of five seasons, and Agni is the year : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus draws together and connects those two.

25. And as to why he says, 'Heaven-like heat, hail! heaven-like flame, hail!'—these indeed are names of this fire : he thereby gratifies these, and by the offering he makes them a deity ; for only that one is a deity to whom an oblation is offered, but not that to whom it is not offered. Moreover, by naming them, he thus places them on this fire-altar.

26. These are five oblations he offers,—the fire-altar consists of five layers, and the year of five seasons, and Agni is the year : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much food he thus gratifies him.

27. Now as to the insertion <sup>1</sup> of (any other) oblations. If he should know any oblation supplied with a brâhmaṇa (dogmatic explanation) let him offer it at

---

<sup>1</sup> Or, location, proper place ; cf. p. 138, note 1.



this time ; for it is for (the obtainment of his) wishes that he yokes this chariot, and whatsoever oblation he offers on this occasion he offers as one that is (to be) fulfilled.

28. As to this they say, 'Let him not offer (any additional oblations), lest he should do what is excessive.' Let him, nevertheless, offer them ; for it is for (special) wishes that these oblations are offered, and in wishes there is nothing excessive.

### THIRD BRÂHMANA.

#### PREPARATORY RITES OF THE SOMA-SACRIFICE.

1. Having now returned (to the hall), he, at the proper time, throws up the *Dhishṇyas*<sup>1</sup> (fire-hearths)—these hearths are fires : he thus builds up fire-altars. They are the clansmen, and the built-up fire-altar is the chieftaincy : he thus sets up both the chieftaincy and the clan. The former (altar) he builds up first, then these (hearths) : thus he sets up the clan after setting up the chieftaincy.

2. That (fire-altar) is a single one : he thus makes the chieftaincy to attach to a single (person), and (social) distinction to attach to a single (person). The others are numerous : he thus bestows multiplicity on the clan.

<sup>1</sup> A Soma-sacrifice being about to be performed on the newly erected fire-altar, now properly consecrated, all the necessary preparatory business and ceremonial enjoined for such a sacrifice have now to be gone through in the way detailed in part ii of this translation. The author here only alludes to those points in the Soma-ritual in regard to which the present performance offers any special feature either additional to, or modificatory of, the ordinary ceremonial. The construction of the *Dhishṇyas*, or fire-hearths of the different priests (for which see part ii, p. 148, note 4), is one of these points.

3. That (fire-altar) consists of five layers, the others of a single layer : he thus endows the chieftain (or, ruler) pre-eminently with power, and makes the chieftain more powerful than the clan (or people). Upwards he builds that one : he thus builds the ruling power upward by (social) layers ; sideways the others : he thus makes the clan obedient to the chieftain from below.

4. That one he builds up both with the Yagushmatī (bricks laid down with a special formula), and with the Lokamprīṇā (or space-filling ones, laid down with a common formula) ; the others with the space-filling one alone : he thus endows the chieftain pre-eminently with power, and makes the chieftain more powerful than the clan, and the clan less powerful than the chieftain.

5. And when he builds up these (hearths) only with the space-filling one, the Lokamprīṇā being the nobility<sup>1</sup>—he thereby places the chieftain, as the eater, among the clan. He builds up (dhishṇya-hearths) both of the Soma-sacrifice<sup>2</sup>, and of the fire-altar ; first those of the Soma-sacrifice, and then those of the fire-altar : the significance of this has been explained. Whatever Soma-hearth he (merely) throws up (at the Soma-sacrifice), that he (now) builds up. The Âgnīdhrīya he builds first, for that

<sup>1</sup> See p. 132, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> There are eight dhishṇya-hearths at the Soma-sacrifice, two of which, the Âgnīdhrīya and Mārgāīya, were raised north and south of the cart-shed (hāvīrdhāna), whilst the others (viz. those of the Hotri, &c.) were raised inside the Sadas along its eastern side. They were merely mounds of earth covered with sand, whilst the additional hearths (of the fire-altar) now to be erected are partly built of bricks.

one he throws up first (at the Soma-sacrifice); (he does so) whilst sitting to the right (south) of it: the significance of this has been explained <sup>1</sup>.

6. On this (Âgnîdhrîya) he puts eight bricks,—the Gâyatrî consists of eight syllables, and Agni is of Gâyatra nature: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great he thus builds him up. The variegated stone <sup>2</sup> is the ninth of them: there are nine vital airs—seven in the head and two downward ones—it is these he thus puts into it. The fire which is placed on the erected (hearth) is the tenth;—there are ten vital airs <sup>3</sup>, and the Âgnîdhra is the middle (between the Gârhapatya and Âhavanîya fires): he thus puts the vital airs in the middle of it; for the vital airs, being in the middle of the body, move along it in this direction, and in that direction.

7. Twenty-one he places on the Hotrîya (hearth), and there are twenty-one enclosing-stones <sup>4</sup>: the significance of this has been explained.

8. Six (he places) on the Mârgâliya,—these are the six seasons, the Fathers; for the seasons, the

<sup>1</sup> See VII, 1, 1, 21 seq., where the way in which the bricks of the Gârhapatya hearth are laid down is described in detail.

<sup>2</sup> When Agni was led forwards from the Gârhapatya to be installed on his newly built altar, as the Âhavanîya or offering fire, a variegated stone, meant to represent the sun, was deposited near the place (on the northern edge of the Vedi) where the Âgnîdhra shed and hearth would afterwards have to be erected; see IX, 2, 3, 14-19.

<sup>3</sup> That is, including the central one, the outlet of which is the navel; cf. VIII, 1, 3, 10.

<sup>4</sup> The numbers of bricks and enclosing-stones are the same as for the Gârhapatya hearth, for which (with their symbolic meaning) see VII, 1, 1, 32-35.

Fathers<sup>1</sup>, indeed, heaped up (a rampart) round that (fire) from the south. This one lies to the south of those (other hearths)<sup>2</sup>,—this (Âgnîdhrîya) he lays down in this way (direction), and these (other hearths) in this way, and that one (the Fire-altar) in this way: he thereby makes the peasantry look towards the chieftain.

9. He then encloses these (hearths) by enclosing-stones;—the enclosing-stones are the waters: it is thus by water that he surrounds them<sup>3</sup>. He merely lays them down all round, for those of the waters which flow in a hollow (channel) are the chieftain, and these stray waters are the clansmen; thus, when he encloses that (great fire-altar) by a dug-in (row of stones), he thereby adds power to power, and surrounds (protects) power by power; and when he merely lays down those (enclosing-stones of the hearths) all round, he thereby adds clansman (or clan) to clansman, and surrounds (protects) clansman by clansman<sup>4</sup>. As many bricks with special formulas as

<sup>1</sup> Sâyaṇa refers to a passage in the Taittirîyaka, according to which a dying man is changed to whatever season he dies in, whence the six seasons are the representatives of all the deceased ancestors. Since the Fathers reside in the southern region it is from that quarter that, by laying down the bricks, they are supposed to raise a rampart for the Mârgâliya fire.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. on the southern edge of the Vedi, exactly south of the Âgnîdhrîya, whilst the other dhishnyas run in a line from north to south to the left of the space between the Âgnîdhrîya and Mârgâliya. The other hearths, together with the great fire-altar occupying the eastern part of the Vedi, would thus, as it were, face the Mârgâliya in a semicircle. See the plan of the Sacrificial ground, part ii, p. 475.

<sup>3</sup> That is, as the earth is surrounded by the ocean (VII, 1, 1, 13), or a stronghold by a moat.

<sup>4</sup> Viz. inasmuch as the fire-altar and the Âhavanîya fire on it, as

there are (in each hearth) so many enclosing-stones there are (in each); for with that (fire-altar) there are as many enclosing-stones as there are such bricks in it<sup>1</sup>: he thus makes the clan obedient and subservient to the chief.

10. He then scatters a layer of earth on (each of) these (hearth): the significance of this has been explained<sup>2</sup>. Silently<sup>3</sup> (he scatters it), for indistinct is the clan (or people). Then, after the cake-offering of the Agñishomtya (animal sacrifice)<sup>4</sup>, he prepares the propitiatory oblations to the Regions;—that fire-altar is the regions: it is to them he offers these oblations, and thus by offering makes them a deity, for only that one is a deity to whom an oblation is offered, but not that to whom it is not offered. There are five (such oblations), for there are five regions.

11. As to this they say,—Let him prepare this

---

well as the dug-in circle of enclosing-stones, are identified with the ruling power; whilst the *dhishnyas* as well as the circles of stones lying loosely around them represent the clan.

<sup>1</sup> This is not clear to me: whilst there are 395 such bricks with special formulas in the five layers of the great altar, it is enclosed by only 261 *parisrits*; see p. 158, note 1. Besides there are no 'yagushmatî' bricks in these hearths, but only 'lokamprînâs'; one would therefore expect 'ishakâs' (bricks) for 'yagushmatyas' the first time (cf. comm. on Kâty. Sr. XVIII, 7, 13). The Hotri's hearth contains twenty-one bricks, the Brâhmanâkṣhamsin's eleven, the Mârgâlîya six, and the others eight bricks; and in each case the common formula, 'Lokam *prîna*, &c.' (see VIII, 7, 2, 6), is pronounced once after every ten bricks, and after any odd bricks remaining over at the end. Cf. Kâty. Sr. XVIII, 6, 8 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See VIII, 7, 3, 1 seq.

<sup>3</sup> He does not use any such formula as that used in covering each layer of the great altar with earth; see VIII, 7, 3, 7.

<sup>4</sup> See part ii, p. 199, note 2 (where the reference at the end should be to IV, 2, 5, 22).

offering (*ishṭi*) so as to consist of material for ten oblations;—this (offering) is (performed) with all the stomas and all the *prishṭha* (*sāmans*)<sup>1</sup>; and there are (used in it) all the metres, all the regions, all the seasons—and this Agni (the fire-altar) is all this: he thus, by the (amount of) offering material (taken out for the *ishṭi*), makes (Agni) the deity<sup>2</sup>; for only that one is the deity for whom the oblation is prepared, not one for whom it is not prepared. There are (in that case) ten (oblations),—the *Virâḡ* (metre) consists of ten syllables, and Agni is *virâḡ* (far-shining, or far-ruling); there are ten regions, and Agni (the fire-altar) is the regions; ten vital airs, and Agni is the vital airs: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much food he thus gratifies him.

12. But, indeed, he may also take out these oblations for the Divine Quickeners<sup>3</sup>; for these are the deities which become consecrated by this consecration ceremony by which he is now to be consecrated: it is them he thus gratifies, and gratified by offering they permit him (to perform) this consecration ceremony, and with their permission he is

<sup>1</sup> See part iii, introduction, p. xx seq.

<sup>2</sup> As *Sâyana* points out, the *Taittirîyas* make Agni the deity of this *ishṭi*, the invitatory formulas (*puro-nuvâkyâ*) of the different *havis* (oblations) naming him each time with different epithets relating to different metres, stomas, *prishṭhas*, and seasons. Cf. *Taitt. S. I, 8, 4*: *Taitt. Br. I, 8, 19*.

<sup>3</sup> For these eight deities (*Savitri* *Satyaprasava*, *Agni Grîhapati*, &c.), to whom offering is made at the *Abhishekanîya* or Consecration ceremony of the *Râgasûya*, between the chief oblation of the animal cake-offering (*Parupurodâsa*) and its *Svishtakri*, whilst the whole of the *Parupurodâsa* is again performed in the middle of the animal sacrifice, see part iii, p. 69 seq.

consecrated; for only he becomes king whom the (other) kings allow (to assume) the royal dignity, but not he whom they do not (allow to assume it). And inasmuch as these deities are consecrated (quickened) by this consecration ceremony and quicken him for this consecration, they are (called) the Divine Quickeners.

13. These (deities) come to have two names, as he who is consecrated by the rite of consecration comes to have two names; for the very rite of consecration for which he is quickened, and by which he is consecrated (quickened), is his second name<sup>1</sup>.

14. There are eight (such deities),—the Gâyatri consists of eight syllables, and Agni is of Gâyatra nature: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much food he thus gratifies him.

15. As to this they say,—He ought not to offer (any of) these oblations, lest he should do what is excessive. Let him nevertheless offer them; for these oblations are offered for (the obtainment of special) wishes, and in wishes there is nothing excessive. And whatsoever oblation he offers after the *Parupuroḍāsa* (the cake-offering connected with the animal sacrifice), that is placed inside the animal victim itself as its sacrificial sap<sup>2</sup>. He offers both kinds (of oblations), those of the Soma-sacrifice and those of the fire-altar (or *Agnikāyana*), first those of the

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, for example, he who has performed the *Vāgapeya* is called *Vāgapeya-yâgin*, *Sây*.

<sup>2</sup> These oblations, as well as those of the *Parupuroḍāsa*, inserted as they are in the middle of the animal offering,—just after the offering of the omentum of the victim,—are supposed to supply to the victim its sacrificial sap or essence which was taken out of it in the shape of the omentum. See III, 8, 3, 2.

Soma-sacrifice, and afterwards those of the fire-altar : the purport of this has been explained. In a loud voice<sup>1</sup> the Pasupurodâsa offering (is performed), in a low voice these (additional oblations), for they are an ishî<sup>2</sup>. With the Pasupurodâsa he (the Adhvaryu) says, 'Recite!—Urge!' and with these (oblations), 'Recite!—Worship'<sup>3</sup> for they are an ishî. There is the same Svishṭakṛit and the same idâ<sup>4</sup> (for these oblations). The (Devasû) deities have received offering, and the Svishṭakṛit (of the Pasupurodâsa) has not yet been attended to<sup>5</sup>,—

<sup>1</sup> That is, in the formulas the name of the deity to whom the oblation is offered is pronounced in a loud voice.

<sup>2</sup> That is, a 'kâmyeshî', or offering for the obtainment of some special object, which has to be performed in a low voice; see I, 3, 5, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Or, 'Pronounce the offering-prayer!' For these two latter calls (anubrûhi!—yaga!), by which the Adhvaryu calls on the Hotri to pronounce the invitatory prayer (anuvâkyâ or puro-nuvâkyâ) and the offering-prayer (yâgyâ) respectively, at ishîs, see I, 5, 2, 8–10 and I, 5, 3, 8; and for the first two (anubrûhi!—preshya!), by the former of which the Adhvaryu calls on the Hotri to recite the invitatory prayer; whilst by the latter he calls on the Maitrâvaruṇa to 'urge' (or 'prompt') the Hotri to pronounce the offering-prayer at the animal sacrifice, see III, 8, 1, 4 with note (where attention might have been called to the difference that exists between the ishî and the animal sacrifice in regard to the formula by which the Adhvaryu calls for the recitation of the offering-prayer). In regard to this point there is, however, a difference of opinion between the Mâdhyandina and the Kânva schools, the latter using for the Pasupurodâsa on this occasion, as well as on that of the Râgasûya, the same calls as those of the inserted ishîs; cf. Kâty. Sr. XV, 4, 18–20.

<sup>4</sup> For the Svishṭakṛit, or oblation to Agni, 'the maker of good offering,' offered after the chief oblations, see I, 7, 3, 1 seq.; for the idâ-oblation (and invocation of Idâ), I, 8, 1, 1 seq.

<sup>5</sup> The tentative meaning assigned to 'asamavahitam,' 'not in immediate connection with (the Svishṭakṛit),' can scarcely be right. The clause seems simply to mean that the (pûrvâbhisheka) touching



16. He then touches it (the fire-altar) with (the formula of) the preliminary consecration (Vâg. S. IX, 39. 40), 'May Savitṛi quicken thee for (powers of) quickening'<sup>1</sup>! . . . This (man), O ye (people), is your king; Soma is the king of us Brâhmanas!—he thereby excludes the Brâhmanas (from the power of the king) and makes them such as are not to be fed upon (by the king).

#### FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

AGNIYOGANA, OR YOKING OF THE FIRE-ALTAR; AND  
SOMA-SACRIFICE.

1. Then, early next morning<sup>2</sup>, when about to bespeak the morning prayer<sup>3</sup>, he yokes the Fire-altar, thinking, 'With it, when yoked, I shall obtain;' and by it, when yoked, he obtains all wishes. He

of the altar is to take place, as in the case of the (preliminary) consecration at the Râgasûya, immediately after the oblations to the Divine Quickeners, and before the Svishṭakṛit oblation of the Pasupurodâsa has been performed. See V, 3, 3, 10, where a somewhat similar expression is used. One might have some doubt as to whether, both here and at the Râgasûya, there is any Svishṭakṛit at all to these Devasû-havimshi, or whether the statement, 'There is the same svishṭakṛit and the same idâ,' applies not to them merely, but to them and the Pasupurodâsa. If this latter alternative were the correct one, we should, however, expect that something had been said on this point in connection with the Devasû oblations of the Râgasûya; and moreover the nature of the two oblations seems too different for such a partial identification, requiring as they do different 'praishas,' or calls, in the Svishṭakṛit (viz. 'yaga' the one, and 'preshya' the other); see also IX, 5, 1, 40, and note 3, p. 248; also Kâty. Sr. V, 11, 23-24.

<sup>1</sup> For the complete formulas, see V, 3, 3, 11, 12.

<sup>2</sup> That is, on the first Sutyâ, or pressing-day.

<sup>3</sup> That is, by calling on the Hotṛi to 'Recite to the gods, the early coming!' see III, 9, 3, 10, with note thereto giving particulars regarding the Prâtaranuvâka.

yokes it prior to the whole performance, so that all that is done thereafter is laden on that yoked (altar-cart).

2. He yokes it on the enclosing-sticks, for those enclosing-sticks are fires<sup>1</sup>: it is with fires he thus yokes the fire-altar.

3. Having touched the middle enclosing-stick<sup>2</sup>, he mutters this formula (Vâg. S. XVIII, 51), 'The Fire I yoke with might, with ghee!'—might means strength: thus, 'The fire I yoke (furnish) with strength, with ghee;'—'the heavenly bird, great in vigour,'—for that (fire-altar) is indeed a heavenly bird, and great in vigour, in smoke<sup>3</sup>;—'Thereby we will go to the region of the bay, rising unto the light, beyond the highest firmament!'—The firmament, doubtless, is the heavenly world: thus, 'Thereby we will go to the region, of the bay (horse, the sun) mounting up to the heavenly world, beyond the highest firmament.'

4. Then on the southern (right) one, with (Vâg. S. XVIII, 52), 'By these never-decaying, feathered wings of thine wherewith thou repellst the demons, O Agni, may we fly to the world of the righteous whither the erst-born seers went of old!' he thereby alludes to those *Rîshis*<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See the ritual legend, I, 3, 3, 13 seq.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the one along the hind (or west) side of the Âhavanîya fire on the great altar, being the base of the triangle formed by the three enclosing-sticks. The order in which they are touched is the same as that in which they were laid down.

<sup>3</sup> Mahidhara actually takes 'smoke (dhûma)' here to be intended as the literal meaning of 'vayas.'

<sup>4</sup> Viz. the seven *Rîshis*, identified with the seven vital airs which came to constitute the first Purusha (Agni-Pragâpati), and hence the bird-shaped fire-altar. See VI, 1, 1, 1 seq.

5. Then on the northern (left) one, with (Vâg. S. XVIII, 53), 'The potent drop, the faithful eagle, the golden-winged bird, the active (bhuraṇṇyu),'—golden means immortal: thus, 'the immortal-winged bird, the bearer (bhartri);'—'the mighty is seated in the firm seat: homage be to thee, injure me not!'—he thereby gives utterance to a surrender of his own self.

6. Now that middle formula is the body, and the two on both sides thereof are the wings (of the bird-shaped altar): hence these two allude to 'wings', for these two are the wings.

7. With three (formulas) he yokes it,—threefold is Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus yokes him.

8. And when he has pressed the king (Soma) he offers in the fire<sup>2</sup>. This, indeed, is that very rite of consecration (or pressing)—and by that he is now consecrated (or pressed)—which this (Sacrificer) is permitted to perform by those deities with whose permission he is consecrated<sup>3</sup>; for he alone becomes king whom the (other) kings allow (to assume) the royal dignity, and not he whom (they do) not (allow to assume it). Now when he offers in the fire he thereby consecrates (anoints) Agni, and that divine body of his, being consecrated by Soma, becomes consecrated by the nectar of immortality. And he himself drinks (thereof): he thereby conse-

<sup>1</sup> In the first formula the word for 'bird (eagle)' is 'suparna,' literally 'the well-winged (well-feathered) one.'

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the libations made from the several cups (grahas), the contents of which are afterwards consumed by the priests (and Sacrificer); cf. part ii, p. 316, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> For the same irregular construction, see IX, 4, 1, 13.

crates himself, and this self (body) of his, being consecrated by Soma, becomes consecrated by the nectar of immortality.

9. Having offered in the fire (or, on the fire-altar), he drinks (Soma), for that (fire-altar) is his (the Sacrificer's) divine body<sup>1</sup>, and this (Sacrificer's real body) is his human one; and the gods indeed were first, and afterwards men: therefore, having offered (Soma) in the fire, he drinks (thereof).

10. Having now obtained the wish for (the accomplishment of) which he yokes it (the altar), he unyokes it when about to bespeak the *Yagnâyagñiya* stotra<sup>2</sup>,—for the *Yagnâyagñiya* is the heavenly world, and it is for the attainment of that (world) that he yokes it: thus (he unyokes it) after obtaining the wish for which he yoked it.

11. It is prior to the Stotra that he unyokes it:—were he to unyoke after the Stotra, he would pass beyond that world<sup>3</sup> and lose it; but when he unyokes prior to the Stotra, he unyokes forthwith after reaching the world of heaven.

12. He unyokes it on the enclosing-sticks, for it

<sup>1</sup> See IX, 3, 4, 12.

<sup>2</sup> The *Yagnâyagñiya* (or *Yagnâyagñiya*) stotra is the last and characteristic chant of the Agnishōma mode of Soma-sacrifice, whence it is more properly called Agnishōma-sāman; the *Yagnâyagñiya*, properly speaking, being the verses, Sāma-v. II, 53, 54, chanted to a particular tune, and generally (though not always) used for the closing chant of the Agnishōma.

<sup>3</sup> That is, because the *Yagnâyagñiya* marks, as it were, the end of the (Agnishōma) Soma-sacrifice, and anything performed thereafter is, so to speak, outside the sacrifice, or beyond it. Kāty. Sr. XVIII, 6, 17 calls it *Āgnimāruta* stotra, i.e. the chant belonging to the *Āgnimāruta*-sastra (which has to be recited by the Hotri after that chant); cf. part ii, p. 369 note.

is on the enclosing-sticks that he yokes it, and at whatever place (of the body) people yoke a horse there they also unyoke it.

13. Having touched it (the fire) at the two joints <sup>1</sup>, he mutters these two formulas,—thus two formulas equal in power three enclosing-sticks,—with (Vâg. S. XVIII, 54), ‘The sky’s head thou art, the earth’s navel, [the essence of the waters and plants, the life of all, the ample refuge (?): homage be to the path !]’ on the right, and with (55), ‘On the head of the All dost thou keep standing, [in the (aerial) ocean is thy heart, in the waters thy life: bestow water, send the water-store (cloud),—from the sky, from the cloud, from the air, from the earth, favour us with rain !]’ on the left (joint),—thus with two (verses) containing (the word) ‘head,’ for this is indeed its head; and containing (the words) ‘in the waters <sup>2</sup>’: that Yagñâyagñiya doubtless is Agni Vaisvânara’s chant of praise, and water is (a means of) appeasing,—therefore (he touches them) with two (verses) containing (the words)—‘the waters.’

14. With two (verses) he unyokes it,—two-footed is the Sacrificer, and Agni is the Sacrificer: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus unyokes him. With three (verses) he yokes,—that (makes) five,—the fire-altar consists of five layers, the year (of) five seasons, and Agni is

<sup>1</sup> That is, at the two points where the right (southern) and left (northern) enclosing-sticks (forming the two sides of the triangle, the apex of which lies east of the centre of the fire) meet the western enclosing-stick (as the base of the triangle).

<sup>2</sup> The first verse, in point of fact, contains the genitive case ‘of the waters.’

the year: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, so great is this.

15. Now, some yoke it (the fire-altar) at a Prâyanīya<sup>1</sup> Atirâtra, and unyoke it at an Udayanīya, saying, 'The unyoking, surely, is a certain form of completion, and why should we perform a form of completion prior to the completion (of the sacrifice)?' But let him not do this, for day by day this sacrifice is performed, and day by day it comes to completion; day by day he yokes that (altar) for the attainment of the heavenly world, and day by day he thereby attains the heavenly world: let him therefore yoke it day by day, and unyoke it day by day.

16. And, indeed, it would be just as if, at the Prâyanīya Atirâtra, after reciting the kindling-verses, he were to say, 'Hereafter<sup>2</sup>, at the Udayanīya, I shall recite (them again)!' Let him therefore yoke (the altar) day by day, and unyoke it day by day.

17. And on this point, Sâṇḍīlya, indeed, having enjoined on the Kaṅkatīyas the day-by-day per-

---

<sup>1</sup> For the Prâyanīyâ ishî (to five deities) of the ordinary Agni-shŏma, see part ii, pp. 47, 48, note. In the present case a special Soma-sacrifice of the Atirâtra type would seem to take its place, just as the Pavitra, an Agnishŏma Soma-sacrifice, at the Râgasŭya, took the place of the ordinary Anvârambhanīyâ ishî (or opening offering); see part iii, p. 42. In the same way there would apparently be a special Udayanīya Soma-sacrifice; whilst our author would have the ceremonies of yoking and unyoking of the fire-altar performed on the very day (or days) of the Soma-sacrifice, that is to say, he would have the ordinary Prâyanīyeshî and Udayanīyeshî performed as parts of the principal Soma-day (or days, if there are to be more than one).

<sup>2</sup> Or, therefore, as Sâyaṇa takes it. If the Udayanīya were a special Soma-sacrifice, the Sâmidhenîs (part i, p. 102 seq.; ii, p. 13, note 3) would have to be recited anew.

formance, went on his way, saying, 'Day by day they shall yoke for you, and day by day they shall unyoke!' Let him therefore yoke day by day, and unyoke day by day.

#### FIFTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. Now, then, as to the taking of milk as fast-food: the initiated should take milk for his fast-food. Once upon a time the nectar of immortality departed from the gods.

2. They said, 'Let us seek for it here by toil and penance!' They sought for it by toil and penance. Having become initiated, they were living on fast-milk, for penance it is when, after becoming initiated, one lives on fast-milk. They heard the sound of it.

3. They said, 'It is indeed coming nearer: let us practise penance still further!' They resorted to three teats: they saw it.

4. They said, 'It is indeed coming nearer: let us practise penance still further!' They resorted to two teats: they saw it still nearer.

5. They said, 'It is indeed coming nearer: let us practise penance still further!' They resorted to one teat: it came nigh unto them, but they could not lay hold of it.

6. They said, 'It has indeed come nigh unto us, but we cannot lay hold of it: let us undergo the whole (practice of) penance!' On the day of preparation they underwent entire abstention from food; for the whole (practice of) penance it is when one abstains from food: let him therefore eat nothing on the day of preparation.

7. On the morrow, having laid hold of it and pressed it (the Soma), they offered (of it) in the fire,

and thereby bestowed immortality upon Agni. And he, Agni (the fire-altar), indeed, is the body of all the gods; and hence, when they bestowed immortality on Agni (the fire-altar), they bestowed immortality on their own selves, and thereby the gods became immortal.

8. Now that same nectar of immortality is Soma. And even to this day the Sacrificer seeks for it by toil and penance; having become initiated he lives on fast-milk; for penance it is when, after being initiated, one lives on fast-milk; he hears the sound of it, saying, 'On such and such a day the buying (will take place<sup>1</sup>)!'

9. He resorts to three teats (of the cow): he sees it. He resorts to two teats: he sees it nearer by. He resorts to one teat: it comes nigh to him, but he cannot lay hold of it. He undergoes entire abstinence from food; for the whole (practice of) penance it is when one abstains from food: let him therefore eat nothing on the day of preparation.

10. And, on the morrow, having laid hold of it, and pressed it, he offers (of it) in the fire, and thereby bestows immortality on Agni. He then drinks (of it), and thereby bestows immortality on his own self, and becomes immortal; for this, assuredly, is immortality to man when he attains the whole (perfect) life: and so, in truth, he attains the whole life by this self of his.

11. When he has offered in the fire, he drinks (Soma); for that (fire-altar) is his divine body, and this (Sacrificer's own body) is his human one; and

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, the buying of the Soma plants, for which see part ii, p. 69 seq.



the gods were first, and then men : therefore he drinks (Soma), after offering in the fire.

12. Now, then, the discussion of the Samish/ayagus (oblations). The gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Pragâpati, entered upon their father Pragâpati's inheritance, to wit, speech—truth and untruth, both truth and untruth : they, both of them, spake the truth, and they both spake untruth ; and, indeed, speaking alike, they were alike.

13. The gods relinquished untruth, and held fast to truth, and the Asuras relinquished truth, and held fast to untruth.

14. The truth which was in the Asuras beheld this, and said, ' Verily, the gods have relinquished untruth, and held fast to truth : well, then, I will go thither ! ' Thus it went over to the gods.

15. And the untruth which was in the gods beheld this, and said, ' Verily, the Asuras have relinquished truth, and held fast to untruth : well, then, I will go thither ! ' Thus it went over to the Asuras.

16. The gods spake nothing but truth, and the Asuras nothing but untruth. And the gods, speaking the truth diligently, were very contemptible, and very poor : whence he who speaks the truth diligently, becomes indeed very contemptible, and very poor ; but in the end he assuredly prospers, for the gods indeed prospered.

17. And the Asuras, speaking untruth diligently, throve even as salt soil <sup>1</sup>, and were very prosperous : whence he who speaks untruth diligently, thrives indeed, even as salt soil, and becomes very pros-

---

<sup>1</sup> Both salt (V, 2, 1, 16 ; VII, 1, 1, 6) and saline soil (VII, 3, 1, 8) mean cattle.

perous; but in the end he assuredly comes to naught, for the Asuras indeed came to naught.

18. Now that same truth, indeed, is this threefold lore<sup>1</sup>. The gods said, 'Now that we have made up the sacrifice, let us spread out<sup>2</sup> this truth!'

19. They prepared the Initiation-offering. But the Asuras became aware of it, and said, 'Having made up the sacrifice, the gods are now spreading out that truth: come, let us fetch hither what was ours!' The Samish/ayagus of that (offering) was not yet performed, when they arrived: whence people offer no Samish/ayagus<sup>3</sup> for that sacrifice. The gods, espying the Asuras, snatched up the sacrifice, and began doing something else<sup>4</sup>. They (the Asuras) went away again, thinking, 'It is something else they are doing.'

20. When they had gone away, they (the gods) prepared the Opening-offering. But the Asuras

<sup>1</sup> That is, the Veda, and hence the sacrificial ritual as the sole end for which the three collections of hymn-verses (*ṛik*), hymn-tunes (*sāman*), and sacrificial formulas (*yagus*) were made.

<sup>2</sup> The verb 'tan,' 'to spread,' is the regular expression for the 'performing' of the sacrifice,—a figure of speech taken from the spreading out of a web, in which literal sense it has to be taken here.

<sup>3</sup> See III, 1, 3, 6, where the injunction is given that no Samish/ayagus should be performed for the *Dīkshāñīyeshā*, 'lest he who has put on the garment of initiation should reach the end of the sacrifice before its completion; for the Samish/ayagus is the end of the sacrifice.' It should be remembered that the initiation-offering, however essential, is merely a preliminary ceremony of the Soma-sacrifice, at the end of which latter sacrifice nine Samish/ayagus oblations are offered (IV, 4, 4, 1 seq.) instead of the single one offered at the ordinary haviryagñā. The term signifies 'the formula (*yagus*) of the completed offering (*samish/a*).'

<sup>4</sup> Prof. Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, p. 429, makes this last clause part of the Asuras' speech or thoughts,—'one thing they have undertaken to do, and another they are doing.' This can hardly be right.

became aware of this also. The *Samyos* (formula) of that (offering) had been pronounced, when they arrived; whence that sacrifice ends with the *Samyos*<sup>1</sup>. The gods, espying the *Asuras*, snatched up the sacrifice, and began doing something else. They went away again, thinking, 'It is something else they are doing.'

21. When they had gone away, they (the gods), having bought and driven about the king (*Soma*), prepared the guest-offering for him. But the *Asuras* became aware of this also. The *Idā* of that (offering) had been invoked, when they arrived; whence that sacrifice ends with the *Idā*<sup>2</sup>. The gods, espying the *Asuras*, snatched up the sacrifice, and began doing something else. They went away again, thinking, 'It is something else they are doing.'

22. When they had gone away, they (the gods) spread out (performed) the *Upasads*<sup>3</sup>. When they had recited three kindling-verses, and no more, they made offering to the deities, but laid out<sup>4</sup> no fore-offerings and no after-offerings on either side of the sacrifice, for they were in too great haste at that time; whence at the *Upasads*, when he has recited three kindling-verses, and no more, he

---

<sup>1</sup> See III, 2, 3, 23, where it is stated that the *Prāyanīya* of the *Soma*-sacrifice is to end with the *Samyos* (or *Samyuvāka*, for which see part i, p. 254 seq.); the *Patnīsamyaṅgas* (and *Samishayagus*) of the ordinary *ishā* being thus omitted.

<sup>2</sup> For the *Ātithya*, see part ii, p. 85 seq. It is shorn of the after-offerings (in addition to the *Patnīsamyaṅgas* and *Samishayagus*).

<sup>3</sup> For the *Upasads*, see part ii, p. 104 seq.

<sup>4</sup> That is, performed; but the verb (*ut-sādya*, 'to set out, or in order') is used purposely, as if laying out for display,—so as to be in keeping with the 'spreading out' of the sacrifice.

makes offering to the deities, but lays out no fore-offerings and no after-offerings on either side of the sacrifice.

23. On the day of preparation they slaughtered the Agnīshomtya victim. But the Asuras became aware of this also. The Samishṭayagus oblations of this (offering) had not yet been offered, when they arrived; whence people offer no Samishṭayagus for this animal(-offering). The gods, espying the Asuras, snatched up the sacrifice, and began doing something else. They went away again, thinking, 'It is something else they are doing.'

24. On the next morning after they had gone away, they (the gods) spread out (performed) the morning-service (of the Soma-sacrifice). But the Asuras became aware of this also. As much as the morning-service had been performed of it, when they arrived. The gods, espying the Asuras, snatched up the sacrifice, and began doing something else. They went away, thinking, 'It is something else they are doing.'

25. When they had gone, they (the gods) spread out the midday-service. But the Asuras became aware of this also. As much as the midday-service had been performed of it, when they arrived. The gods, espying the Asuras, snatched up the sacrifice, and began doing something else. They went away, thinking, 'It is something else they are doing.'

26. When they had gone, (the gods) went on with the animal-offering of the Soma-sacrifice<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> The portions from the Savanīya pasu, which is slain during the morning-service, continue being cooked until the evening-service, when they are offered. See IV, 2, 5, 13; and part ii, p. 357, note.

But the Asuras became aware of this also. As much of this animal-offering as is done (at the evening-service) had been done, when they arrived. The gods, espying them, snatched up the sacrifice, and began doing something else. They went away, thinking, 'It is something else they are doing.'

27. When they had gone away, they (the gods) spread the evening-service and completed it; and by completing it they obtained that whole truth. Then the Asuras went down<sup>1</sup>. Then the gods prevailed, and the Asuras came to naught. And, indeed, he who knows this, himself prevails, and his spiteful enemy comes to naught.

28. The gods said, 'Those sacrifices of ours which are half-completed, and leaving behind which we went off<sup>2</sup>,—think ye upon this, how we may complete them!' They said, 'Meditate ye!' whereby, indeed, they meant to say, 'Seek ye how we may complete these sacrifices!'

29. Whilst meditating, they saw these Samish/a-yagus (oblations), and offered them, and thereby completed those sacrifices; and inasmuch as thereby they completed (*samsthâpaya*) them, they are '*samsthitayagus*'; and inasmuch as thereby they sacrificed completely (*sam-yag*<sup>3</sup>), they are '*samish/a-yagus*.'

30. Now there are nine such (incomplete) sacri-

<sup>1</sup> Literally, leapt down (from their high station).

<sup>2</sup> That is, which we left behind us when we went off.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. IV, 4, 4, 6. For whatever deities this sacrifice is performed, they all are thereby 'sacrificed-to together' (*sam-ish/a*); and because, after all those (deities) have been 'sacrificed-to together,' he now offers those (libations), therefore they are called *Samish/ayagus*. See also I, 9, 2, 26, with note thereto.

fices, and there are nine samish/ayagus-oblations<sup>1</sup>; and by offering these, he completes those sacrifices. He offers both kinds, those of the Soma-sacrifice, and those of the Agni(-kayana),—first those of the Soma-sacrifice, and afterwards those of the fire-altar: the significance of this has been explained.

31. Two he offers of the fire-altar,—two-footed is the Sacrificer, and Agni is the Sacrificer: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus completes the sacrifice. [He offers them, with, Vâg. S. XVIII, 56, 57], 'Sacrifice hath been offered up by the Bhrigus...;'—'May Agni who hath received sacrifice and oblation speed our offered meat!'

32. These two amount to eleven,—the Trish/ubh consists of eleven syllables, and the Trish/ubh means strength: it is strength he thus imparts to the Sacrificer.

33. And, again, as to why there are eleven,—the Trish/ubh consists of eleven syllables, and Indra is of trish/ubh nature, Indra is the self (soul) of the sacrifice, Indra is the deity<sup>2</sup>: he thus finally establishes the sacrifice in him who is the self, the deity of the sacrifice.

34. Having performed the Samish/ayagus-oblations, they betake themselves to the expiatory bath (avabhṛitha<sup>3</sup>). Having come out from the bath,

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, the same nine Samish/ayagus-oblations which are performed at the end of the Soma-sacrifice (IV, 4, 4, 1 seq.). At the end of these, however, two additional such oblations are offered on the present occasion.

<sup>2</sup> See I, 4, 5, 4, 'Indra is the deity of (this?) sacrifice;' IV, 4, 2, 16, 'Indra is the leader of the sacrifice.' The first of the nine Samish/ayagus-oblations of the Soma-sacrifice is offered to Indra.

<sup>3</sup> See IV, 4, 5, 1 seq.

and performed the Udayantya (concluding oblation)<sup>1</sup>, he, after the animal cake of the offering of the barren cow<sup>2</sup>, prepares oblations for the goddesses.

35. For now Pragâpati, having gained his end, thought himself quite perfect. Establishing himself in the quarters he went on ordering (or creating) and disposing everything here; and inasmuch as he went on ordering and disposing, he is the Orderer. And in like manner does the Sacrificer, establishing himself in the quarters, order and dispose everything here.

36. And, again, as to why he prepares these oblations. This Agni (the fire-altar) is the quarters (regions), and these he lays down beforehand (in the shape of) the bunch of Darbha grass<sup>3</sup> and the clod-bricks<sup>4</sup>; the Prâṇabhṛts<sup>5</sup> in the first layer, the whole of the second, the whole of the third, and the whole of the fourth (layers<sup>6</sup>); and of the fifth

<sup>1</sup> See IV, 5, 1, 1 seq.

<sup>2</sup> For this offering to Mitra and Varuṇa, see IV, 5, 1, 5.

<sup>3</sup> The bunch of Darbha grass is placed in the centre of the newly ploughed altar-site; see VII, 2, 3, 1 seq.

<sup>4</sup> The four logesh/akâs (clods of earth), being placed at the ends of the two 'spines,' represent the four quarters, marking as they do the centre of the east, south, west, and north sides of the altar-site, sown with seeds of all kinds; see VII, 3, 1, 13 seq. The bunch of Darbha grass, placed in the centre, would thus represent the fifth region, viz. the one above.

<sup>5</sup> Though the Prâṇabhṛts are said to represent, not the regions, but the (channels of the) vital airs, they are placed in rows along the diagonals of the square body of the altar, thus marking, as it were, the intermediate regions; whilst the fifth set is placed in a circle round the centre. See VIII, 1, 1, 1 seq.

<sup>6</sup> The bricks of these layers are all of them supposed to be marked by their position to relate to the regions or quarters.

layer the Asapatnās, Nākasads and *Pañkakûdās*<sup>1</sup>,—these kept going out upwards<sup>2</sup> (from *Pragâpati*, the altar). *Pragâpati* was afraid of them, thinking, 'Whilst moving away, these will go beyond this universe.' Having become the Orderer, he went round them and established himself in them.

37. Now the same as that Orderer is yonder sun ; and that which was the farthest gone of the regions is that in which that (sun) shines firmly established.

38. And the same as that Orderer is this cake to the Orderer on twelve potsherds. On twelve potsherds (it is),—the year is (of) twelve months, *Pragâpati* is the year, and *Pragâpati* is the Orderer. And that one which was the farthest gone of the regions is the same as these previous oblations,—a pap to *Anumati*, a pap to *Rākâ*, a pap to *Sinivali*, and a pap to *Kuhû*<sup>3</sup>: when he prepares these oblations, he thereby establishes him (*Pragâpati*) in that which was the farthest gone of the regions. That (cake) he offers whole, for the completeness of that (*Pragâpati*).

39. These are goddesses, for they are the regions,

---

<sup>1</sup> For the Asapatnās, laid down near the ends of the spines, to drive off evil in all four quarters, see VIII, 5, 1, 1 ; for the other two kinds of bricks, expressly identified with the regions, see VIII, 6, 1, 1 seq.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the altar was so full of regions that they escaped at the top.

<sup>3</sup> These deities are supposed to be personifications of the four phases of the moon ; whilst Prof. Weber (Ind. Stud. XIII, p. 29c) would also take the Orderer (*dhâtri*)—by the *Brāhmaṇa* identified with the sun—to represent the moon. On *Sinivali* (identified with *Vâk*, VI, 5, 1, 9), see also A. Kuhn, Zeitschr. f. v. Sprachf. II, p. 120 ; Weber, Ind. Stud. V, 230. *Anumati* is identified with the earth, V, 2, 3, 4.



the regions are the metres, and the metres are deities; and that Ka is Pragâpati; and inasmuch as they are goddesses (*devî*) and Ka, they are 'devikâ<sup>1</sup>.' There are five of them, for there are five regions.

40. As to this they say, 'He should not offer these oblations, lest he should do what is excessive.' Let him nevertheless offer them; for these oblations are offered for (the fulfilment) of (special) wishes, and in wishes there is nothing excessive. And whatever oblation is offered after the cake of the animal-offering that is placed inside the victim itself as its sacrificial sap. He offers both kinds (of oblations), those of the Soma-sacrifice and those of the Agni(-*layana*), to wit, first those of the Soma-sacrifice, and then those of the fire-altar: the significance of this has been explained. The cake-offering of the animal sacrifice is (performed) in a loud voice, and these (five oblations) in a low voice, for they are an *ishî*<sup>2</sup>. With the *Pasupurodâsa* he (the *Adhvaryu*) says, 'Recite!—Urge!' and with these (oblations), 'Recite!—Worship!' for they are an *ishî*<sup>3</sup>. There is the same *Svishṭakṛit*, and the same *Idâ*<sup>4</sup>.

41. Of that same animal-offering (of the barren cow) they perform the *Samishṭayaṅus*-oblations; they enter the expiatory bath with the heart-spit<sup>5</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> This is an etymological quibble resorted to in order to account for the oblation to *Pragâpati* as one of the oblations of the goddesses (*devikî*).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 248, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> That is, for these five oblations which are inserted between the chief oblations and the *Svishṭakṛit* of the *Pasupurodâsa*; as above, IX, 4, 3, 12 seq.

<sup>5</sup> For this expiatory ceremony, called the *Sûlāvabhṛitha* (spit-

for this animal-offering is the end. Having proceeded with the heart-spit;—

42. And having returned (to the fire-altar), he performs the oblations to Visvakarman;—This Agni(-*kayana*) indeed (includes) all sacrificial rites (*visvāni karmāni*); and all these its rites have been performed in this (*agnikayana*): he now gratifies them, and makes them a deity by means of an offering of sacrificial food; for only that one is a deity, for whom an oblation is prepared, but not one for whom it is not (prepared). Moreover, this Agni is Visvakarman (the all-worker): it is him he thereby gratifies.

43. And, again, as to why he offers the Vaisvakarmana (oblations)<sup>1</sup>. For the fire-altar there is both a beginning and an end: the *Sāvitra*<sup>2</sup> (formulas) are the beginning, and the Vaisvakarmana (oblations) the end. Were he to offer only those to *Savitri*, and not those to Visvakarman, it would be as if he made only a beginning and no end; and were he to offer only those to Visvakarman, and not those to *Savitri*, it would be as if he made only an end and no beginning. He offers both of them, and thus makes both a beginning and an end.

44. There are eight of those (*Sāvitra*), and so (there are eight of) these: thus he makes the end

---

bath), and marking the conclusion of an ordinary (*nirūḍha*) animal sacrifice—not one belonging to the Soma-sacrifice—as well as of the offering of a sterile cow, see part ii, p. 215.

<sup>1</sup> Or, perhaps, formulas; the verses used along with the oblations being ascribed to Visvakarman. In any case, however, these oblations are offered to Agni, as the Visvakarman, or all-worker (*visvakartri*), or (in the case of Agni=*agnikayana*) as including all works (or sacrificial performances).

<sup>2</sup> See VI, 3, 1, 1 seq.; part iii, p. 190 seq.

(the same) as the beginning. The Svāhā-call is the ninth of those <sup>1</sup>, and so it is of these: thus he makes the end as the beginning. The oblation (āhuti) is the tenth of those <sup>2</sup>, and so it is of these: thus he makes the end as the beginning. On that occasion he offers the oblation continuously so as not to stop the seed, the sacrifice there being seed;—on this occasion (he offers) with the dipping-spoon at the Svāhā-call, for manifest is the seed when it is born.

45. [He offers, with, Vāg. S. XVII, 58–65], ‘What hath flowed from out of the will, or the heart, or was gathered from the mind, or the eye, after that go ye forward,—to the world of the righteous whither the first-born seers went of old!’ he thereby means those *R̥ishis* <sup>3</sup>.

46. ‘Unto thee, O (heavenly) seat, I commit this treasure which the knower of beings shall bring thither <sup>4</sup>! Here the lord of the sacrifice will go after you: acknowledge ye <sup>5</sup> him in the highest heaven!’—as the text, so the meaning.

47. ‘Acknowledge him, O ye gods, seated

<sup>1</sup> See VI, 3, 1, 21.

<sup>2</sup> The Sāvitra formulas accompany eight libations, which form, however, only one single continuous offering (āhuti) with one svāhā-call.

<sup>3</sup> For the seven *R̥ishis*, identified with the vital airs, the first existing beings, see VI, 1, 1, 1 seq.

<sup>4</sup> Mahīdhara (and apparently Sāyana) seems to supply ‘yagamānam’ to ‘etam,’ and construe thus: ‘Unto thee, O heavenly sent, I commit this (Sacrificer), which treasure Gâtavedas shall bring thither.’

<sup>5</sup> ‘O gods, honour ye him (the Sacrificer)!’ Mahīdhara; but perhaps the *R̥ishis* are addressed in this second line. Mahīdhara takes ‘atra’ (‘here’) along with ‘parame vyoman’—‘in this highest heaven.’

in the highest heaven, know ye his form! When he cometh by the godward paths, reveal ye unto him the fulfilment of his wishes!—as the text, so the meaning.—‘Awake, O Agni, and be watchful! . . .’—‘Whereby thou carriest a thousand, . . .’—the meaning of these two has been explained <sup>1</sup>.

48. ‘With grass-bunch and enclosing-stick, with spoon, altar-ground and grass-cover, with verse of praise, lead thou this our sacrifice unto heaven, to go unto the gods!’ that is, ‘with these outward forms of our sacrifice make it go to the heavenly world!’

49. ‘What gift, what bounty, what fulfilment, what offering-presents there are of ours, —Agni Vaisvakarmaṇa shall deposit them in heaven with the gods!’—that is, ‘whatever we give, seasonably or unseasonably, that this fire-altar of Vaisvakarman shall place in the heavenly world!’

50. ‘Where the streams of honey and ghee are never-failing,—there, in heaven, Agni Vaisvakarmaṇa shall place us with the gods!’—as the text, so the meaning <sup>2</sup>.

51. Eight Vaisvakarmaṇa (oblations) he offers,—the Gâyatrî consists of eight syllables, and Agni is of Gâyatra nature: as great as Agni is, as great

<sup>1</sup> See VIII, 6, 3, 23. 24.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of the verse is, however, far from certain. The above is Mahidhara’s interpretation, except that he takes ‘yâh’ to mean ‘and what (other) streams there are.’ It might, however, also mean—‘What streams of honey and ghee of ours are never-failing anywhere—Agni Vaisvakarmaṇa shall deposit them in heaven with the gods!’—in which case due reward for sacrifice would be prayed for.

as is his measure, by so much food he thus gratifies him.

52. When he has performed the *Vaisvakarmaṇa* (oblations), he gives a name<sup>1</sup> (to the fire of the altar); for when any one has been born sound and safe, they give a name to him, and now this (Agni) has indeed been born sound and safe.

53. Having given a name to him, he reverently approaches him; for this (Sacrificer) builds him with his (own) whole self, and were he not to give utterance now to this surrender of his own self, he (Agni) would now take away his (the Sacrificer's) self; but when he now gives utterance to this surrender of his own self, he (Agni) does not take away his self. [He approaches the fire] with the *Anushṭubh* verse (*Vâg. S. XVIII, 67*), 'What fires of the five races of men there are upon this earth,—thou art the chiefest of them: quicken us unto life!'—the *Anushṭubh*, doubtless, is speech, and all the metres are speech<sup>2</sup>: he thus makes amends to him (Agni) by all the metres. Having stood by the fire, and lifted<sup>3</sup> it, and churned it out, he offers the completing oblation<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> According to VI, 1, 3, 20, the newly built Agni is to be called '*Kitra*,' the Bright one.

<sup>2</sup> Or, are *Vâk*, the Veda, cf. IV, 6, 7, 1 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Or, 'having mounted it;'—that is to say, he heats the churning-sticks (*arazi*) at the altar-fire, betakes himself with them to the old (*Gârhapatya*) fire-place; 'churns out' the fire, and offers on the fire thus produced.

<sup>4</sup> The *Udavasânîyâ-ishṭi*, consisting of a cake on five potsherds for Agni (or a libation of ghee taken in five ladlings for *Vishṇu*), is the same as for the Soma-sacrifice, IV, 5, 1, 13. But whilst there it is followed at once by the (evening) *Agnihotra*, or oblation of milk regularly performed twice a day; on the present occasion an additional oblation is performed.

54. He then offers a dish of clotted curds to Mitra and Varuṇa<sup>1</sup>. Now he who performs this (Agni-kāyana) rite comes to be with the gods; and these two, Mitra and Varuṇa, are a divine pair. Now, were he to have intercourse with a human woman without having offered this (oblation), it would be a descent, as if one who is divine would become human; but when he offers this dish of clotted curds to Mitra and Varuṇa, he thereby approaches a divine mate<sup>2</sup>: having offered it, he may freely have intercourse in a befitting way.

55. And, again, as to why he offers this dish of clotted curds to Mitra and Varuṇa. When Pragâpati was released, the seed fell from him. When the gods restored him, they, by means of this dish of clotted curds, put seed into him; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) thereby put seed into him.

56. Now that Pragâpati who became released is this very fire-altar which is here being built; and the seed which fell from him is this dish of clotted curds of Mitra and Varuṇa; for Mitra and Varuṇa are the in-breathing and up-breathing, and the in-breathing and up-breathing fashion the infused seed. A dish of clotted curds it is, because seed is milk; and sacrifice it is, because sacrifice is the seed of sacrifice. In a low voice it is (offered), for silently seed is shed. At the end (of the sacrifice) it is (offered), for from the end seed is introduced.

---

<sup>1</sup> The same payasyâ-oblation is performed at the Dākshâyana modification of the new and full-moon sacrifice (II, 4, 4, 10 seq.); see also the Sânnâya of the new-moon sacrifice (part i, p. 178, note 4) which is the same dish.

<sup>2</sup> Or, he enters into a divine union.

57. They proceed with the whey<sup>1</sup> of that (dish of clotted curds). At this (oblation of whey) he gives a dakṣiṇā (sacrificial gift): 'Let him give a pair of hornless he-goats,' so (they say);—'Only by assignment, I think<sup>2</sup>:' said Māhitthi. And, verily, this libation of the fire-builder flows away as a libation of Soma which one offers on a (fire) without bricks.

58. He need only lay down the naturally-perforated (bricks)<sup>3</sup>; for the naturally-perforated ones are these worlds; and this built fire-altar is the same as these worlds.

59. He need only lay down the seasonal (bricks); for the seasonal ones are the year, and this built fire-altar is the year.

60. He need only lay down the all-light (bricks); for the all-light (bricks) are those deities<sup>4</sup>, and this built fire-altar is those deities.

61. He need only lay down the Punasṅiti; for this is a repeated sacrifice (punar-yagñā), it is a later (higher) worship of the gods: it is thus a repeated sacrifice and the higher worship of the gods he thereby arranges, and the repeated sacrifice inclines to him<sup>5</sup>!—so (they say), but let him not do this,

<sup>1</sup> The whey (vāgina) is offered to the (divine) Coursers, i.e. the regions or quarters; see II, 4, 4, 22-25.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of this passage is not quite clear to me.

<sup>3</sup> The three Svayamātrinnās in the centre of the first, third, and fifth layers represent the three worlds. These, and the subsequent injunctions, refer to one who, subsequent to the Agniṣayana, wishes to perform a Soma-sacrifice, without being able to repeat the Agniṣayana itself. Kāty. Sr. XVIII, 6, 33.

<sup>4</sup> See VI, 3, 3, 16; 5, 3, where the three Virvagyotis bricks are said to represent Agni, Vāyu (wind), and Âditya (sun) respectively.

<sup>5</sup> Though there is nothing in the text to show where this quota-

for, indeed, whenever Agni is placed on the built (altar), this whole Agni passes into that very brick<sup>1</sup>: thus whenever he offers in the fire, then these oblations of his will be offered even as would be his oblations, when offered on a complete *Sāṇḍila* fire-altar built up with wings and tail.

62. And, indeed, he who carries about Agni<sup>2</sup> becomes pregnant with all beings, and with all the gods; and he who builds him when he has not been carried about for a year kills all beings in the form of an embryo. But, surely, he who kills a human embryo, is despised, how much more then he who kills him (Agni), for he is a god: 'Let no one become an officiating priest for an (Agni) who has not been carried about for a year,' said Vâtsyâ, 'lest he should be a participator in the killing of this, a god's seed<sup>3</sup>!'

---

tion begins, it would seem, from Kâtyâyana's rules, that it runs from the beginning of paragraph 58,—XVIII, 6, 33. In case of inability (to perform a second) *kîtyâ*, at a repeated Soma-sacrifice, (he may lay down) one or other kind of the *Svayamâtrinnâs*, *Visvagyotishas*, or *Rîtavâyâs*; 34. The *Punaskîti*; 35. Or no building (at all a second time); 36. Because the (Agni) *Kîtya* has become the *Âhavanîya*.

<sup>1</sup> That is (as would seem from Sâyaṇa's interpretation), into the *Âhavanîya* fire, considered as the last brick of the altar; and hence the Sacrificer's offering-fire will for ever thereafter remain for him the *Kîtya* Agni.

<sup>2</sup> During the time of initiation (*dfkshâ*), which, if at all possible, is to last for a year, the *Ukhyâ* Agni has to be carried about by the intending Sacrificer, for at least part of each day, in the fire-pan (*ukhâ*), suspended in a sling from his neck; the pan-fire being afterwards transferred to the newly built *Gârhapatya* and thence to the great fire-altar, to serve as the *Kîtya* Agni, or the *Âhavanîya* fire. See VI, 7, 1, 12 seq.

<sup>3</sup> In the original this last clause is in the first person, or in the *oratio directa*, from the point of view of him who is asked to officiate



63. 'A six-month (Agni) is the last<sup>1</sup> he may build,' they say, 'for six-month embryos are the last<sup>1</sup> that live when born.' If he were to recite the Great Litany on one not carried for a year, he should recite (only) the eighties of verses; for something incomplete is (the Agni) not carried for a year, and something incomplete are the eighties of verses<sup>2</sup>. But, indeed, he would only still further pull asunder that (Agni, already) pulled asunder<sup>3</sup>; and, indeed, whether he (Agni) be carried for a year, or not carried for a year, he (the Hotri) should recite the whole of the Great Litany.

64. Now *Sândilyâyana* was once upon a time sojourning in the eastern region. *Daiyâmpâti* said to him, '*Sândilyâyana*, how is Agni to be built? For, indeed, we are loth to carry him for a year, and yet we wish to build him.'

65. He said, 'Let him by all means build him by whom he has previously been carried for a year; for that, that (Agni) alone he builds as one that has been carried<sup>4</sup> (as a child in the womb).'

66. And, indeed, let him by all means build who

---

as a priest, hence—Let no one become an officiating priest . . . , thinking, 'Lest I should be a participator . . . '

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, he must have been carried about for at least six months; and embryos less than six months old cannot live.

<sup>2</sup> This is so for the reason that the Mahad uktham consists of more than the eighties of verses; see IX, 3, 3, 19. One might feel inclined to include this whole sentence in the preceding quotation.

<sup>3</sup> That is, already too much attenuated, by being made as large as one a year old (?).

<sup>4</sup> *Sâyana* remarks, that this reply does not restrict the building of the fire-altar to one who has carried the fire for a full year, but only discountenances the building in the case of one who has only carried it for a few days (?).

intends to press Soma for a year, for he, manifestly, supports him by food (in the shape of) those libations.

67. And, indeed, let him by all means build who offers the Agnihotra for a year, for he who offers the Agnihotra indeed supports him (Agni, the fire).

68. And, indeed, let him by all means build who was born a year (after conception); for Agni is the breath: it is thus him (Agni) he holds. And, indeed, as the breath, he enters into the infused seed, and takes possession of it; and inasmuch as he takes possession (vid) of every one that is born (*gâta*), he is *Gâtavedas*. Wherefore by all means let even one who knows this build him as one ever carried (within him). And, indeed, if one who knows this either drinks (Soma), or offers drink to any one else, these libations of his will be offered even as would be his libations, when offered on a complete *Sândila* fire-altar built up with wings and tail.

## SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. Indra saw this seven-versed (hymn, suitable) for making good what is deficient<sup>1</sup>, for reducing what is redundant, and for perfecting what is imperfect. And, indeed, after building the fire-altar, one is (still) apt to get into trouble, or to stumble, or what not. Now, when *Syâparna* *Sâyakâyana* heard this, he ventured upon this performance.

2. Now, there is here a perfecting of three things, —the perfecting of the fire-altar, the perfecting of

---

<sup>1</sup> Viz. in the building of the fire-altar; literally, for the obtaining of the deficient.

him who has it built for him, and the perfecting of him who builds it.

3. Thus, when he reverently stands by (the altar) with this (hymn), everything is thereby made good<sup>1</sup> for him that, knowing or unknowing, he either does in excess, or does not carry to the end, in this building of the altar—in short, whatever was not secured for him. And whatever wish there is in that *anushṭubh* verse<sup>2</sup>, that he secures even now; and, moreover, he thereby keeps off the fiends, the *Rakshas*, from this sacred work, and they do not wreck him, whilst uttering imprecations. Wherefore one who knows this may readily build a fire-altar even for an enemy, for he is able to gain the better of him.

4. [He approaches reverently the fire-altar<sup>3</sup>, with, *Vâg. S. XVIII*, 68–74], ‘For mighty strength that smiteth *Vṛitra*, and for victory in battle, we call thee hither, O *Indra*!’ ‘O much-invoked *Indra*, crush thou the handless *Kunârū*, lurking here, together with the *Dânuṣ*; and with might smite thou the footless *Vṛitra*, the ever-growing mocker!’ thus he reverently stands by (the fire) with the first two (verses) relating to the slaying of *Vṛitra*. For now the gods, having ward off *Vṛitra*, evil, performed this rite freed from evil; and in like manner does the Sacrificer, having ward off *Vṛitra*, evil, now perform this rite freed from evil.

<sup>1</sup> Literally, obtained.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. the first of the seven verses (*Rig-veda* III, 37, 1).

<sup>3</sup> According to *Kâty. Sr. XVII*, 7, 1, this ceremony should take place on the completion of each layer, after it has been covered with loose earth; cf. paragraph 11.

5. 'Scatter thou our scorers, O Indra!<sup>1</sup>'—  
 'Like a terrible, creeping beast, dwelling in  
 the mountains, hast thou come from the  
 farthest distance: having sharpened thy  
 pointed, piercing thunderbolt<sup>2</sup>, O Indra, beat  
 thou off the foes, and scatter the spurners!'—  
 thus with the second two (verses) relating to (Indra)  
*Vimrīdh*<sup>3</sup>. For now the gods, having warded off  
 the spurners, evil, performed this rite freed from evil;  
 and in like manner does the Sacrificer now, having  
 warded off the spurners, evil, now perform this rite  
 freed from evil.

6. 'May Agni Vaisvânara come forward  
 from afar to our help, to hear our hymns of  
 praise!'—'Sought after in the sky, sought  
 after on earth, Agni, sought after, hath en-  
 tered all the plants: Agni Vaisvânara, sought  
 after, may guard us from injury by day and by  
 night!'—thus with the third two (verses) relating to  
 (Agni) Vaisvânara. For now the gods, having, by  
 Vaisvânara, burnt out evil, performed this rite, freed  
 from evil; and in like manner does the Sacrificer  
 now, by Vaisvânara, burn out evil, and perform this  
 rite freed from evil.

7. 'May we obtain this wish, O Agni, with  
 thy help! may we obtain, O wealthy one,  
 wealth with abundant heroes! striving for  
 strength, may we obtain strength; may we  
 obtain undecaying glory, O thou ever-young!'—  
 thus with one (verse) containing wishes. For now

<sup>1</sup> For the complete verse, see IV, 6, 4, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Mahidhara.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the repeller of spurners, or enemies.

the gods, having, by the six-versed (hymn), warded off evil, made once for all, by the one wish-holding (verse), all (objects of) wishes their own; and in like manner does the Sacrificer now, having, by the six-versed (hymn), warded off evil, make once for all, by the one wish-holding (verse), all wishes his own.

8. It is (a hymn) of seven verses,—the fire-altar consists of seven layers, (and there are) seven seasons, seven regions, seven worlds of the gods, seven stomas, seven *prishtha* (sâmans), seven metres, seven domestic animals, seven wild ones, seven vital airs in the head, and whatever else there is of seven kinds, relating to deities and relating to the self,—all that he thereby secures. They become equal to the Anushṭubh<sup>1</sup>, for the Anushṭubh is speech, and it is by speech that he secures for him (Agni) all that which is not yet secured for him.

9. 'Let him approach (the fire-altar) with an eight-versed (hymn)!' say some;—'with (Vâg. S. XVIII, 75), "We thereby offer unto thee thy wish, reverently approaching thee with open hands: with holiest mind and peaceful thought offer thou sacrifice unto the gods as priest, O Agni!" thus with a second wish-holding one,—and the seven foregoing ones, that makes eight,—the Gâyatrî consists of eight syllables, and Agni is of Gâyatra nature: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus secures for him

<sup>1</sup> The seven verses consist of two Gâyatrîs (twenty-four syllables each), four Trishṭubhs (forty-four each), and one Anushṭubh (thirty-two syllables). Whilst the two Gâyatrîs are sixteen syllables short of two Anushṭubhs, the four Trishṭubhs have forty-eight syllables in excess of four Anushṭubhs. Hence the seven verses consist of  $8 \times 32$  syllables, or eight Anushṭubhs.

whatsoever is not yet secured for him; and thus, moreover, the two deities<sup>1</sup> receive the same (amount) for their share.' Let him, however, not do so, for surely those seven (verses) are (equal to) eight anushṭubh (verses), and thus he even therein obtains whatever wished-for object there is in the eight-versed (hymn).

10. With (verses) addressed to Indra and Agni he approaches (the fire);—the fire-altar belongs to Indra and Agni: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus gains for him whatever has not been gained for him. And Indra and Agni are all the gods, and the fire-altar belongs to (or Agni is) all the deities: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus gains for him whatever has not been gained for him.

11. Now some make this (hymn) the opening rite of every performance, saying, 'Freed from evil, we must perform this sacred work!' And others, indeed, say, 'Let him approach reverently (each) layer when it is covered with soil, for therein that (layer) becomes whole and complete.' Let him, then, do as he chooses. So much as to the building; now as to the non-building.

12. Verily, there are three oceans,—the Fire-altar (being the ocean) of Yagus-formulas, the Mahâvrata (-sâman)<sup>2</sup> that of Sâmans (hymn-tunes), and the Mahad uktham (Great Litany<sup>3</sup>) that of *Rik* (verses). Whoever performs these (three rites) for another

<sup>1</sup> Viz. Indra and Agni, having each four verses addressed to them.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 282, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 110, note 3; p. 111, note 1.

person causes these oceans to dry up for himself, and after them, thus drying up, the metres<sup>1</sup> dry up for him; and after the metres the world; and after the world his own self; and after his own self his children and cattle: indeed, he who performs these for another person becomes poorer day after day.

13. And he who, not having performed these (rites) for another person, were to officiate in the performance even of all other sacrifices, for him the metres again replenish themselves from out of those oceans, and after the metres the world, and after the world his own self, and after his own self his children and cattle: indeed, he who does not perform those rites for another person, becomes more prosperous day after day. For, indeed, these (rites) are his divine, immortal body; and he who performs them for another person, makes over to another his divine body, and a withered trunk is all that remains.

14. Now, some (say), 'Having performed them for another person, they either perform them for themselves or cause them to be performed again: this is the atonement.' But let him not do this, for it would be as if one were to water a withered trunk; it would rot and die: let him know that there is no atonement for such an one.

15. And Sâṇḍilya once upon a time said—Tura Kâvasheya once built a fire-altar for the gods at Kârotî. The gods asked him, 'Sage, seeing that they declare the building of the fire-altar not to be conducive to heaven, why then hast thou built one?'

16. He said, 'What is conducive to heaven,

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, the Vedic texts.

and what is not conducive thereto? The Sacrificer is the body of the sacrifice, and the officiating priests are the limbs; and, surely, where the body is there are the limbs; and where the limbs are there is the body. And, verily, if the priests have no place in heaven, then the Sacrificer has none, for both are of the same world. But let there be no bargaining as to sacrificial fees, for by bargaining the priests are deprived of their place in heaven.'



## TENTH KĀṆḌA.

---

### THE MYSTERY OF AGNI, THE FIRE-ALTAR.

---

#### FIRST ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMAṆA.

1. In the first place that Agni (the Fire-altar), the year, is built<sup>1</sup>; thereafter the Great Litany (mahad uktham) is recited<sup>2</sup>. When Pragâpati became relaxed, the vital fluid flowed upwards<sup>3</sup>.

2. Now, that Pragâpati who became relaxed is the year; and those joints of his which became relaxed are the days and nights.

3. And that Pragâpati who became relaxed is this very Fire-altar which here is built; and those joints of his, the days and nights, which became relaxed are no other than the bricks;—thus, when he lays down these (in the layers of the altar), he thereby restores to him those joints of his, the days and nights, which had become relaxed: and thus

---

<sup>1</sup> Or, possibly, 'that Agni is built in a year,' as paragraph 4 might seem to suggest. Sâyana, however, takes it in the above sense,—esho-gniḥ Samvatsarâtmakaḥ purastât pûrvam kîyate. The Agnikayana, when properly performed, requires a full year, whence Agni-Pragâpati is constantly identified with the year and the seasons.

<sup>2</sup> According to Sâyana, the intermediate Mahâvrata-sâman (see note 1, p. 283), chanted prior to the recitation of the Mahad uktham, is likewise implied here.

<sup>3</sup> Thus—ûrdhvalokam agakkhat—Sâyana takes 'agram.'

it is even in this (building of the altar) that this Yagus is built up<sup>1</sup> and secured (for Pragâpati).

4. And that vital fluid (essence) of his which flowed upwards (became) the Great Litany: it is in quest of that vital fluid that (the priests) go by means of the *Rik* and *Sâman*. And when the Yagus marches in front in this (quest)<sup>2</sup>, it is in order to fetch something that that (Veda) goes—even as (one might say), ‘That one thing there is mine, I will fetch it,’ so does that Yagus go in front (or forward). That (vital fluid) they obtain in the course of a year<sup>3</sup>.

5. The Adhvaryu takes (draws) it by means of the Graha (Soma-cup); and inasmuch as he thereby takes (grah) it, it is (called) Graha<sup>4</sup>. The Udgâtri puts the vital fluid into it by means of the (sâman of the) Great Rite (mahâvrata<sup>5</sup>); but, indeed, the

<sup>1</sup> Viz. inasmuch as yagus-formulas have to be used with the laying down of many of the bricks (the so-called ‘yagushmatîs’). Whilst, in the case of the *Rik* and *Sâman*, other rites are necessary to secure them for the restored Pragâpati, the Yagus is secured for him in the very act of building up his body, the fire-altar.

<sup>2</sup> The Adhvaryu priest has to do all the practical work connected with the sacrificial performance, the building of the altar, &c.; and inasmuch as it is with yagus-formulas he does so throughout, the Yagus is said here to take the lead; cf. X, 3, 5, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Viz. by means of the sacrificial session of sacrificing, chanting, and reciting, called ‘Gavâm ayanam’ (procession of the cows), lasting for one year, on the last day but one of which the Mahâvrata, or Great Rite, is performed.

<sup>4</sup> The particular cup of Soma here referred to is the Mahâvratîyagraha, the special cup of the Great Rite; cf. X, 4, 1, 12 seq.

<sup>5</sup> The central feature of the Mahâvrata consists in the chanting, at the mid-day service—as the Hotri’s *Prishtha*-stotra—of the so-called Mahâvrata-sâman. It consists of five different parts which,—like those of which the Mahad uktham, recited after it, is

(sâman of the) Great Rite is (equivalent to) all these (other) sâmans (hymn-tunes): it is thus by means of all the hymn-tunes that he puts the vital fluid therein. The *Hotri* puts the vital fluid therein by means of the Great Litany; but, indeed, the Great Litany is the same as all these *rik* (hymn-verses)<sup>1</sup>: it is thus by means of all the hymn-verses that he puts the vital fluid into it (the Soma-cup).

composed,—are considered as representing different parts of Agni-Pragâpati's body, viz.: 1. *Gâyatra-sâman*, representing the head; it is chanted in the *trivrit-stoma* (nine-versed hymn-form) and consists of the triplets, *Sâma-v. II, 146-8* (= *Rîg-veda I, 7, 1-3*: *indram id gâthino bṛihat*), *II, 263-5* (*indro dadhîko asthabhir*), and *II, 800-2* (*ud ghed abhi srutâmagham*); though, according to others, the *Sâma*-triplets corresponding to *Rîg-veda I, 7, 1-9* may be chanted instead. 2. *Rathantara-sâman* (*Sâma-v. II, 30-1*), representing the right wing, chanted in the *Pañkadara-stoma*, or fifteen-versed form. 3. *Bṛihat-sâman* (*II, 159-60*), the left wing, in the *Saptadara-stoma*, or seventeen-versed form. 4. *Bhadra-sâman* (on *II, 460-2*; cf. *Calc. ed., vol. v, p. 402*), the tail, in the *Ekavimsa*, or twenty-one-versed form. 5. *Râgana-sâman* (on *II, 833-5*; cf. *Calc. ed., vol. v, p. 449*), the body (*âtman*), in the *Pañkavimsa-stoma*, or twenty-five-versed form; instead of this the *Vâmadevya-sâman* (on *II, 32-4*) may be chanted in the *pañkanidhana* form (*Calc. ed., vol. v, p. 451*).—The chanting of this *Stotra* is preceded by the singing of thirteen sâmans, called *parimâdah* (see *X, 1, 2, 8*), followed by certain ceremonies—buckling armour on a nobleman, driving in a sunwise direction round the sacrificial ground, shooting arrows at two ox-hides, beating of drums, &c.—apparently symbolising the driving off of evil spirits from the sacrifice, or a combat for the possession of (the light of) the sun. The chanting itself is, according to some authorities, performed by the *Udgâtri*s, whilst, according to others, all the priests (except the *Hotri*, for whom the *Maitrâvaruṇa* acts), as well as the *Grîhapati*, or *Sacrificer*, take part in turn in the singing of the sâmans; the *Prastotri* and *Pratihatri*, assistants of the *Udgâtri*, joining in with the successive performers in the *Nidhanas*, or *finales*.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 110, note 3; p. 112, note 1. During his recitation of the Great Litany, the *Hotri* is seated on a swing, the *Adhvaryu*

6. When those (Udgâtrîs) chant (the stotra), and when he (the Hotrî) recites (the sastra) afterwards, then he (the Adhvaryu) offers that (vital fluid, in the form of Soma) unto him (Agni-Pragâpati) at the Vasha<sup>t</sup>-call; and thus this vital fluid enters him. For, indeed, they do not see it to be the Great Rite that lies there being praised, nor the Great Litany, but it is Agni alone they see; for Agni is the self (body), and thus those two, the *Rik* and the Sâman, enter him in the form of the vital fluid; and thus they both enter (join) the Yagus.

7. Now, that Agni (fire-altar) consists of pairs—the first layer and the second, and the third and fourth; and of the fifth layer the fire which is placed on the built (altar) is the mate. And, indeed, this body consists of pairs.

8. The thumbs (and great toes, 'aṅguṣṭha,' m.) are males, and the fingers and toes ('aṅguli,' f.) females; the ears ('karṇa,' m.) are males, and the eyebrows ('bhrû,' f.) females; the lips ('oṣṭha,' m.) are males, and the nostrils ('nâsikâ,' f.) females; the teeth ('danta,' m.) are males, and the tongue ('gihvâ,' f.) is a female: indeed the whole (body) consists of pairs, and with this body, consisting of pairs, that (vital fluid) enters this Agni (the fire-altar), consisting of pairs<sup>1</sup>.

9. This, then, is the entering therein;—even thus, indeed, he (Agni) consists of pairs<sup>2</sup>; but in this

---

making his responses whilst standing on a plank, and the Hotrî's assistants being seated on bundles of grass.

<sup>1</sup> Or, with this body as a mate it thus enters this Agni, its mate; literally, with this body forming one of a (productive) pair, it thus enters this Agni, forming one (i. e. the other) of a pair.

<sup>2</sup> That is, he has in him the generative energy. Apparently

way also he consists of pairs :—the fire-altar here built up is no other than this speech, for with speech it is built up; and the fire which is placed on the built (altar) is the breath; and the breath ('prâṇa,' m.) is the male, the mate, of speech ('vâk,' f.). And, indeed, this body is speech; and the breath which is in the body is its mate: with this mated body that (vital fluid) thus enters into the mated Agni.

10. This also is the entering therein;—there is indeed no fear of him (Agni) being without offspring to whosoever thus knows these two, the body and Agni, to be a pair; but, indeed, this body is food, as is said by the *Rishi* (*Rig-veda* X, 107, 7), 'The Dakṣiṇâ winneth food which is our own self (breath).'

11. Now, this food, when eaten, becomes of two kinds,—that part of it which is immortal (remains) above the navel: by the upward vital airs it moves upwards and enters the air; but that part of it which is mortal tends to move away: it passes beyond the navel, and, having become twofold, enters this (earth), as urine and faeces. Now that which enters this (earth) enters the fire-altar<sup>1</sup> built here; and that which enters the air enters that fire which is placed on the built (altar). This also is the entering therein.

## SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. Pragâpati was desirous of gaining these worlds. He saw this bird-like body, the Fire-altar: he

---

'mithuna,' m. has also the sense of 'paired,' 'mated,' i.e. 'one who has his complement or mate,' and so perhaps here.

<sup>1</sup> Viz. inasmuch as the altar is built on the earth, and the latter forms its foundation. Comm.

fashioned it, and thereby gained this (terrestrial) world. He saw a second bird-like body, the (chant of the) Great Rite<sup>1</sup>: he fashioned it, and thereby gained the air. He saw a third bird-like body, the Great Litany<sup>1</sup>: he fashioned it, and thereby gained the sky.

2. This built Fire-altar, doubtless, is this (terrestrial) world, the Great Rite the air, and the Great Litany the sky: all these, the Fire-altar, the Great Rite, and the Great Litany, one ought therefore to undertake together, for these worlds were created together; and as to why the Fire-altar is built first, it is because of these worlds this (terrestrial) one was created first. Thus with regard to the deity.

3. Now with regard to the body. The Fire-altar is the mind, the (chant of the) Great Rite the breath, and the Great Litany speech: all these one ought therefore to undertake together, for mind, breath, and speech belong together; as to why the Fire-altar is built first, it is because the mind is prior to the breathings.

4. The Fire-altar, indeed, is the body (trunk), the Great Rite the breath, and the Great Litany speech: all these one ought therefore to undertake together, for body, breath, and speech belong together; and as to why the Fire-altar is built first, it is because of him who is produced the trunk is produced first.

5. The Fire-altar, indeed, is the head, the Great Rite the breath, and the Great Litany the body:

---

<sup>1</sup> The Mahâvrata-sâman and the Mahad uktham, as we have seen (p. 282, note 5; p. 111, note 1), are constructed so as to correspond to the different parts of the bird-like Agni-Pragâpati.

one ought therefore to undertake all these together, for head, breath, and body belong together; and as to why the Fire-altar is built first, it is because of him who is born the head is born first; and hence, whenever all these are undertaken together the Great Litany, indeed, is accounted the highest (âtamâm)<sup>1</sup>, for the Great Litany is the body (or self, âtman).

6. As to this they say, 'If all these are difficult to obtain together, what (means of) obtaining them is there?'—In the *Gyotishṭoma* (form of the) *Agnishṭoma*<sup>2</sup>: let him perform offering with the *Gyotishṭoma* *Agnishṭoma*.

7. In this *Gyotishṭoma* *Agnishṭoma* the *Bahishpavamâna* (stotra) is (in) the *Trivrîṭ* (stoma)—that is the head of the rite; the two other *Pavamânas* are (in) the *Pañkadasa* and *Saptadasa* (stomas)—they are the two wings; the *Hotri*'s

<sup>1</sup> The combination 'âtamâm khyâyate' is, as it were, the superlative of 'â-khyâyate'; cf. *anutamâm gopâyati*, X, 5, 2, 10; and Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> The *Agnishṭoma* may be performed in three different modes, according to the variation of stomas (or hymn-forms) employed for the stotras (or chants). In the *Gyotishṭoma* the order of stomas is that set forth in paragraph 7, viz.: a. *Bahishpavamâna*-stotra in the *Trivrîṭ* (nine-versed); b. *Âgya*-stotras, and c. *Mâdhyandina*-*pavamâna*-stotra, in the *Pañkadasa* (fifteen-versed); d. *Prishṭha*-stotras, and e. *Ârbhava*-*pavamâna*-stotra, in the *Saptadasa* (seventeen-versed); and f. *Agnishṭoma-sâman* (*Yagñâyagñiya*) in the *Ekavimsa* (twenty-one-versed) stoma, or hymn-form. In the *Goshṭoma*, on the other hand, the succession of stomas is a. *Pañkadasa*, b. *Trivrîṭ*, c. d. *Saptadasa*, e. f. *Ekavimsa*; and in the *Âyushṭoma*: a. *Trivrîṭ*, b. *Pañkadasa*, (c. d.) *Saptadasa*, (e. f.) *Ekavimsa*. Cf. part ii, p. 402, note 4; for the scheme of Stotras (and Sastras), ib. p. 325, note 2. The *Agnishṭoma* is singled out here for the reason that the *Mahâvrata*-day takes the form of an *Agnishṭoma* sacrifice.

Āgya (stotra) is (in) the *Pañkadasa*, the *Prishtha* (stotra in) the *Saptadasa*, and the *Yagñâyagñi*ya (stotra in) the *Ekavimsa* (stoma)—they are the tail.

8. Now these two, the *Pañkadasa* and *Saptadasa*, have thirty-two hymn-verses: twenty-five of these are the twenty-five-fold body<sup>1</sup>; and the seven which remain over are the *Parimâd* (sâmans), for these are the cattle (or animals), (for) cattle are sporting all around us (*pari-mâd*<sup>2</sup>)—thus much, then, is the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 168, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Sâyana* takes 'parimâd' here in the sense of 'a source of pleasure all around'—*parito harshabetavaḥ*.—The *Parimâdaḥ* are thirteen *Sâmans* sung (not chanted, in the proper sense of the word) by the *Udgâtri*, his two assistants joining merely in the *Nidhanas* or chorus-like passages. They are given, figured for chanting, in the *Aranyagâna* of the *Sâma-veda* (Calc. ed., ii, p. 387 seq.). This performance takes place immediately after the *Adhvaryu* has given the sign for, and the *Udgâtri* 'yoked,' the *Mahâvrata-stotra* or *sâman* (i.e. the *Hotri's Prishthastotra* of the Great Rite),—or, according to some authorities, before either the 'yoking,' or the *Adhvaryu's* summons,—and thus serves as an introduction to the central and chief element of the Great Rite, the *Mahâvrata-sâman*. According to the ritual symbolism, these preliminary *sâmans* are intended to supply the newly completed *Pragâpati* with hair (feathers) and nails; but the performance would rather seem to be a solemn mode of doing homage (*upasthânam*) to the different parts of the bird-like altar and the sacrificial ground; thus corresponding to a similar, though simpler, ceremony performed on the completion of the fire-altar in its simplest form, as described at IX, 1, 2, 35-43. On the present occasion the ceremony is performed in the following order: 1. near the head of the altar (the *Āhavanīya* fire) he sings the *Prâna* ('breath,' *Sâma-v.*, vol. ii, p. 436); 2. near the tail the *Apâna* (downward-breathing, ii, p. 437); 3. 4. near the right and left wing the two *Vratapakshau* (ii, p. 438); 5. near the left armpit the *Pragâpati-hṛdaya* ('heart of Prag.,' ii, p. 499); 6. near the *Kâtvala* or pit, the *Vasishṭhasya Nihava* (*Sâma-v.*, vol. v, p. 602); 7. near the *Āgnīdhra* hearth the *Satrasyarddhi* ('success of the sacrificial session,' ii, p. 465); 8. 9. in front and behind the *Havirdhâna* carts, the *Sloka* and *Anusloka* (i, pp.



Great Rite: thereby he obtains the Great Rite even in this (Agnishṭoma).

9. And the Hotṛi recites seven metres—each subsequent one-versed (metre) increasing by four (syllables)—with the Virâḡ as an eighth: these (eight) consist of three eighties and forty-five syllables. Now by the eighties thereof the eighties (of the mahad uktham)<sup>1</sup> are obtained, for the Great Litany is counted (or recited) by eighties (of triplets); and of the forty-five (syllables which remain) twenty-five are this twenty-five-fold body<sup>2</sup>; and where the body is there, indeed, are (included) the head, and the wings and tail; and the twenty (syllables which remain) are the insertion<sup>3</sup>;—thus much, then, is the Great Litany: thereby he obtains the Great Litany even in this (Agnishṭoma). All these (three) are indeed obtained in the Gytishṭoma Agnishṭoma: let him, therefore, perform offering with the Gytishṭoma Agnishṭoma.

### THIRD BRĀHMAṆA.

1. Pragâpati created living beings. From the out- (and in-) breathings he created the gods, and from the downward breathings the mortal beings; and

---

887-9); 10. towards the Mârgâliya the Yâma (ii, p. 461); 11. 12. in front and behind the Sadas, the Âyus, and Navastobha (ii, pp. 450-51); 13. in front of the Gârhapatyâ the Risyasya sâman (ii, p. 324).

<sup>1</sup> See p. 112, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. the body, as consisting of the ten fingers, the ten toes, the arms and legs, and the trunk.

<sup>3</sup> Towards the end of the Mahad Uktham, in the portion representing the thighs, nine trishṭubh verses (*Rig-veda* III, 43, 1-8, and X, 55, 5) are inserted as an 'âvapanam.'

above the (mortal) beings he created Death as their consumer.

2. Now, one half of that Pragâpati was mortal, and the other half immortal: with that part of him which was mortal he was afraid of death; and, being afraid, he became twofold, clay and water, and entered this (earth).

3. Death spake unto the gods saying, 'What has become of him who has created us?'—'Being afraid of thee, he has entered this (earth),' they said. He spake, 'Let us search for him, let us gather him up for I shall not injure him.' The gods gathered him from out of this (earth): that part of him which was in the water, they gathered as water, and that which was in this (earth, they gathered) as clay. Having gathered together both clay and water, they made a brick, whence a brick consists of both clay and water.

4. And, indeed, these five forms (bodily parts) of him are mortal—the hair on the mouth, the skin, the flesh, the bone, and the marrow; and these are immortal—the mind, the voice, the vital air, the eye, and the ear.

5. Now, that Pragâpati is no other than the Fire-altar which is here built up, and what five mortal parts there were of him, they are these layers of earth; and those which were immortal they are these layers of bricks.

6. The gods spake, 'Let us make him immortal!' Having encompassed that mortal form by those immortal forms of his, they made it immortal—the layer of earth by means of two layers of bricks: in like manner the second, the third, and the fourth (layers of earth).

7. And having laid down the fifth layer (of bricks), he (the Adhvaryu) scatters earth on it; thereon he lays the Vikarṇī and the Svayamâtrinnâ, scatters chips of gold, and places the fire : that is the seventh layer, and that (part) is immortal; and in this way, having encompassed that mortal form of his by those two immortal forms, they made it immortal,—the layer of earth by means of two layers of bricks. Thereby, then, Pragâpati became immortal; and in like manner does the Sacrificer become immortal by making that body (of the altar) immortal.

8. But the gods knew not whether they had made him complete, or not; whether they had made him too large, or left him defective. They saw this verse (Vâg. S. XVIII, 76), 'The seat-hiding Agni, Indra, god Brahman, Bṛihaspati, and the wise All-gods may speed our sacrifice unto bliss!'

9. Of this (verse) one part is Agni's, one part Indra's, and one part the All-gods';—with that part thereof which is Agni's they made up that part of him (Pragâpati) which is Agni's, and with Indra's (part) that which is Indra's, and with the All-gods' (part) that which is the All-gods': in this very (fire-altar) they thus made him up wholly and completely.

10. And when he stands by (the altar, worshipping it) with this (verse), he thereby secures (makes good) all that part of him (Pragâpati) which, whether he knows it or not, he either does in excess or insufficiently in this (fire-altar),—whatever has not been secured for him. The 'seat-hiding' (verse) is an Anushṭubh, for the Anushṭubh is speech, and the seat-hider is speech: it is by speech that he

secures for him what was not secured for him. 'Let him approach (the altar with this verse) when he has covered a layer with earth,' say some, 'for then that (layer) becomes whole and complete.'

#### FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Now, at the beginning, Pragâpati was (composed of) both these, the mortal and the immortal—his vital airs alone were immortal, his body mortal: by this sacrificial performance, and by this order of proceeding, he made his body uniformly undecaying and immortal. And in like manner is the Sacrificer (composed of) both the mortal and the immortal—his vital airs alone are immortal, his body mortal: by this sacrificial performance, and by this order of proceeding, he makes his body uniformly undecaying and immortal.

2. He lays down the first layer,—this, doubtless, is his out- (and in-) breathing<sup>1</sup>, and it is an immortal (element), for the out-breathing is something immortal: this, then, is an immortal layer. He then scatters loose soil thereon,—this, doubtless, is his marrow, and it is a mortal (element), for the marrow is mortal: he establishes it on that immortal (element), and thereby this part of him becomes immortal.

3. He lays down the second layer,—this, doubtless, is his downward breathing, and it is an immortal (element), for the downward breathing is something immortal: this, then, is an immortal layer. He thus encompasses that mortal (element) on both

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, the breath-proper, of the mouth and nose, passing upward into the air from the middle of the body.

sides by an immortal one, and thereby that part of him becomes immortal. He then scatters loose soil thereon,—this, doubtless, is his bones, and it is a mortal (element), for the bone is mortal: he establishes it on that immortal (element), and thereby this part of him becomes immortal.

4. He lays down the third layer,—this, doubtless, is his through-breathing<sup>1</sup>, and it is an immortal (element), for the through-breathing is something immortal: this, then, is an immortal layer. He thus encompasses that mortal (element) on both sides by an immortal one, and thereby that part of him becomes immortal. He then scatters loose soil thereon,—this, doubtless, is his sinews, and it is a mortal (element), for the sinew is mortal: he establishes it on that immortal (element), and thereby this part of him becomes immortal.

5. He lays down the fourth layer,—this, doubtless, is his upward breathing<sup>2</sup>, and it is an immortal (element), for the upward breathing is something immortal: this, then, is an immortal layer. He thus encompasses that mortal (element) on both sides by an immortal one, and thereby that part of him becomes immortal. He then scatters loose soil thereon,—this, doubtless, is his flesh, and it is a mortal (element), for flesh is mortal: he establishes it on that immortal (element), and thereby this part of him becomes immortal.

6. He lays down the fifth layer,—this, doubtless,

<sup>1</sup> The Vyâna, through-breathing, or circulating air, is the vital air which serves the upward air (or out- and in-breathing, *prâna*) and downward air (*apâna*). Maitryup. II, 6 (Cowell).

<sup>2</sup> Or, outward breathing,—‘That which belches forth or keeps downwards the food eaten or drunken, this is the *udâna* ;’ Cowell, *ib.*

is his central (or pervading) breathing<sup>1</sup>, and it is an immortal (element), for the central breathing is something immortal: this, then, is an immortal layer. He thus encompasses that mortal (element) on both sides by an immortal one, and thereby that part of him becomes immortal. He then scatters loose soil thereon,—this, doubtless, is his fat, and it is a mortal (element), for the fat is mortal: he establishes it on that immortal (element), and thereby this part of him becomes immortal.

7. He lays down the sixth layer,—this, doubtless, is his voice, and it is an immortal (element), for the voice is something immortal: this, then, is an immortal layer. He thus encompasses that mortal (element) on both sides by an immortal one, and thereby that part of him becomes immortal. He then scatters loose soil thereon,—this, doubtless, is his blood and his skin, and it is a mortal (element), for blood is mortal, and skin is mortal: he establishes it on that immortal (element), and thereby this part of him becomes immortal.

8. These, then, are six layers of bricks, and six layers of earth, that makes twelve,—the year (consists of) twelve months, and Agni is the year: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much did Pragâpati then make his body uniformly undecaying and immortal; and in like manner does the Sacrificer now make his body uniformly undecaying and immortal.

9. Having then laid down the Vikarṇī and Svayamâtrinnâ, he scatters chips of gold, and places

---

<sup>1</sup> 'The Samâna (equalizing air) distributes the digested pieces through the limbs.' Maitryup. II, 6 (Cowell).

the fire thereon: Pragâpati then finally made a golden form for his body; and inasmuch as (he did so) finally, this was the final form of his body; whence people speak of 'the golden Pragâpati'.<sup>1</sup> And in like manner does the Sacrificer now finally make a golden form for his body; and inasmuch as (he does so) finally, this is the final form of his body; and hence, whether they know this or not, people say that the Agnikîit (he who has built an altar) is born in yonder world as one made of gold<sup>2</sup>.

10. Now, on this point, Sândilya and Sâptarathavâhani, teacher and pupil, were once disputing with one another: 'This is his form,' said Sândilya; 'his hair,' said Sâptarathavâhani.

11. Sândilya said, 'Surely, there is a hairy form (as well as) a hairless form: his form it certainly is;' and this, indeed, is as Sândilya has said: when it (the altar) is completely built, Agni is led forward; and after he has been led forward, logs of wood<sup>3</sup> are offered as 'oblations.'

12. By means of (the channel of) the out- (and in-) breathing the gods eat food, and Agni (the sacrificial fire) is the out-breathing of the gods; whence it is in front (of the sacrificial ground) that offering is made to the gods, for by means of the (channel of the) out-breathing the gods eat food. By means of the down-breathing men eat food, whence food

<sup>1</sup> Apparently an allusion to Hiraṇyagarbha, the golden germ, or the golden egg (XI, 1, 6, 1), from which the Puruṣa, creator of the universe, arose. Cf. also Aitareyâr. II, 1, 3, with Sâyana's commentary.

<sup>2</sup> Sâyana assigns to 'hiraṇmaya' the meaning 'of a colour resembling gold' (hiraṇyasamânavarṇaḥ).

<sup>3</sup> See IX, 2, 3, 36 seq.

is introduced into men (from the front) towards the back, for by their down-breathing men eat food.

13. Here, now, they say, 'He who has built an altar must not eat of any bird, for he who builds a fire-altar becomes of a bird's form; he would be apt to incur sickness: the Agniñit therefore must not eat of any bird.' Nevertheless, one who knows this may safely eat thereof; for he who builds an altar becomes of Agni's form, and, indeed, all food here belongs to Agni: whosoever knows this will know that all food belongs to him.

14. Here, now, they say, 'What is done here in (the building of) the altar, whereby the Sacrificer conquers recurring death?' Well, he who builds an altar becomes the deity Agni; and Agni (the fire), indeed, is the immortal (element);—the gods are splendour: he enters splendour; the gods are glory: he becomes glorious whosoever knows this.

#### FIFTH BRÂHMANA.

1. This built fire-altar, in truth, (includes) all these sacrifices:—when he slaughters an animal victim, that is the Agnyâdheya (establishment of the sacred fires)<sup>1</sup>; when he collects (the materials for) the fire-pan, that constitutes the oblations of the Agnyâdheya; when he performs the initiation,

---

<sup>1</sup> Though no animal sacrifice takes place at the Agnyâdhâna, the latter, as the fundamental ceremony pre-supposed by all subsequent sacrificial performances, is here compared with the immolation of five victims (VI, 2, 1, 15 seq.) which, taking place as it does on the Upasavatha, or day of preparation, i.e. the day before the Soma-sacrifice on the newly built fire-altar, is, as it were, a preliminary ceremony.



that is the Agnihotra ; and when the initiated puts two logs on (the fire)<sup>1</sup>, these are the two oblations of the Agnihotra.

2. He puts them on in the evening and in the morning, for in the evening and in the morning the Agnihotra oblations are offered ;—with one and the same formula, for with one and the same formula the two Agnihotra oblations are offered<sup>2</sup>. Then the driving about (of the fire in the pan<sup>3</sup>), and the taking down (to the water) of the ashes, these two (constitute) the New and Full-moon offerings ; and when he builds the Gârhapatya hearth<sup>4</sup>, that is the *Kâturmâsya* (seasonal offerings) ; and what takes place from (the building of) the Gârhapatya up to the (sowing of) all-herb (seed<sup>5</sup>, that constitutes) the *ishâis*<sup>6</sup>, and what takes place after the all-herb (sowing) and prior to (the building

<sup>1</sup> This refers to the two *samidhs* (kindling-sticks) put on the *Ukhyā Agni*,—one in the evening, and one in the morning,—after the ashes had been cleared out of the fire-pan (*ukhâ*) ; see VI, 6, 4, 1 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Both in the evening and in the morning two libations of milk are offered (the *pûrvâhuti* and the *uttarâhuti*), but only the first is offered with a formula, the evening formula being, 'Agni is the light, the light is Agni, hail !' whilst the morning formula is, 'Sûrya is the light, the light is Sûrya, hail !' See II, 3, 1, 30. For alternative formulas—'With the divine *Savitri*, with the Night (or Dawn, respectively) wedded to Indra, may Agni (or Indra, respectively) graciously accept, hail !' see II, 3, 1, 37. 38.

<sup>3</sup> See VI, 8, 1, 1 seq. *Sâyana* takes it to refer to the *Agni-pranayana*, or leading forward of the fire to the fire-altar ; but that would not fit in well with the ceremony next referred to, viz. the removal of the ashes of the *Ukhyâgni*, or fire in the pan ; for which see VI, 8, 2, 1 seq.

<sup>4</sup> VII, 1, 1, 1 seq.

<sup>5</sup> Viz. on the newly ploughed altar-site, see VII, 2, 4, 13 seq.

<sup>6</sup> That is, offerings for the fulfilment of some special wishes.

of) the layers, that is the animal sacrifices<sup>1</sup>; and the Vishnu-strides<sup>2</sup> which are (performed) at these sacrifices are just these Vishnu-strides; and what muttering of formulas there is that is the Vātsapra<sup>3</sup>.

3. The first layer is the Soma-sacrifice; the second the Râgasūya as prior to the consecrations<sup>4</sup>; the third the Vâgapeya; the fourth the Asvamedha (horse-sacrifice); and the fifth the Agnisava<sup>5</sup>. Then the sāmans he sings around the built (altar) are the Mahâvrata(-sâman); the Udgâtri's preliminary muttering (of the text of his chants) on that occasion is the Satarudriya; the 'shower of wealth' the Great Litany; and what takes place subsequent to (the singing of) the sāmans, and prior to the shower of wealth, that is the Hotri's preliminary muttering on that occasion; and what takes place after the shower of wealth is the Grîhamedhas<sup>6</sup> (house-sacrifices). Such are all the sacrifices: these he secures by (building) the fire-altar.

<sup>1</sup> That is, animal sacrifices performed independently of other ceremonies.

<sup>2</sup> See VI, 7, 2, 12 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See VI, 7, 4, 1 seq.

<sup>4</sup> That is, the ceremonies connected with the Vâgaprasaviya oblations, V, 2, 2, 4 seq.; and the devasû-haviṃshi, or oblations to the Divine Quickeners (by whom the king is supposed to be first consecrated), V, 3, 3, 1 seq.

<sup>5</sup> See IX, 3, 4, 7. 9. It is strange that the Agnisava should be mentioned here, as it is said to be confined to the Agnikāyana. It would seem that some independent ceremony, such as the Brîhaspatisava (consecration of Brîhaspati, cf. V, 2, 1, 19; and part iii, introd. p. xxiv seq.), may be referred to.

<sup>6</sup> Sâyana identifies these with the offerings of sacrificial sessions (sattra), during which the Sacrificer is indeed called the Grîhapati, or master of the house; see IV, 6, 3, 5 seq.; and part ii, p. 97, note 1.

4. Now, then, as to the powers (conferred by the performance) of sacrifices. Verily, he who (regularly) performs the Agnihotra eats food in the evening and in the morning (when he comes to be) in yonder world, for so much sustenance is there in that sacrifice. And he who performs the New and Full-moon sacrifice (eats food) every half-month; and he who performs the Seasonal sacrifice (does so) every four months; and he who performs the animal sacrifice (twice a year, eats food) every six months; and the Soma-sacrificer once a year; and the builder of the fire-altar at his pleasure eats food every hundred years, or abstains therefrom<sup>1</sup>; for a hundred years is as much as immortality<sup>2</sup>, unending and everlasting: and, verily, for him who knows this, there shall thus be immortality, unending and everlasting; and whatever he as much as touches, as it were, with a reed, shall be for him immortal, unending and everlasting.

## SECOND ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. Pragâpati was desirous of going up to the world of heaven; but Pragâpati, indeed, is all the (sacrificial) animals<sup>3</sup>—man, horse, bull, ram, and

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, the food eaten the first time will sustain him for a hundred years, after which time he may, or may not, take food, being sure of everlasting life and a godlike nature.

<sup>2</sup> Or, perhaps, for so long lasts the *Amṛita* (the food of the immortals);—*agnim kṛtvān puruṣas tu satasamkhyâkeshu samvatsareshu teshu kāmam aparimitam asnāti yato yāvantaḥ satam samvatsarās tāvad amṛitam devatvaprapākam anantam aparimitam annam bhavati*. Sây.

<sup>3</sup> See VI, 2, 1, 15 seq.

he-goat :—by means of these forms he could not do so. He saw this bird-like body, the fire-altar, and constructed it. He attempted to fly up, without contracting and expanding (the wings), but could not do so. By contracting and expanding (the wings) he did fly up : whence even to this day birds can only fly up when they contract their wings and spread their feathers.

2. He measures it (the fire-altar) by finger-breadths ; for the sacrifice being a man<sup>1</sup>, it is by means of him that everything is measured here. Now these, to wit, the fingers, are his lowest measure : he thus secures for him (the sacrificial man<sup>2</sup>) that lowest measure of his, and therewith he thus measures him.

3. He measures by twenty-four finger-breadths<sup>3</sup>,—the *Gâyatri* (verse) consists of twenty-four syllables, and Agni is of *Gâyatra* nature<sup>4</sup> : as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, by so much he thus measures him.

4. He contracts<sup>5</sup> (the right wing) inside on both

<sup>1</sup> The sacrifice, being the substitute of (the sacrificing) man, is represented as identical with the Sacrificer, its measurements being taken from his body and stature ; see part i, p. 78, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Or,—for it, viz. the fire-altar, representing both Agni-Pragâ-pati and the Sacrificer : hence this assumed identity has to be borne in mind to understand the symbolic speculations of the *Brâhmana*.

<sup>3</sup> This measure (24 *añguli*) is equal to one 'aratni' or cubit ; 12 *añguli* being equal to a 'vitasti' or span (of thumb and little finger, or from wrist to tip of middle finger).

<sup>4</sup> See VI, 1, 1, 15 ; 1, 3, 19.

<sup>5</sup> Or, he draws in, draws together (*upasamôhati*).

sides<sup>1</sup> by just four finger-breadths, and expands<sup>2</sup> it outside on both sides<sup>1</sup> by four finger-breadths : he thus expands it by just as much as he contracts it ; and thus, indeed, he neither exceeds (its proper size) nor does he make it too small. In the same way in regard to the tail, and in the same way in regard to the left wing.

5. He then makes two bending-limbs<sup>3</sup> in the wings, for there are two bending-limbs in a bird's

<sup>1</sup> That is, on both sides of that part of the wing which joins the body of the altar he draws in by four finger-breadths the two long sides of the wing, thus changing the parallelogram into a trapezium, without altering the superficial area of the wing. On the plan of the altar given in part ii, p. 419, the effect of this manipulation on the wings and tail is indicated by pointed lines.—Sāyana remarks, —ubhayataḥ pakshasya pārśvadvaye, antarataḥ kṛtyāgner madhyadese katuraṅgulaṁ upasamūhati samkarshati pravesayatīty arthaḥ ; bāhyataḥ agnimadhyād bāhyadese katuraṅgulaṁ vyudūhati, ante vivardhayati.

<sup>2</sup> Or, he draws out, or draws asunder (vyudūhati).

<sup>3</sup> Literally 'outbendings' (nirṇāma)—'Schwunggelenke' (spring-limbs), St. Petersburg Dict.—This 'bending-limb' would seem to include the two inner segments of the (solid part of the) wing—those corresponding to the upper and fore-arm of man—as well as the adjoining and connecting joints or articulations, which portions may be taken roughly as forming the inner third of the wing when covered with feathers. The 'bending-limb' would thus derive its name from its 'bending,' or drawing, the wing 'out' from the body. Sāyana, however, explains it by 'nitarāṁ namati,' 'that which bends down,' as if it were formed from the prep. 'ni' instead of 'nis.' The manipulation to which this part of the wing is to be subjected is, however, not quite easy to understand from the description, and the commentary affords very little assistance—*vitṛṣṭīya iti pakshabhāgam tredhā vibhagya antare tṛtīyabhāge nirṇāmakaraṇam . . . ; etāṁ srutim apekshyaivāpastambenoktam, 'vakrapaksho vyastaputkko bhavati, paskāt prāṇ (!) udūhati, pura-stāt pratyudūhati, evam eva hi vayasām madhye pakshanirṇāmo bhavatīti vigṇāyate' iti.*

wings. In one-third (of each wing he makes them), for the bending-limbs are in one-third of the bird's wings;—in the inner third<sup>1</sup>, for the bending-limbs are in the inner third of a bird's wings. He expands (each of these limbs) in front<sup>2</sup> by just four finger-breadths, and contracts it behind by four finger-breadths; he thus expands it by just as much as he contracts it; and thus, indeed, he neither exceeds (its size), nor does he make it too small.

6. On that bending-limb he places one brick: he thereby gives to it that single tube (tubular organ) which joins on to<sup>3</sup> (the body) from the bending-limb of the flying bird. Then here (on the left wing).

7. He then makes the wings crooked, for a bird's wings are crooked; he expands them behind by just four finger-breadths, and contracts them in front by four finger-breadths<sup>4</sup>: he thus draws them out by

<sup>1</sup> That is, the third part of the wing adjoining the body.

<sup>2</sup> That is, at the front edge of the wing of the flying bird, that which cuts through the air. The joint between the second and third segments of the wing, when expanded, would protrude, whilst on the opposite side of the wing the tops of the feathers would somewhat recede; but I am not sure whether this is what is referred to in these indications.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, which lies beside, or close to (upasete, viz. the body, as it would seem) from the bending-limb. The brick is apparently meant to represent symbolically the bone of the upper segment, or some tubular organ by which the vital air is supposed to enter the wing from the body. Sâyana remarks,—pakshipakshamadhyagatanâdîtvena prasamsati, . . . kityâgneḥ pakshamadhye ekâm nâdīm eva nihitavân bhavati.

<sup>4</sup> Comm.—*ṭaturāṅgulamâtram paśādbhâge udûhati vikarshati, purastādbhâge ṭaturāṅgulamâtram samûhati samkarshati; evam krîte vakratvam bhavati.* Cf. Âpastamba's directions in note 3 of last page. I fail to see, however, in what respect this manipulation differs from that referred to in paragraph 5; and whether the

just as much as he draws them in ; and thus, indeed, he neither exceeds (its size) nor does he make it too small.

8. He now gives to it (the altar) the highest form<sup>1</sup>. This Agni had now been completely restored, and the gods conferred upon him this highest form ; and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) confer upon him this highest form : he makes a thousand bricks marked with straight lines, a thousand marked this way (from left to right), and a thousand marked that way (from right to left).

9. And when he has laid down the fifth layer, he measures out the altar in three parts, and on the central part he places the one thousand bricks marked with straight lines : he thereby gives to it those straight plumes of the bird pointing backwards (with their tops, and covering it) from head to tail.

10. On the right side he then lays down the one thousand (bricks) marked *thus* (from left to right) : he thereby gives to it those curved plumes on the right side of the bird<sup>2</sup>.

11. On the left side he then lays down the one thousand (bricks) marked *thus* (from right to left) : he thereby gives to it those curved plumes on the left side of the bird. With a thousand (bricks he does it each time)—a thousand means everything :

---

'vakratvam' refers to the irregular shape, or to the curved nature, of the wings.

<sup>1</sup> That is, he gives to it the last finish.

<sup>2</sup> Or, perhaps, those soft feathers of the bird curved towards the right. *Sâyana* as above—*dakshinātāḥ dakshinapakṣhe ityâlikhitā dakshināvṛitā ishākāḥ* ; *uttarātāḥ uttarasmin pakṣhe ityâlikhitāḥ savyāvṛitā ishākā upadadyât*.

with everything (required) he thus confers that highest form upon him (Agni);—with three thousand—Agni is threefold: as great as Agni is, as great as is his measure, with so much he thus confers the highest form upon him.

## SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. Now the one person which they made out of those seven persons<sup>1</sup> became this Pragâpati. He produced living beings (or offspring), and having produced living beings he went upwards,—he went to that world where that (sun) now shines. And, indeed, there was then no other (victim) meet for sacrifice but that one (Pragâpati), and the gods set about offering him up in sacrifice.

2. Wherefore it is with reference to this that the *Rishi* has said (*Vâg. S. XXXI, 16, Rig-veda X, 90, 16*), ‘The gods offered up sacrifice by sacrifice,’—for by sacrifice they did offer up him (Pragâpati), the sacrifice;—‘these were the first ordinances:’—for these laws were instituted first;—‘these powers clung unto the firmament,’—the firmament is the world of heaven, and the powers are the gods: thus, ‘Those gods who offered up that sacrifice shall cling to the world of heaven;’—

3. ‘Where first the perfect gods were,’—the perfect<sup>2</sup> gods, doubtless, are the vital airs, for it is they that perfected him in the beginning<sup>3</sup> when they

<sup>1</sup> Literally, those seven persons which they made into one person. See VI, 1, 1, 1 seq.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to see what meaning the author assigns to ‘sâdhya’ applied to minor classes of deities.

<sup>3</sup> See VI, 1, 1, 1.



were desirous of becoming that (body of Prāgāpati<sup>1</sup>); and even now, indeed, they do perfect (him).—[*Rig-veda* X, 149, 3]—‘Thereafter this other became meet for sacrifice by the abundance of the immortal world,’—for thereafter, indeed, other things here—whatsoever is immortal—became fit for sacrifice.

4. ‘Savitri’s well-winged eagle verily was first born, and he was according to his ordinance,’—the well-winged eagle, doubtless, is Prāgāpati, and Savitri is that (sun): thus, ‘In accordance with his (the sun’s) law he indeed (comported himself).’

5. He indeed consists of seven persons, for that Person<sup>2</sup> consisted of seven persons;—to wit, the body of four, and the wings and tail of three, for of four the body of that Person consisted, and of three his wings and tail.

6. He measures it (the altar) by the man with upstretched arms<sup>3</sup>; for the sacrifice is a man, and by him everything here is measured; and that is his highest measure when he stands with upstretched arms: he thus secures for him what is his highest measure, and therewith he then measures it. And what (space) there is over and above that when he is raised on the forepart of his foot, that he secures by the enclosing-stones; and hence he

<sup>1</sup> Tad eva bubhūshanta iti, prānāḥ svayam api prāgāpatyātmanā (? prāgāpatyātmāno) bhavitum ikkhantaḥ. Sāy.

<sup>2</sup> See VI, 1, 1, 3-6.

<sup>3</sup> That is to say, wherever he speaks of man’s lengths, the height to which a man reaches with his upstretched arms is understood; the particular man who supplies this (relative) standard of measure being the Sacrificer.

should dig a line for the enclosing-stones outside (the altar-ground).

7. Two cubits he gives to the two wings: he thereby lays strength into the wings. And the wings are (the bird's) arms, and by means of the arms food is eaten: it is thus for the sake of food that he gives them that space; and when he gives two cubits to the two wings, it is because food is taken from the distance of a cubit.

8. To the tail he gives a span: he thus lays strength into the support, for the tail is the support. The span means the hand<sup>1</sup>, and by means of the hand food is eaten: it is thus for the sake of food that he gives it that space; and when he gives a span to the tail, he thereby settles him (Agni) in (the midst of) food; and when he gives less (space) to this (part of the body), it is because he thereby settles him in (the midst of) food<sup>2</sup>. But, indeed, so much does this (the bird's wing) measure, and so much this (the bird's tail), and hence when he thus measures them, it is for the sake of securing for him that (natural measure).

### THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. Now this Vedi (altar-ground, viz. the Mahâ-vedi of the Soma-sacrifice) is just that (right) measure for the Vedi of the sevenfold<sup>3</sup> (fire-altar).

<sup>1</sup> The span of thumb and little finger is taken to be equal to the distance from the wrist to the tip of the middle finger.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, he makes him so as to occupy but small space, and to be surrounded by abundant food.

<sup>3</sup> That is, measuring seven times the length of a man standing with upstretched arms.

Having fixed upon (the place for) the sacrificial ground, he enters the *Patnīśāla*<sup>1</sup> by the front (east) door, and having thrown up (the ground) for the *Gārhapatya*, he sprinkles it with water. From the raised (site) of the *Gārhapatya* he strides seven steps eastward. From there he measures off a fathom<sup>2</sup> towards the east, and having, in the middle thereof, thrown up (the ground) for the *Āhavanīya*, he sprinkles it with water. From the front part of the fathom he strides three steps eastward: that is the end of the *Vedi*<sup>3</sup>.

2. Now, there are here, including the fathom (as one), eleven steps<sup>4</sup> between the end of the *Vedi* and the (original) *Gārhapatya*;—the *Trishūbh* consists

<sup>1</sup> That is, 'the wife's hall,'—the sacrificial hall or shed, usually called *Prākīnavamsa* or *Prāgvamsa*, measuring 20 cubits by 10 (part ii, p. 3, note 2), in which the original fires and *vedi* of *ishās* are enclosed at the Soma-sacrifice; see the plan, part ii, p. 475.

<sup>2</sup> A fathom (*vyāma*) is the space between the tips of the two middle fingers of a man standing with outstretched arms, this being considered the man's height. In this paragraph, the author roughly recapitulates the main dimensions of the sacrificial ground used for *ishās*, which will also be required for the present purpose. The dimensions here supplied will give about the distance of eight steps between (the centres of) the *Gārhapatya* and *Āhavanīya* fires required by I, 7, 3, 23. In the middle of the space of a fathom here alluded to as the easternmost space of the hall, the (original square) *Āhavanīya* is laid down, but this ultimately makes way for the new circular *Gārhapatya* hearth built of bricks and having the whole of this 'fathom' for its diameter.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the hindmost (western) point of the (easterly line of the) *Mahāvedi* of the Soma-sacrifice, where the peg, called '*antaḥ-pātya*,' is driven in, being three steps east from the post of the front door of the *Prākīnavamsa* (and hence three steps from the future circular *Gārhapatya* hearth built of bricks).

<sup>4</sup> Literally, these are (ten) steps, having the fathom as an eleventh (space or step).

of eleven syllables, and the Trishúbh is a thunderbolt, and the Trishúbh means strength : it is thus by the thunderbolt, and by strength, that the Sacrificer from the very first drives off the fiends, the Rakshas, from the mouth of the sacrifice.

3. This is the womb of the Vedi, for it was from that womb that the gods begat the Vedi. And that (space of a) fathom which was (marked off), is the womb of the Gârhapatya<sup>1</sup>, for it was from that womb that the gods begat the Gârhapatya; and from the Gârhapatya the Âhavanîya.

4. From the (western) end of the Vedi he measures off the Vedi<sup>2</sup> thirty-six steps long eastward, thirty (steps) broad behind, and twenty-four (steps broad) in front,—that makes ninety. This, then, is the Vedi measuring ninety steps : thereon he lays out the sevenfold Fire-altar.

5. As to this they say, 'How does this sevenfold (Person, the fire-altar,) correspond to this Vedi (measuring ninety steps)?' Well, there are these

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, the brick-built Gârhapatya of the Agnikâyana on which the Ukhya Agni, having been carried about by the Sacrificer for a year, is transferred from the fire-pan (ukhâ), and from which afterwards the fire of the great altar is derived. This new Gârhapatya has been raised on the site of the old (square) Âhavanîya (the so-called 'sâlâdvârya' or hall-door fire), on which the fire in the pan, the Ukhya Agni, was kindled (esha âhavanîyo vakshya-mânâyâs kayanamahâveder gârhapatyo bhavati; Sây.). The pan containing this fire was then placed half a fathom south of (the centre of) the old Âhavanîya, and hence so as to stand quite close to the brick-built Gârhapatya raised in its place, and forming a circle with a diameter of one fathom. Thus this 'space of a fathom' is here quite correctly referred to as the original source of the fires of the Agnikâyana.

<sup>2</sup> For the dimensions of the Mahâvedi here referred to, see part ii, p. 111 seq.

ten vital airs in a man<sup>1</sup>, four limbs, and the trunk as the fifteenth; in the same way in the second, and in the same way in the third (man),—in six men this makes ninety; and one man remains over. Now, (that seventh) man is fivefold—hair, skin, flesh, bone, and marrow (fat), and this Vēdi also is fivefold—the four regions (quarters), and the body (of the altar) as the fifth<sup>2</sup>: thus this sevenfold (altar) does indeed correspond to this Vēdi.

6. Now, some, intending to construct higher forms (of altars), increase (the number of) these steps and this fathom accordingly, saying, 'We enlarge the womb in accordance therewith;'—but let him not do so; for the womb does not enlarge along with the child that has been born<sup>3</sup>, but, indeed, only as long as the child is within the womb, does the womb enlarge, and so long, indeed, the growth of the (unborn) child here (lasts)<sup>4</sup>.

7. Indeed, those who do it in that way, deprive this Father Pragâpati of his due proportions; and they will become the worse for sacrificing, for they deprive Father Pragâpati of his due proportions.

<sup>1</sup> That is, in the first of these seven persons or men, making up the sacrificial man (*yagñā-purusha*), Pragâpati; that first man being the Sacrificer himself, as supplying the standard for these measures.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the fifth region, situated in a vertical direction, this being represented by the fire-altar which rises upwards.

<sup>3</sup> Somewhat differently Professor Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax*, p. 444, 'The womb does not grow in proportion with the embryo produced therein.'

<sup>4</sup> The argument of the author apparently is, that the planned enlargement of the fire-altar is an enlargement of the child Agni, after he has been born, and does not involve an increased size of the original sacrificial ground of the *Prâkînavamsa*.

As large as this Vedi<sup>1</sup> of the sevenfold (fire-altar) is, fourteen times as large he measures out the Vedi of the one hundred and one-fold (altar).

8. He now measures off a cord thirty-six steps<sup>2</sup> (yards) long, and folds it up into seven (equal) parts: of this he covers (the space of) the three front (eastern) parts (with bricks), and leaves four (parts)<sup>3</sup> free.

9. He then measures (a cord) thirty steps long, and lays it sevenfold: of this he covers three parts (with bricks) behind, and leaves four (parts) free<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> That is, of course, the Mahâvedi on which the (ordinary) fire-altar is raised, and which is enlarged in proportion to the size of the altar. The intermediate sizes of the fire-altar between the two extremes here alluded to increase each by four square 'man's lengths' (the man being measured with upstretched arms), or by one man's length on each side of the body of the altar; the largest possible altar thus measuring, 108 man's lengths on each side.

<sup>2</sup> A step, or pace (prakrama) is equal to 3 feet (pada), a foot measuring 12 finger-breadths (aṅgula),—these measures being, however (at least theoretically), relative to the Sacrificer's height.

<sup>3</sup> That is to say, he stretches the cord along the ground from the (western) 'end of the Vedi' eastwards, and marks off on the ground three-sevenths of the cord on the eastern side, that part of the Vedi being afterwards covered by the brick-built altar, whilst the remaining space behind is required for the Sadas and Havir-dhâna sheds, &c. If we take the Mahâvedi to be 108 feet long (= 36 prakramas) this would allow 15½ feet for each part, or some 46 feet for the length of the part to be covered with bricks, and this measure, being equal to seven man's lengths, would allow 6½ feet for a man's length (including the upstretched arms). Between the altar and the front (eastern) edge of the Vedi a space of one foot is, however, to be left.

<sup>4</sup> That is, he stretches the cord across (north to south) and marks off the three central divisions of it as forming the hind side of the altar (leaving two-sevenths of the string free on either side). This gives 12¾ (out of 90) feet for each part, or 38½ feet for the back, or western, side of the altar.

10. He then measures (a cord) twenty-four steps long, and lays it sevenfold : of this he covers three parts in front (with bricks), and leaves four (parts) free<sup>1</sup>. This, then, is the measuring out of the Vedi.

11. Now as to the (other) forms of the fire-altar. Twenty-eight man's lengths long (from west to east) and twenty-eight man's lengths across is the body (of the altar), fourteen man's lengths the right, and fourteen the left wing, and fourteen the tail. Fourteen cubits (aratni) he covers (with bricks) on the right, and fourteen on the left wing, and fourteen spans (vitasti) on the tail. Such is the measure of (an altar of) ninety-eight man's lengths with the additional space (for wings and tail).

12. He now measures a cord of three man's lengths, and lays it sevenfold : of this he covers (the space of) four parts (with bricks) on the body (of the altar), and three parts on the wings and tail.

13. He then measures one three cubits long, and lays it sevenfold : of this he covers (the space of) three parts on the right, and three on the left wing, and leaves four (parts) free.

14. He then measures one a span long, and lays it sevenfold : of this he covers (the space of) three parts on the tail, and leaves four (parts) free. In this way does this one hundred and one-fold (Agni) correspond to this Vedi.

15. As to this they say, 'When thirteen man's lengths are over, how is it that these do not deviate

---

<sup>1</sup> This gives  $10\frac{2}{3}$  (out of 72) feet for each part, or  $30\frac{2}{3}$  feet for the front, or eastern, side of the altar. The measurements here given are intended as a refinement on the usual square shape of the fire-altar.

from the right proportions (of the altar)<sup>1</sup>?' Well, what right proportions there were in the case of that seventh man's length<sup>2</sup>, these same proportions (also apply) to all these (redundant man's lengths).

16. And they also say, 'When Pragâpati had formed the body he filled it up with these (redundant lengths) wherever there was anything defective in it; and therefore also it is rightly proportioned.

17. As to this some say, 'The first time they construct a simple (altar<sup>3</sup>), then the one higher by one (man's length), up to the one of unlimited size.' Let him not do so.

18. Sevenfold, indeed, Pragâpati was created in the beginning. He went on constructing (developing) his body, and stopped at the one hundred and one-fold one. He who constructs one lower than a sevenfold one cuts this Father Pragâpati in twain: he will be the worse for sacrificing as one would be by doing injury to his better. And he who constructs one exceeding the one hundred and one-fold one steps beyond this universe, for Pragâpati is this universe. Hence he should first construct the sevenfold (altar), then the next higher up to the one hundred and one-fold one, but he should not construct one exceeding the one hundred and one-

---

<sup>1</sup> Or, from the right total (sampad) which the altar ought to obtain. By paragraph 7, the altar is to be made fourteen times as large as the sevenfold one; and the latter being said to be in exact proportion with Pragâpati (in paragraph 3), the larger altar would thus show an excess of thirteen man's lengths over the rightly proportioned altar.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. in paragraph 5.

<sup>3</sup> That is, one of a single man's length on each side.



fold one, and thus, indeed, he neither cuts this Father Pragâpati in twain, nor does he step beyond this universe.

#### FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Pragâpati, indeed, is the year, and Agni is all objects of desire. This Pragâpati, the year, desired, 'May I build up for myself a body so as to contain<sup>1</sup> Agni, all objects of desire.' He constructed a body one hundred and one-fold; and in constructing a body one hundred and one-fold, he built up for himself a body so as to contain Agni, all objects of desire, and himself became all objects of desire; there was not one object of desire outside of him: whence they say, 'The year (includes) all objects of desire;' for, indeed, outside the year there is no object of desire whatever.

2. And in like manner does the Sacrificer now, by constructing a body (of the altar) one hundred and one-fold, build for himself a body so as to contain Agni, all objects of desire: he becomes all objects of desire, and not one object of (his) desire is outside of him.

3. Now this year is the same as yonder sun; and he is this one hundred and one-fold (Agni);—his rays are a hundredfold, and he himself who shines

---

<sup>1</sup> Literally, May I build for myself a body (self) with a view to (abhi) Agni; or, perhaps, 'He builds (a body) so as to become (Agni);' in which case 'abhi' of 'abhisam~~am~~minute' would have the same force as in 'abhisampadyate.' See, however, X, 2, 5, 9-12, where Sâyana explains it by 'yo ya~~h~~ kâma~~h~~ tam sarvânam âtmânânam abhilakshya sampâditavân bhavati'—'He brings about (accomplishes) all that desire for his body.'

yonder, being the one hundred and first, is firmly established in this universe; and in like manner does the Sacrificer now establish himself in this universe by constructing for himself a body a hundred and one-fold.

4. And, indeed, the one hundred and one-fold passes into (becomes equal to) the sevenfold one; for yonder sun, whilst composed a hundred and one-fold, is established in the seven worlds of the gods, for, indeed, there are seven worlds of the gods,—the four quarters and these three worlds: these are the seven worlds of the gods, and in them that (sun) is established. And in like manner does the Sacrificer now establish himself in the seven worlds of the gods by constructing for himself a body a hundred and one-fold.

5. And, again, as to how the one hundred and one-fold (altar) passes into the sevenfold one:—yonder sun, composed of a hundred and one parts, is established in the seven seasons, in the seven stomas (hymn-forms), in these seven *prishtha* (-sâmans), in the seven metres, in the seven vital airs, and in the seven regions; and in like manner does the Sacrificer now establish himself in this universe (or, on everything here) by constructing for himself a body one hundred and one-fold.

6. And, again, as to how the one hundred and one-fold passes into the sevenfold one:—yonder sun, composed of a hundred and one parts, is established in the seven-syllabled Brahman, for the Brahman (holy writ or prayer) indeed consists of seven syllables,—‘*ṛk*’ is one syllable, ‘*yagu*’ two, and ‘*sâma*’ two; and what other Brahman there is that is just the ‘brahman’ of two syllables—this

seven-syllabled Brahman is the universe<sup>1</sup>: therein that (sun) is established; and in like manner does the Sacrificer now establish himself in the seven-syllabled Brahman by constructing for himself a body one hundred and one-fold.

7. Therefore, also, they lay down around (the altar) sets of seven (bricks) each time, and hence the one hundred and one-fold passes into the sevenfold one; and, indeed, the sevenfold one passes into the one hundred and one-fold.

8. Sevenfold, indeed, Pragâpati was created in the beginning. He saw this body composed of a hundred and one parts—fifty bricks in the *Prâṇabhṛts*<sup>2</sup>, and fifty sacrificial formulas, that makes a hundred, and the ‘settling’ and *sûdadohas*-formula are the two one hundred and first—these two are one and the same, for when he has ‘settled’ (a brick), he pronounces the *sûdadohas*-formula over it: by means of this one hundred and one-fold body he gained that conquest and obtained that success; and in like manner does the Sacrificer, by means of this one hundred and one-fold body, gain that conquest and obtain that success. And thus, indeed, the sevenfold (altar) passes into the one hundred and one-fold: that which is a hundred and one-fold is sevenfold, and that which is sevenfold is a hundred and one-fold. So much as to the forms (of altars).

<sup>1</sup> Or, perhaps, ‘all this (taken together) is the sevenfold Brahman.’

<sup>2</sup> In the first layer ten *Prâṇabhṛt* bricks were placed along the diagonals in each of the four corners of the body of the altar (or in the intermediate quarters), and as many round the centre.

## FIFTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Now as to the building itself. He builds between the two (performances of the) Upasads<sup>1</sup>. For at that time the gods were afraid lest the fiends, the Rakshas, should destroy that (Agni's body) of theirs (built) there<sup>2</sup>. They saw these strongholds, the Upasads, to wit, these worlds, for these worlds are indeed strongholds. They entered them, and having entered them, they completed that body in a place free from danger and devilry; and in like manner does the Sacrificer now, after entering these strongholds, complete this body in a place free from danger and devilry.

2. And, again, as to why he builds between the Upasads. At this time the gods were afraid lest the fiends, the Rakshas, should destroy that (Agni's body) of theirs (built) there. They saw these thunderbolts, the Upasads, for the Upasads indeed are thunderbolts: they entered them<sup>3</sup>, and, having entered them, they completed that body in a place free from danger and devilry; and in like manner does the Sacrificer now, after entering those thunder-

---

• <sup>1</sup> The Upasads (or sieges) are performed twice a day on at least three days (the regular number for ordinary one day's Soma-sacrifices) intervening between the end of the Dikshâ (initiation) and the day of the Soma-sacrifice; see part ii, p. 105, note 1. On the first day the first layer is built between the two performances (whilst the final preparation of the altar-site, as well as the building of the Gârhapatya altar and the installation of the Ukhya Agni thereon, takes place before the morning performance of the Upasads), and on the second day the remaining layers are built.

<sup>2</sup> For the construction in the *oratio directa*, see part iii, p. 34, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Or, they went into their shelter (pra-pad).

bolts, complete this body (of Agni) in a place free from danger and devilry.

3. And the Upasads also are the fervour<sup>1</sup> in the sacrifice, for they are indeed fervour; and inasmuch as it is built (*êi*) in fervour (*tapas*) it is called 'Tâpas*ê*ita<sup>2</sup>.' As long as they perform the Upasads so long (do they perform) the Pravargya<sup>3</sup>: (if) it is for a year that they perform the Upasads, it is for a year (they perform) the Pravargya.

4. The Upasads, indeed, are the days and nights, and the Pravargya is the sun: he thus establishes yonder sun on the days and nights, whence he is established on the days and nights.

5. And if there are twenty-four (Upasad-days<sup>4</sup>), there being twenty-four half moons—the Upasads

<sup>1</sup> Or, austere devotion, see III, 4, 4, 27, where fasting during the Upasad days is recommended as calculated to promote religious fervour. There is also, however, the primary meaning 'heat' implied, whence the 'heating' of the cauldron (*gharma* = *θερμός*) at the Pravargya (representing the sun) is connected with the Upasads.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the fire-altar used at the sacrificial period (*ayana*) called Tâpas*ê*ita, which generally requires a full year (360 days) for the performance of the Upasads (as do also the Dikshâ before them, and the performance of the Soma-sacrifice after them); cf. XII, 3, 3, 10 seq.; Kâty. XIV, 5, 1.—Âsval. XII, 5, 9; Kâty. XXIV, 5, 7, however, mention a Tâpas*ê*ita which only requires four months for each of the three periods, or a year altogether, whilst the maximum duration is by Âsv. fixed at thirty-six years (twelve for each period); and by Kâty. at three years for the Upasads and a year for each of the two other ceremonies.

<sup>3</sup> See part ii, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> Sâyana does not specify what sacrificial performance is intended as requiring twenty-four Upasad-days, but merely says that they are required 'kratuvireshe,' at some special kind of sacrifice. At all events, the Sacrificer would be at liberty to adopt that number of Upasad-days instead of the minimum of days prescribed, if he hoped to derive special benefit therefrom.

are the half-moons, and the Pravargya is the sun : he thus establishes yonder sun on the half-moons, whence he is established on the half-moons.

6. And if there are twelve (Upasad-days)<sup>1</sup>—there being twelve months—the Upasads are the months, and the Pravargya is the sun : he thus establishes yonder sun on the months, whence he is established on the months.

7. And if there are six (Upasad-days)—there being six seasons—the Upasads are the seasons, and the Pravargya is the sun : he thus establishes yonder sun in the seasons, whence he is established in the seasons.

8. And if there are three (Upasad-days)—there being these three worlds—the Upasads are these three worlds, and the Pravargya is the sun : he thus establishes yonder sun in these worlds, whence he is established in these worlds.

9. Now, then, the inquiry as to the earth-layers of the altar-pile. One month (the building of) the first layer (of bricks takes), and one month the layer of earth<sup>2</sup>,—so long desire (lasts) in the spring season (of two months) : he thus<sup>3</sup> builds for himself a body so as to obtain all of whatever desire there is in the spring season<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For an ordinary Ekâha, or one day's Soma-sacrifice, the Upasads may be performed for twelve days instead of the usual three days (Kâty. VIII, 2, 40). It is also the regular number of days for Ahînas (ib. XIII, 1, 1; Âsv. IV, 8, 15) and for most sattras.

<sup>2</sup> That is, when the Upasads last for a whole year, as at the Tâpaskîta.

<sup>3</sup> That is, by building for his Soma-sacrifice an altar the body of which requires a whole year in being laid down, as it does in the Tâpaskîta.

<sup>4</sup> Translated literally, the sentence would run thus : ' Thus as

10. One month the second (layer of bricks takes), and one month the layer of earth,—so long desire (lasts) in the summer season : he thus builds for himself a body so as to obtain all of whatever desire there is in the summer season.

11. One month the third (layer of bricks takes), and one month the layer of earth,—so long desire (lasts) in the rainy season : he thus builds for himself a body so as to obtain all of whatever desire there is in the rainy season.

12. One month the fourth (layer of bricks takes), and one month the layer of earth,—so long desire (lasts) in the autumn season : he thus builds for himself a body so as to obtain all of whatever desire there is in the autumn season.

13. And of the fifth layer (of bricks) he lays down the Asapatnâ and Virâg (bricks) on the first day, and of the Stomabhâgâs one each day : these he 'settles' together once, and pronounces once the sûdadohas-formula over them<sup>1</sup>. For a month they silently apply the earth-layer for the Stomabhâgâs, for so long desire (lasts) in the winter season : thus he builds for himself a body so as to obtain all of whatever desire there is in the winter season.

14. One month the sixth (layer of bricks takes),

---

much desire as there is in the spring season—he builds for himself a body so as to obtain all that (desire).’ Only the building of an altar (body) for a whole year ensures the full fruition of sensual pleasures supplied during the year.

<sup>1</sup> That is, these three kinds of bricks—the five Asapatnâs, and forty Virâgs being laid down on the first day, and of the twenty-nine Stomabhâgâs one each day,—the three kinds of bricks thus take one month in being laid down, after which the 'sâdanam' and 'Sûdadohas' (cf. part iii, p. 301, note 3) are performed upon them.

and one month the layer of earth,—so long desire (lasts) in the dewy season : he thus builds for himself a body so as to obtain all of whatever desire there is in the dewy season. So long, indeed, desire (lasts) in the twelve months and the six seasons : he thus builds for himself a body so as to obtain all of whatever desire there is in the twelve months and the six seasons.

15. And in addition to these there are three days<sup>1</sup>, to wit, the day on which he performs the Satarudriya offering, the day of preparation, and the day on which the Soma is pressed. When they perform the Upasad on these days, these (days) are the days and nights of that (thirteenth, or intercalary) month : and when (they perform) the Pravargya, he thereby establishes yonder sun also in that (seventh) season,—so long, indeed, desire (lasts) in the thirteen months and the seven seasons : he thus builds for himself a body so as to obtain all of whatever desire there is in thirteen months and seven seasons.

16. For a year Soma should be pressed,—the year is everything, and the one hundred and one-fold (altar) is everything : by means of everything he thus gains everything. Should he be unable (to press Soma) for a year, he should perform the Visvagit Atirātra<sup>2</sup> with all the Pri-

<sup>1</sup> Viz. after the twenty-eight days of the twelfth month two days remain to make up the year, so that the (first) Sutyā day (pressing day) takes place after the expiry of a full year.

<sup>2</sup> The Visvagit, as usually performed, is an Agnishoma sacrifice, the twelve Stotras of which are chanted in three different stomas or hymn-forms, viz. the first four in the trivṛt (nine-versed), the next four in the pañkadāsa (fifteen-versed), and the last four in the sapṭadāsa (seventeen-versed) stoma. For the stotriya-texts see



sh<sup>th</sup>as<sup>1</sup>, and at that (sacrifice) he should give away all his property<sup>2</sup>; for the Visvagīt (all-conquering) Atirātra with all the *Prish<sup>th</sup>as* means everything, and all one's property means everything, and the one hundred and one-fold (altar) means everything: by means of everything he thus gains everything.

### SIXTH BRĀHMANA.

1. The one hundred and one-fold Pragāpati, doubtless, is the year, and thereto belong days and

*Tāndya*-Br. XVI, 5, 1 seq. It is closely united with the Abhigīt Soma-day—the stotras of which are performed in four stomas, viz. three in each of those used for the Visvagīt, and the last three in the *ekavimsa*, or twenty-one-versed, stoma—with which it may, indeed, be combined in one and the same performance; and both form part of the sacrificial session called Gavām ayanam (part ii, p. 427). The Visvagīt (as well as the Abhigīt) may, however, also be performed as an Atirātra instead of Agnish<sup>th</sup>oma, and in that case the sequence of Stomas is entirely different, their order being as follows: the first four stotras are performed in the first four stomas (*trivrit*, *pañka-dasa*, *saptadasa*, *ekavimsa*); the next four stotras in the four stomas beginning with the second stoma (up to *trinava*), and the next four stotras in the four stomas beginning with the third stoma (up to *trayastrimsa*). Of the three Ukthastotras, the first is performed in the *trinava*, and the two others in the *ekavimsa*; the Shodasin in its own (*ekavimsa*) form; the night-chants in the *pañkadasa*; and the twilight-chant in the *trivrit*-stoma. See *Tāndya*-Br. XX, 9.

<sup>1</sup> On 'sarvapri<sup>sh</sup>/ha' Soma-days, see part iii, introduction, pp. xx seq.

<sup>2</sup> As an equivalent for one's 'whole property (*sarvavedasa*, *sarvasva*), *Kātyāyana* (XXII, 2, 26. 27) enumerates 'cows, oxen, ploughs, sacks of corn (or corn-sacks), pairs of slaves, waggons, animals for riding, houses (or sheds), and couches.' For other similar enumerations, see A. Weber, *Omina and Portenta* (Abb. of Berl. Acad. 1858), p. 398.

nights, half-months, months, and seasons. The days and nights of a month are sixty, and in the month, doubtless, the days and nights of the year are obtained; and there are twenty-four half-months, thirteen months, and three seasons (of four months)—that makes a hundred parts, and the year itself is the one hundred and first part.

2. By the seasons it is sevenfold,—six seasons (of two months), and the year itself as the seventh part. And he who shines yonder is the light of that year: his rays are a hundredfold, and the (sun's) disk itself is the one hundred and first part.

3. By the regions it is sevenfold,—the rays which are in the eastern region are one part, and those in the southern are one, and those in the western are one, and those in the northern are one, and those in the upper (region) are one, and those in the lower (region) are one, and the disk itself is the seventh part.

4. Beyond this (year) lies the wish-granting world; but the wish-granting one is the immortal (element): it is thus the immortal that lies beyond this (year, temporal existence); and that same immortal (element) is that very light which shines yonder.

5. Now that same boon (the immortal light), bright with wealth, he, Savitri (the sun), distributes among the distributed creatures, and among plants and trees, too; and to some, indeed, he gives more of it, and to some less; and they to whom he gives more of it live longest, and they to whom he gives less live less long.

6. It is regarding this that it is said in the *Rik* (I, 22, 7; Vâg. S. XXX, 4), 'The distributor of wealth, the bright boon, we invoke, Savitri, the beholder of men.' And that is the full

(measure of) life, for it is long, it is unending<sup>1</sup>; and when people here say, 'May thy life be long! mayest thou reach the full (extent of) life!' it is as much as to say, 'May that world, may that (immortal light) be thine!'

7. It is Vâk (Speech) that, seeing it, speaks (thus). That same (immortal light), indeed, is to be obtained either by the one hundred and one-fold (altar), or by a life of a hundred years: whosoever builds a one hundred and one-fold (altar), or whosoever lives a hundred years, he, indeed, obtains that immortality. Therefore, whether they know it, or whether they do not, people say, 'The life of a hundred years makes for heaven.' Hence one ought not to yield to his own desire and pass away before (he has attained) the full extent of life, for (such shortening of one's life) does not make for the heavenly world<sup>2</sup>; and these are indeed the worlds, to wit, the days and nights, the half-moons, moons, and seasons, and the year.

8. Those who pass away in the years below twenty are consigned to the days and nights as their worlds; and those who (pass away) in the years above twenty and below forty, to the half-moons; and those who (pass away) in the (years) above forty and below sixty, to the months; and those who (pass away) in the (years) above sixty and below

<sup>1</sup> Thus Sâyana—*tad etat sarvam âyur iti sarvapadasyârtham âha, dîrgham anantaṁ hi.*

<sup>2</sup> Literally, 'conducive to the world,' or, perhaps, 'conducive to a place (in yonder world).' Sâyana interprets it by—his death is 'alokyam,' that is, not procuring the world consisting of immortality. Some such meaning as '(such conduct) is not world-winning' seems to be implied by the words which follow.

eighty, to the seasons ; and those who (pass away) in the (years) above eighty and below a hundred (are consigned) to the year ; and he alone who lives a hundred years or more attains to that immortal (life).

9. Only by many sacrifices, indeed, is a single day, or a single night (of life) gained ; and only he who builds the one hundred and one-fold (altar), or he who lives a hundred years, is certain of his attaining to that immortal (life). But he, indeed, builds a one hundred and one-fold (altar) who carries him (Ukhyā Agni) for a year : hence one should only build (an altar for) such an (Agni) who has been carried for a year. Thus much as to the deity.

10. Now as to the sacrifice. When he measures out those one hundred and one men (man's lengths) with upstretched arms, that is a one hundred and one-fold (altar) in form, and a sevenfold one in respect of its layers : the layers contain six seasonal<sup>1</sup> (bricks) and the fire (or altar) itself is the seventh form.

11. And, indeed, it is a hundred and one-fold in respect of bricks,—the first fifty bricks and the last fifty<sup>2</sup> which are (laid down) make a hundred forms (parts) ; and the bricks which are laid down between (those two sets) are the one hundred and first form.

---

<sup>1</sup> The five layers contain five sets of two such bricks, each representing the two months of the respective season ; except the third layer, which contains four such bricks, only, however, of half the thickness of the others.

<sup>2</sup> According to Sāyana, this refers to the fifty *Prāṇabhṛts* in the first, and to the forty *Virāgs*, five *Nākasads*, and five *Pañtakūḍās* in the fifth layer.

12. And, having the Yagus for its light, it is a hundred and one-fold in respect of the Yagus (formulas),—the first fifty and the last fifty which are (used) make á hundred forms ; and the Yagus which are used between them are the one hundred and first form. In this way also the sevenfold one becomes a hundred and one-fold, and whosoever knows this obtains even by the sevenfold one whatever wish there is both in a life of a hundred years and in the one hundred and one-fold (altar).

13. In this way, indeed, all sacrifices<sup>1</sup> up to the Agnihotra are a hundred and one-fold by way of verses, formulas, words, syllables, rites, and hymn-tunes ; and whosoever knows this obtains by every sacrifice whatever wish there is either in a life of a hundred years, or in the one hundred and one-fold (altar), or in the sevenfold one. Thus much as to the sacrifice.

14. Now as to the body. There are these four sets of five fingers and toes, the two—wrist and elbow<sup>2</sup>,—the arm, the shoulder-blade, and the collarbone,—that makes twenty-five ; and in the same way (each of) these other limbs,—that makes a hundred parts, and the trunk itself is the one hundred and first part. As regards the sevenfold state this has been explained<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> That is, according to Sâyana, all Soma-sacrifices,—ekâhas, ahînas, sattras, &c. In this case we should perhaps translate, 'down to the Agnihotra,' that being the simplest kind of Soma-sacrifice.

<sup>2</sup> This meaning is assigned by Sâyana to 'kalkushî' (= *manibandhâratnî*) ; it cannot mean here 'the two wrists' (? 'kalyusha,' Mon. Will. Dict.), as both must be parts of the same limb.

<sup>3</sup> Viz. X, 2, 2, 1. 5 (VI, 1, 1, 1 seq.).

15. And, having the vital air for its light, it is a hundred and one-fold by the vital airs limb by limb, for there is vital air in each limb : whosoever knows this obtains, even by his knowledge, whatever wish there is in a life of a hundred years, or in the one hundred and one-fold (altar), or in the sevenfold one, or in all sacrifices; for he has obtained a body perfected by all the sacrifices.

16. Now, there are these three fivefold (objects), the year, the fire, and man : their five forms are food, drink, well-being<sup>1</sup>, light, and immortality. Whatever food there is in the year, that is its food ; whatever water, that is its drink ; its well-being is the night, for in the night, as in well-being (contentment or goodness), all beings dwell together<sup>2</sup>; its light is the day, and its immortal element the sun. Thus much as to the deity.

17. Now as to the sacrifice. Whatever food is placed on the fire, that is its food, and whatever water, that is its water ; its well-being is the enclosing-stones, for they are of the nature of nights<sup>3</sup>; its light the (bricks) with special formulas, for they are of the nature of days ; and its immortal

<sup>1</sup> Or, perhaps, goodness, excellence (sri).

<sup>2</sup> According to *Sâyana*, this is an etymological play on the word 'sri' (well-being, contentment, peace), as connected with the verb 'sri'—*sriyanti nivasanty asmin kâla iti râtriḥ srisabdavâtyâ*. Cf. II, 3, 1, 3, where, with the *Kânva*, we have to read, 'ilitâ hi sere (serate, K.) *samgânâh*'—'for (when the sun has set) those who are at variance with one another lie quiet (together).'

<sup>3</sup> Viz. inasmuch as they enclose the altar, and protect it on all sides. Cf. VII, 1, 1, 12 seq., where the enclosing-stones are said to represent the womb in which the embryo Agni is contained ; and are also compared with the ocean which flows round the earth like a protecting moat.

element the fire, for that is of the nature of the sun. Thus much as to the sacrifice.

18. Now as to the body. Whatever food there is in man, that is his food; whatever water, that is his water; his well-being (safety, strength) is the bones, for they are of the nature of enclosing-stones; his light the marrow, for that is of the nature of the *yagushmatī* (bricks); his immortal element the breath, for that is of the nature of fire;—and, indeed, people say, ‘The breath is fire, the breath is the immortal.’

19. Now, hunger ceases through food, thirst through drink, evil through well-being (goodness), darkness through light, and death through immortality; and, in truth, whosoever knows this from him all these pass away, and he conquers recurring death, and attains the whole (perfect) life. And let him hold this to be immortality in yonder world and life here below. Some, indeed, hold it to be breath, saying, ‘The breath is fire, the breath is the immortal;’ but let him not believe this, for something uncertain is breath. And regarding this it has also been said in the *Yagus* (*Vâg. S. XII, 65*), ‘That (bond) of thine I unloose, as from the middle of *Āyus* (life):’ let him therefore hold it to be immortality in yonder world, and life here below, and thus, indeed, he attains the whole life.

### THIRD ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMAṆA.

1. The *Gāyatrī* is the breath (of *Pragâpati*, the altar), the *Ushnih* the eye, the *Anushṭubh* the voice, the *Bṛihatī* the mind, the *Pañkti* the ear; the *Trishṭubh* is that generative breath; and the *Gagati*

that downward breathing;—these are the seven metres increasing by four (syllables) each<sup>1</sup>, which are produced in Agni (the fire-altar).

2. 'The Gâyatrî is the breath,'—thus, whatever power, whatever vigour there is in the breath that is this one thousand; and to the breath, indeed, this vigour belongs; for were the breath of him who builds it to pass away, this fire-altar, assuredly, would not be built: by this its form that (altar) becomes built (so as to contain) a thousand Gâyatrîs.

3. 'The Ushñih is the eye,'—thus, whatever power, whatever vigour there is in the eye that is this one thousand; and to the eye, indeed, this vigour belongs, for were the eye-sight of him who builds it to pass away, this fire-altar, assuredly, would not be built: by this its form that (altar) becomes built (so as to contain) a thousand Ushñihs.

4. 'The Anushñubh is the voice,'—thus, whatever power, whatever vigour there is in the voice that is this one thousand; and to the voice, indeed, this vigour belongs, for were the voice of him who builds it to pass away, this fire-altar, assuredly, would not be built: by this its form that (altar) becomes built (so as to contain) a thousand Anushñubhs.

5. 'The Brîhatî is the mind,'—thus, whatever power, whatever vigour there is in the mind that is this one thousand; and to the mind, indeed, this vigour belongs, for were the mind of him who builds it to pass away, this fire-altar, assuredly,

---

<sup>1</sup> The Gâyatrî verse consists of twenty-four syllables; and each of the following increases by four syllables, the Gagatî consisting of  $4 \times 12$ , or forty-eight syllables.



would not be built: by this its form that (altar) becomes built (so as to contain) a thousand *Brīhatts*.

6. 'The *Pañkti* is the ear,'—thus, whatever power, whatever vigour there is in the ear that is this one thousand; and to the ear, indeed, this vigour belongs, for were the power of hearing of him who builds it to pass away, this fire-altar, assuredly, would not be built: by this its form that (altar) becomes built (so as to contain) a thousand *Pañktis*.

7. 'The *Trishūbh* is that generative (life-giving) breath,'—thus, whatever power, whatever vigour there is in that breath, that is this one thousand; and to that breath, indeed, this vigour belongs, for were that breath of him who builds it to become disordered, this fire-altar, assuredly, would not be built: by this its form that (altar) becomes built (so as to contain) a thousand *Trishūbhs*.

8. 'And the *Gagati* is that downward breathing,'—thus, whatever power, whatever vigour there is in that breathing, that is this one thousand; and to that breathing, indeed, this vigour belongs, for were that breathing of him who builds it to become disordered, this fire-altar, assuredly, would not be built: by this its form that (altar) becomes built (so as to include) a thousand *Gagatis*.

9. Now, these seven metres which increase by four (syllables) successively, and are firmly established in one another, are those seven vital airs<sup>1</sup> in man, firmly established in one another: thus, by

---

<sup>1</sup> Viz. those enumerated in the preceding paragraphs, including those passing through the eye, ear, &c.

as much as the number of metres he utters has that (altar) of him who knows this, prayers uttered upon it in metre after metre, or hymns chanted, or sastras recited, or (bricks) laid down upon it.

## SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. As to this they say, 'What metre and what deity are the head of the fire-altar?' The metre *Gâyatri* and the deity *Agni* are its head.

2. 'What metre and what deity are its neck?' The metre *Ushnih* and the deity *Savitri* are its neck.

3. 'What metre and what deity are its spine?' The metre *Bṛihatī* and the deity *Bṛhaspati* are its spine.

4. 'What metre and what deity are its wings?' The metres *Bṛihat* and *Rathantara* and the deities *Heaven* and *Earth* are its wings.

5. 'What metre and what deity are its waist?' The metre *Trishubh* and the deity *Indra* are its waist.

6. 'What metre and what deity are its hips?' The metre *Gagatī* and the deity *Āditya* (the sun) are its hips.

7. 'What metre and what deity are the vital air whence the seed flows?' The metre *Atikhandas* and the deity *Prāgāpati*.

8. 'What metre and what deity are that downward vital air?' The metre *Yagnâyagnīya* and the deity *Vaisvânara*.

9. 'What metre and what deity are the thighs?' The metre *Anushubh* and that deity, the *Visvedevâ*, are the thighs.

10. 'What metre and what deity are the knees?' The metre Pañkti and that deity, the Maruts, are the knees.

11. 'What metre and what deity are the feet?' The metre Dvipadâ and the deity Vishnu are the feet.

12. 'What metre and what deity are the vital airs?' The metre Vikhandas and the deity Vâyu (the wind) are the vital airs.

13. 'What metre and what deity are the defective and redundant parts?' The metre (of the verse) wanting a syllable (or syllables) and that deity, the waters, are the defective and redundant parts. This, then, is the knowledge of the body (of the altar), and suchlike is the deity that enters into this body; and, indeed, there is in this (sacrificial performance) no other prayer for the obtainment of heavenly bliss<sup>1</sup>.

### THIRD BRÂHMĀNA.

1. Dhîra Sâtaparṇeya once on a time repaired to Mahâsâla<sup>2</sup> Gâbâla. He said to him, 'Knowing what<sup>3</sup>, hast thou come to me?'—'Agni (the fire) I know.'—'What Agni knowest thou?'—'Speech.'—'What becomes of him who knows that Agni?'—'He becomes eloquent<sup>4</sup>,' he said, 'speech does not fail him.'

<sup>1</sup> Atrâgnau lokyatâyai punyalokâvâptaye anyâ uktavyatirikṭâ âsîḥ prârthanâ nâsti. Sâyana.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, one who keeps a large house, a lord. Sâyana, however, treats it as a proper name.

<sup>3</sup> That is, 'with what knowledge.'

<sup>4</sup> Or, perhaps, possessed of a good voice. To be 'vâgmin' is

2. 'Thou knowest Agni,' he said; 'knowing what (else) hast thou come to me?'—'Agni I know.'—'What Agni knowest thou?'—'The Eye.'—'What becomes of him who knows that Agni?'—'He becomes seeing,' he said; 'his eye does not fail him.'

3. 'Thou knowest Agni,' he said; 'knowing what hast thou come to me?'—'Agni I know.'—'What Agni knowest thou?'—'The Mind.'—'What becomes of him who knows that Agni?'—'He becomes thoughtful,' he said; 'his mind does not fail him.'

4. 'Thou knowest Agni,' he said; 'knowing what hast thou come to me?'—'Agni I know.'—'What Agni knowest thou?'—'The Ear.'—'What becomes of him who knows that Agni?'—'He becomes hearing,' he said; 'his ear does not fail him.'

5. 'Thou knowest Agni,' he said; 'knowing what hast thou come to me?'—'Agni I know.'—'What Agni knowest thou?'—'The Agni who is everything here, him I know.'—On (hearing) this said, he stepped down to him and said, 'Teach me that Agni, sir!'

6. He said,—Verily, that Agni is the breath; for when man sleeps, speech passes into the breath, and so do the eye, the mind, and the ear; and when he awakes, they again issue from the breath. Thus much as to the body.

7. Now as to the deity. That speech verily is Agni himself; and that eye is yonder sun; and that

---

enumerated among the necessary qualifications of the officiating priest by *Lāṭy.* I, 1, 6, where the commentator, however, explains the term either as 'ready of speech (*vaktum samarthāḥ*),' or as 'using correct, or elegant, speech (*samskrītavāk*).'

mind is that moon; and that ear is the quarters; and that breath is the wind that blows here.

8. Now, when that fire goes out, it is wafted up in the wind (air), whence people say of it, 'It has expired'; for it is wafted up in the wind. And when the sun sets it enters the wind, and so does the moon; and the quarters are established in the wind, and from out of the wind they issue again. And when he who knows this passes away from this world, he passes into the fire by his speech, into the sun by his eye, into the moon by his mind, into the quarters by his ear, and into the wind by his breath; and being composed thereof, he becomes whichever of these deities he chooses, and is at rest.

#### FOURTH BRĀHMAṆA.

1. Svetaketu Āruneya<sup>2</sup>, once upon a time, was about to offer sacrifice. His father said to him, 'What priests hast thou chosen to officiate?' He said, 'This Vaisvâvasavya here is my Hotri.' He asked him, 'Knowest thou, Brâhmaṇa Vaisvâvasavya,—

2. The four great (things)?'—'I know them, sir,' he said.—'Knowest thou the four great ones of the great?'—'I know them, sir,' he said.—'Knowest thou the four rites (vrata)?'—'I know them, sir,' he said.—'Knowest thou the four rites of rites?'—'I know them, sir,' he said.—'Knowest thou the

<sup>1</sup> Literally, 'it has blown out, or up.'

<sup>2</sup> That is, grandson of Aruṇa (Aupavesi), and son of (Uddālaka) Āruṇi (II, 3, 1, 31. 34; IV, 5, 7, 9).

four relating to Ka<sup>1</sup>?—‘I know them, sir,’ he said.—‘Knowest thou the four deepest of those relating to Ka<sup>2</sup>?’—‘I know them, sir,’ he said.—‘Knowest thou the four flames<sup>3</sup>?’—‘I know them, sir,’ he said.—‘Knowest thou the four flames of flames?’—‘I know them, sir,’ he said.

3. ‘Knowest thou the Arka<sup>4</sup>?’—‘Nay, but thou wilt teach us<sup>5</sup>, sir!’—‘Knowest thou the two Arka-leaves?’—‘Nay, but thou wilt teach us, sir!’—‘Knowest thou the two Arka-flowers?’—‘Nay, but thou wilt teach us, sir!’—‘Knowest thou the two pod-leaves<sup>6</sup> of the Arka?’—‘Nay, but thou wilt teach us, sir!’—‘Knowest thou the two coops<sup>7</sup> of the Arka?’—‘Nay, but thou wilt teach us, sir!’—‘Knowest thou the Arka-grains?’—‘Nay, but thou wilt teach us, sir!’—‘Knowest thou the bulge<sup>8</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> Sâyana takes ‘kya’ to mean ‘those useful to, or pleasing to (hita), Ka, i.e. Pragâpati.’

<sup>2</sup> Literally, ‘the four Kya of the Kya.’ For more symbolical speculation on these terms, see X, 4, 1, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Or, fires (arka), used of the sun, the fire and the lightning, as well as of the Arka plant. Sâyana, however, here explains ‘arkâh’ by ‘arhanîyâh,’ ‘worthy of being praised, or honoured.’

<sup>4</sup> That is, the Arka plant (*Calotropis gigantea*), apparently so called (= ‘arka,’ lightning) from the wedge-like shape of its leaves. Cf. IX, 1, 1, 4, where the leaf is used in offering the Satarudriya oblations. The other meanings of ‘arka,’ especially that of ‘flame, fire,’ however, are likewise implied in these mystic speculations.

<sup>5</sup> Or, simply, ‘Thou wilt tell us, then (atha vai), sir.’

<sup>6</sup> ? Or, the pods, sheaths; arkakosyau kosyâkâre phale (or puñake). Sâyana.

<sup>7</sup> ? Or, ‘seas’ (samudra). Sâyana explains it as two opened ‘lip-parts’ at the top of the Arka-pod (arkakosâgre vidalitaush/ha-bhâgau).

<sup>8</sup> That is, according to the St. Petersburg Dict., ‘the globular, cake-shaped, hardened cicatrix of the *Calotropis gigantea*.’ Sâyana

the Arka ?'—'Nay, but thou wilt teach us, sir !'—  
'Knowest thou the root of the Arka ?'—'Nay, but  
thou wilt teach us, sir !'

4. Now, when he said, 'Knowest thou the four  
great (things) ? Knowest thou the four great of  
the great ?'—the great one is Agni (the fire), and  
the great (thing) of that great one are the plants  
and trees, for they are his food ; and the great one  
is Vāyu (the wind), and the great (thing) of that  
great one are the waters, for they are his (the wind's)  
food ; and the great one is Âditya (the sun), and  
the great (thing) of that great one is the moon, for  
that is his food ; and the great one is Man, and the  
great (thing) of that great one is cattle, for they are  
his food :—these are the four great things, these the  
four great of the great ;—these are the four rites,  
these the four rites of rites ;—these are the four  
relating to Ka, these the four deepest relating to  
Ka ;—these are the four flames, these the four  
flames of flames.

5. And when he said, 'Knowest thou the Arka ?'  
he thereby meant man ;—'Knowest thou the two  
Arka-leaves ?' he thereby meant his ears ;—  
'Knowest thou the two Arka-flowers ?' he thereby  
meant his eyes ;—'Knowest thou the pod-leaves  
of the Arka ?' he thereby meant his nostrils ;—  
'Knowest thou the two coops of the Arka ?' he  
thereby meant his lips ;—'Knowest thou the Arka-  
grains ?' he thereby meant his teeth ;—'Knowest  
thou the bulge of the Arka ?' he thereby meant his  
tongue ;—'Knowest thou the root of the Arka ?'

---

explains it by, 'arkakosamadhye vistareṇa (? v. l. gihvâstârâna-)  
vartamânâ tûli.'

he thereby meant his food. Now that Arka, to wit, man, is Agni; and verily, whoso regards Agni as the Arka and the man, in his (altar-) body that Agni, the Arka, will be built up even through the knowledge that 'I here am Agni, the Arka.'

#### FIFTH BRĀHMANA.

1. Now, the Yagus, indeed, is he who blows here, for even whilst passing along he (Vāyu, the wind) generates (vivifies) everything here, and after him passing along everything is generated: this is why the Yagus is no other than Vāyu.

2. And the course<sup>1</sup> (*gûh*) is this space, to wit, this air<sup>2</sup>, for along this space it (the wind) courses; and the Yagus is both the wind and the air—the 'yat' and the '*gûh*'—whence (the name) Yagus. And the 'yat' (that which goes) is this (Adhvaryu)<sup>3</sup>, for when he 'goes' on (performing), the *Rik* and *Sāman* carry that Yagus established on the *Rik* and *Sāman*. Hence the Adhvaryu performs his work with the very same Grahās (cups of Soma), (while) there are each time<sup>4</sup> different stotras (chants) and sastras (recitations): it is just as if, after driving with a first pair (of horses), one drives with a second pair.

<sup>1</sup> '*Gûh*' would rather seem to mean 'the urger, or speeder.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Yad idam antariksham,' perhaps, with the double sense—'this air is the "yat (the going, moving thing)"'—made use of in the sequel. The construction, however, is not quite clear. Sâyana explains: ayam evākāso gûr iti; gu iti sauto dhâtur gatyarthaḥ; yad idam pratiyamānam antariksham asti tad eva gûr iti; yad evoḥyate—etam âkâsam anulakshya gavate, vāyur gaḥkhati, vāyugavamâdakarana—tvâg gûr âkâsaḥ.

<sup>3</sup> Or, whence (the name) Yagus, to wit, this (Adhvaryu).

<sup>4</sup> That is, in different Soma-sacrifices.



3. Now Agni is in front<sup>1</sup> (*purā*), for placing Agni in front (of them) these creatures attend upon him; and the sun is motion (*karana*), for as soon as he rises everything here moves about. Such is the Yagus with the preparatory performance (*purakarana*<sup>2</sup>) as regards the deities.

4. Now as regards the body. The Yagus is the breath, for whilst moving (*yat*) it generates (*vivifies*) everything here, and along with the moving breath birth takes place here: hence the Yagus is the breath.

5. And this course (*gûh*) is space—this space which is inside the body—for along this space it (the breath) courses; and the Yagus is both the breath and space,—the ‘*yat*’ and the ‘*gûh*’: hence ‘*yagus*.’ And the ‘*yat*’ (moving) is the breath, for the breath moves.

6. The Yagus, indeed, is food, for by food one is produced, and by food one moves. And food carries along that Yagus established on food, whence even different food is introduced into the same (channel of the) breath.

7. And the Mind is in front (*purā*), for the mind is the first of vital airs; and the eye is motion (*karana*), for it is in accordance with the eye that this

<sup>1</sup> Literally, apparently, ‘The in-front is Agni.’

<sup>2</sup> This term, literally, ‘moving in front,’ seems virtually to imply the entire manual work connected with the sacrifice, and which, along with the muttering of the Yagus-formulas, forms the official duty of the Adhvaryu. It would thus include all the sacrificial performances prior to the muttering of a Yagus, as the finishing or consecratory rite. For a somewhat similar discussion, see IV, 6, 7, 20. 21. The commentary introduces the present discussion thus: *atha brâhmanâparanâmadheyasya purakaranasabdasya pûrvavan nirvâtanapurasaram adhidaivam artham âha.*

body moves. Such is the Yagus with the preparatory performance, firmly established both as regards the deity and the body; and, indeed, whosoever thus knows this Yagus with the preparatory performance to be firmly established both as regards the deity and the body,—

8. He, indeed, reaches successfully the end of the sacrifice, unscathed and uninjured: he who knows this becomes the first, the leader (*pura-etrî*), of his own people, an eater of food (i.e. prosperous), and a ruler.

9. And if any one strives to become a rival<sup>1</sup> among his own people to one who knows this, he does not satisfy his dependants; but, indeed, only he satisfies his dependants, who is faithful<sup>2</sup> to that one and who, along with him, strives to support his dependants.

10. And this is the greatest Brahman (n., mystic science), for than this there is no thing greater; and, he who knows this, being himself the greatest, becomes the highest among his own people.

11. This Brahman has nothing before it and nothing after it<sup>3</sup>; and whosoever thus knows this Brahman to have nothing before it and nothing

<sup>1</sup> Or, tries to make opposition, as Sâyana takes it—*yañ purushaḥ sveshu madhye evamvidam uktavidyâm gâṇānam purusham prati-bubhūshati* (!) *prâtikūlyam âkaritum iṅkhati*.

<sup>2</sup> Thus 'anu-bhū' is taken by the St. Petersburg Dict. ('to serve, be helpful to'), and by Sâyana—'yas tv evamvidam anukūlayet sa poshyān poshayitum saknoti.'

<sup>3</sup> Sâyana seems to take 'aparavat' in the sense of 'it has (only) something after it'—*srashavyagadrūpāparavat*—and the use of the word 'aparapurushâḥ (descendants)' immediately after might indeed seem to favour that interpretation.

after it, than he there is no one higher among his equals in station; and ever higher will be the descendants that spring from him. Wherefore, if any one would be greater than he, let him reverentially approach the regions in front (to the eastward) of that one in this way, and he will do him no injury <sup>1</sup>.

12. But, indeed, the mystic import (upanishad) is the essence of this Yagus; and thus, if, with ever so small a yagus-formula, the Adhvaryu draws a cup of Soma, that (essence) is equal to both the Stotra and the Sastra, and comes up to both the Stotra and the Sastra: hence, however small the essence (flavour) of food, it benefits (renders palatable) the whole food, and pervades the whole food.

13. Satiation (contentment), doubtless, is the successful issue thereof (to wit, of food, and the Yagus): hence when one is satiated by food he feels like one who has succeeded. And joy, the knowledge thereof (viz. of the essence, the mystic import), is its soul (self); and, assuredly, all the gods are of joyful soul; and this, the true knowledge, belongs to the gods alone,—and, indeed, whosoever knows this is not a man, but one of the gods.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. of the commentary (I. O. 613. 149) are unfortunately not in a very satisfactory condition:—*sa yo haitad iti, evam upâsîtyeti arthaḥ; yadi vedituḥ sakâsât gyâyasaḥ purushasya sadbhâve tadâ svayam bâdhyo bhavâtîtyi âraṅkya tasmâd adhikapurushâd adhikam (akḥâdikât B) [vastu disyopâsîtavayam (!) ity âha, yo smâg gyâyân iti; yadi asmâd upâsakât yo dhikaḥ syât tarhi tasmâd adhikât, om. B] disaḥ pûrvâ ity upâsîta; tataḥ gyâyaso pi gyâya-upâsane svasyâ-dhikyât bâdhako nâstîtyi arthaḥ.* The commentary would thus seem to take it to mean that by showing reverence to something before, or higher than, his rival, he would turn aside his schemes.

14. And Priyavrata Rauhi~~n~~âyana, knowing this (truth), once spake unto the blowing wind, 'Thy soul<sup>1</sup> is joy: blow thou either hither or thither!' and so, indeed, it now blows. Wherefore, if one desire to invoke any blessing from the gods, let him approach them with this, 'Your soul is joy,—my wish is such and such: let it be fulfilled unto me!' and whatever the wish he entertains, it will be fulfilled to him; for, assuredly, he who knows this attains this contentment, this successful issue, this joy, this soul.

15. This Yagus is silent<sup>2</sup>, indistinct; for the Yagus is the breath, and the breath is of silent (secret) abode; and if any one were to say of that (Adhvaryu) who pronounces (the Yagus) distinctly, 'He has uttered distinctly the indistinct deity: his breath shall fail him!' then that would, indeed, come to pass.

16. And, assuredly, he who knows the indistinct (secret) manifestation of this (Yagus) becomes manifest in fame and glory. Silently the Adhvaryu draws the cup of Soma with the (muttered) Yagus, and, when drawn and deposited, it becomes manifest;—silently he builds the fire-altar with the Yagus, and, when built and completed, it becomes manifest;—silently he takes out (material for) the oblation with the Yagus, and, when cooked and ready (for offering), it becomes manifest: thus, whatever he performs silently, when performed and completed, it becomes manifest. And, assuredly, he who thus knows this secret manifestation of this

<sup>1</sup> Or, thine own self, thy nature—tavât<sup>m</sup> svarûpam. Sâyana.

<sup>2</sup> That is, pronounced in an undertone, muttered.

(Yagus) becomes manifest in fame, and glory, and sanctity; and quickly, indeed, he becomes known: he becomes the Yagus itself, and by the Yagus people call him<sup>1</sup>.

#### FOURTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. When the gods restored the relaxed Pragâ-pati, they poured him, as seed, into the fire-pan (ukhâ) as the womb, for the fire-pan is a womb. In the course of a year they prepared for him this food, to wit, the fire-altar built here, and enclosed it in a body; and, being enclosed in a body, it became the body itself; whence food, when enclosed in a body, becomes the body itself.

2. In like manner does the Sacrificer now pour his own self (or body), as seed, into the fire-pan as the womb, for the fire-pan is a womb. In the course of a year he prepares for it (his self) this food, to wit, the fire-altar here built, and encloses it in a body, and, being enclosed in a body, it becomes the body itself; whence food, when enclosed in a body, becomes the body itself.

3. He places him (the Ukhya Agni, on the fire-altar) with 'Vausha<sup>2</sup>!' for 'vauk' is he (Agni),

<sup>1</sup> Yagushaivainam âkashata iti gñâtrigñeyayor abhedopakâreṇa tasya vidusha eva yaguḥ tasya vyavahâryatvam bhavâtīty arthaḥ. Sâyana.

<sup>2</sup> See IX, 2, 3, 35, where it was stated that the fire should be laid down with the Vasha<sup>2</sup>-call ('vausha<sup>2</sup>!') uttered after the two verses, Vâg. S. XVII, 72. 73. Here, as at I, 7, 2, 21, the sacrificial call, 'vausha<sup>2</sup>!—for 'vasha<sup>2</sup>,' apparently an irregular subjunctive aorist of 'vah': 'may he bear (the oblation to the gods)!—is fancifully explained as composed of 'vauk' (i.e. vâk, speech), and 'sha<sup>2</sup>,' six.

and 'shaṭ (six)' is this six-layered food: having prepared it, he offers it to him as proportionate to this body, for food which is proportionate to the body satisfies, and does not injure it; but when there is too much, it does injure it, and when there is too little, it does not satisfy it.

4. Now that Arka<sup>1</sup> (flame) is this very fire which they bring here; and the Kya<sup>1</sup> is this his food, to wit, the fire-altar built here: that (combined) makes the Arkya<sup>2</sup> in respect of the Yagus. And the Great one (mahân) is this (Agni), and this vrata<sup>3</sup> (rite) is his food: that makes the Mahâvrata (sâman) in respect of the Sâman. And 'uk' is this (Agni), and 'tha' his food,—that (combined) makes the Uktha (sastra, recitation)<sup>4</sup> in respect of the Rîk. Thus, whilst being only one, this is accounted threefold.

5. Now Indra and Agni were created as the Brahman (priesthood) and the Kshatra (nobility): the Brahman was Agni and the Kshatra Indra. When created, the two were separate. They spake, 'Whilst being thus, we shall be unable to produce creatures (people): let us both become one form!' The two became one form.

6. Now those two, Indra and Agni, are the same as these two, to wit, the gold plate and the (gold) man<sup>5</sup>: Indra is the gold plate, and Agni the man.

<sup>1</sup> See X, 3, 4, 2 seq.

<sup>2</sup> That is, what relates to the Arka (the Fire, or Agnikâyana).

<sup>3</sup> That is, here, the Mahad uktham, or Great Recitation of the Mahâvrata day.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps with the implied sense of 'fast-food,' 'fast-milk,' the milk taken by the Sacrificer during the initiation as his only food.

<sup>5</sup> For the gold plate worn by the Sacrificer whilst carrying about

They are made of gold: gold means light, and Indra and Agni are the light; gold means immortal life, and Indra and Agni mean immortal life.

7. It is these two, Indra and Agni, that they build up. Whatever is of brick that is Agni: whence they bake that (part) by fire, and all that is baked by fire is Agni. And what filling of earth there is (in the altar) that is Indra: whence they do not bake that (part) by fire, lest it should be Agni, and not Indra. Thus it is these two, Indra and Agni, that are built up.

8. And the two become that one form, to wit, the fire which is placed on the built (altar), and hence those two, by means of that form, produce creatures. Now Agni, indeed, is this single brick<sup>1</sup>, and into this the whole Agni passes: this, indeed, is the perfection of bricks,—it is that one syllable (akshara) 'vauk,' it is this into which the whole Agni passes, and which is the perfection of syllables.

9. It is this that the *Rishi* saw when he said, 'I praise what hath been and what will be, the Great Brahman, the one Akshara,—the manifold Brahman, the one Akshara; for, indeed, all the gods, all beings pass into that Akshara (imperish-

---

the Ukhya Agni, and ultimately deposited on the lotus-leaf in the centre of the altar-site before the first layer is laid down, see VI, 7, 1, 1 seq.; VII, 4, 1, 10 seq. For the gold man placed on the gold plate, VII, 4, 1, 15 seq. Whilst the gold man was indeed identified with Agni-Pragâpati, as well as with the Sacrificer, the gold plate was taken throughout as representing the sun.

<sup>1</sup> According to Sâyana, this one brick is the syllable ('akshara,' which also means 'the imperishable, indestructible') 'vauk' contained in the 'Vausha,' uttered when the sacred fire is placed on the newly-built altar.

able element<sup>1</sup>): it is both the Brahman and the Kshatra; and the Brahman is Agni, and the Kshatra Indra; and the Visve Devâh (all the gods) are Indra and Agni. But the Visve Devâh (the All-gods) are also the peasantry: hence it is Priesthood, Nobility, and Peasantry.

10. And, indeed, Syâparṇa Sâyakâyana, knowing this, once said, 'If this my sacrificial performance were complete, my own race would become the kings (nobles), Brâhmanas, and peasants of the Salvas; but even by that much of my work which has been completed<sup>2</sup> my race will surpass the Salvas in both ways;—for this (Agni, the fire-altar), indeed, is (social) eminence and fame, and an eater of food<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Aksharam avinasvaram sarvagatam vâ brahma saktidânandai-karasam. Sâyana.

<sup>2</sup> Or, perhaps—but since so much of my work has been completed, my race will thereby surpass the Salvas. Cf. Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> Sâyana takes this as intended to explain the 'in both ways' of the quotation, viz. in regard to 'śrī' (social distinction) on the one hand, and to 'yāsa' (fame) and food (material prosperity) on the other. There is, however, nothing in the text to favour any such grouping of the distinctive objects of aspiration associated with the three classes (varṇatrayâtmakatvam upagīvyā karmāṇāḥ, śrīya-so-nnâdalakṣhaṇam phalam. Sâyana), or with men generally (cf. Aitareyâr. I, 4, 2, 10). Perhaps it means both in an intellectual and material point of view. The Syâparṇas seem to have been a rather self-assertive family of priests. The Aitareya Brâhmana tells the following story about them (VII, 27):—Visvantara Sau-shadmana, setting aside the Syâparṇas, got up a sacrifice without them. The Syâparṇas, becoming aware of this, came to the sacrifice and sat them down inside the sacrificial ground. On seeing them, Visvantara said, 'There sit those doers of evil deeds, those speakers of foul language, the Syâparṇas: turn them out; let them not sit inside my sacrificial ground!'—'So be it!' they said, and



11. And regarding this, Sâṇḍīlya, having instructed Vāmakakshhāyana<sup>1</sup>, said, 'Thou wilt become eminent, famous, and an eater of food (rich);' and, indeed, he who knows this becomes eminent, famous, and an eater of food.

12. And this Agni is no other than Pragâpati.

turned them out. In being turned out, they cried aloud, 'At a sacrifice of Ganamegaya, son of Parikshit, performed without the Kasyapas, the Asitamrigas from amongst the Kasyapas won the Soma-drink from the Bhûtavîras (who were officiating). In them they had heroic men on their side: what hero is there amongst us who will win that Soma-drink?'—'Here is that hero of yours,' said Râma Mârgaveya. Râma Mârgaveya was a Syâparṇīya, learned in sacred lore. When they rose to leave, he said, 'O king, will they turn out of the sacrificial ground even one so learned as me?'—'Whoever thou art, what knowest thou, vile Brâhman?'—'When the gods turned Indra away because he had outraged Tvashtri's son Visvarûpa, and laid low Vriira, and thrown devotees before the jackals, and slain the Arurmaghas, and retorted on Brihaspati (the teacher of the gods)—then Indra was deprived of the Soma-cup; and along with him the Kshatriyas were deprived of the Soma-cup. By stealing the Soma from Tvashtri, Indra obtained a share in the Soma-cup, but to this day the Kshatriyas are deprived of the Soma-cup: how can they turn out from the sacrificial ground one who knows how the Kshatriya race can be put in possession of the Soma-cup from which they are deprived?'—'Knowest thou (how to procure) that drink, O Brâhman?'—'I know it indeed.'—'Tell us then, O Brâhman?'—'To thee, O king, I will tell it,' he said. Ultimately the Syâparṇas are reinstated in their sacrificial duties. Cf. R. Roth, *Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda*, p. 118. At VI, 2, 1, 39, Syâparṇa Sâyakâyana was stated to have been the last who was in the habit of immolating five victims instead of two, as became afterwards the custom.

<sup>1</sup> In the succession of teachers of the doctrine of the fire-altar, given at the end of the present Kânda, Vāmakakshhāyana is said to have received his instruction from Vâtsya, and the latter from Sâṇḍīlya, who, in his turn, received it from Kusri. Cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* I, p. 259.

The gods, having restored this Agni-Pragâpati, in the course of a year prepared this food for him, to wit, this Mahâvratīya cup of Soma.

13. The Adhvaryu draws it by means of a cup, and inasmuch as he draws (grah) it it is (called) a draught (graha, cup of Soma). The Udgâtri (chanter), by the Mahâvrata (sâman), puts flavour (vital sap) into it; and the Mahâvrata (sâman) being (composed of) all those (five) sâmans, he thus puts flavour into it by means of all sâmans (hymn-tunes). The Hotri puts flavour into it by means of the Great Recitation; and the Great Recitation being (composed of) all those Rîk-verses: he thus puts flavour into it by all the Rîk-verses.

14. And when they chant the hymn, and he (the Hotri) afterwards recites (the sastra)<sup>1</sup>, he (the Adhvaryu) offers that (cup of Soma) to him (Agni-Pragâpati) as the Vashaṭ-call is uttered. Now 'vauk' is this (Agni), and 'shaṭ' this sixfold food<sup>2</sup>: having prepared it, he offers it to him as proportionate to his body; for food which is proportionate to the body satisfies, and does not injure it; but when there is too much, it does injure it, and when there is too little, it does not satisfy it.

15. Now that Arka (flame) is this very fire-altar

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the Mahad uktham (see p. 110, note 3), preceded by the chanting of the Mahâvrata-sâman (see p. 382, note 5).

<sup>2</sup> That is, according as it is flavoured by the six different 'rasas' (flavours or tastes)—sweet (madhura), sour (amla), salt (lavana), pungent (kaṭuka), bitter (tikta), and astringent (kashâya). Thus according to Sâyana; but see also paragraph 3, where the sixfold nature of the food is identified with the six-layered altar. Perhaps both explanations are intended to apply.

built here ; and the Kya is this his food, to wit, the Mahâvratiya-graha : that (combined) makes the Arkyā in respect of the Yagus. And the Great one (mahân) is this (Agni), and this rite (vrata) is his food : that makes the Mahâvrata in respect of the Sâman. And 'uk' is this (Agni), and 'tha' his food : that makes the (Mahad) Uktha in respect of the Rîk. Thus, whilst being only one, this is accounted threefold.

16. And this Agni is Pragâpati, the year<sup>1</sup> : the Sâvitra (oblations) are one half thereof, and the Vaisva-karmāṇa (oblations)<sup>2</sup> the (other) half ; the Sâvitra are eight digits (kalâ<sup>3</sup>) thereof, and the Vaisvakarmāṇa (the other) eight ; and that which is performed between them is the seventeenfold Pragâpati. Now what a digit is to men that a syllable (akshara) is to the gods.

17. And 'loma (hair)' is two syllables, 'tvak<sup>4</sup> (skin)' two, 'asrîk (blood)' two, 'medas (fat)' two, 'mâmsam (flesh)' two, 'snâva (sinew)' two, 'asthi (bone)' two, 'maggâ (marrow)<sup>5</sup> two,—that makes sixteen digits ; and the vital air which circulates therein, is the seventeenfold Pragâpati.

18. These sixteen digits convey the food to that vital air ; and when they take to conveying no food to it, then it consumes them and departs (from the body) : hence he who is hungry here, feels very

<sup>1</sup> Or, perhaps, this Pragâpati-Agni is the year.

<sup>2</sup> For these two sets of formulas and oblations, see IX, 5, 1, 43 and note.

<sup>3</sup> A 'kalâ' is the sixteenth part of the moon's diameter, and then a sixteenth part generally.

<sup>4</sup> Pronounce 'tu-ak.'

<sup>5</sup> For five of these parts of the body, see X, 1, 3, 4.

restless, consumed as he is by his vital airs ; and hence he who suffers from fever becomes very thin, for he is consumed by his vital airs.

19. Now for that seventeenfold Pragâpati they prepared this seventeenfold food, the Soma-sacrifice : those sixteen digits of his are these sixteen officiating priests,—one should not, therefore, take a seventeenth priest<sup>1</sup> lest one should do what is excessive ;—and what vital sap there is here—the oblations that are offered—that is the seventeenfold food.

20. And when they chant the hymn, and when he (the Hotri) afterwards recites (the sastra), he (the Adhvaryu) offers to him that food as the Vashat-call is uttered. Now 'vauk' is this (Agni), and 'shat' this sixfold food : having prepared it, he offers it to him as proportionate to his body ; for food which is proportionate to the body satisfies, and does not injure it ; but when there is too much it does injure it, and when there is too little, it does not satisfy it.

21. Now that Arka (flame) is this very fire-altar built here ; and the Kya is this his food, to wit, the Soma-sacrifice : that (combined) makes the Arkya in respect of the Yagus. And the Great one (mahân) is this (Agni), and this rite (vrata) is his food : that makes the Mahâvrata in respect of the Sâman. And 'uk' is this (Agni), and 'tha' his food : that makes the (Mahad) Uktha in respect of the Rîk. Thus, whilst being only one, this is accounted threefold. With this food he went upwards ; and he who

---

<sup>1</sup> This prohibition is probably directed against the Kaushîtakins, who recognise a seventeenth officiating priest, the Sadasya, who seems to have taken no other part in the sacrificial performance except sitting in the Sadas as the permanent custodian thereof.

went upwards is yonder sun, and that food wherewith he went up is that moon.

22. He who shines yonder is indeed that Arka (flame), and that moon is his food, the Kya : that (combined) makes the Arkyā in respect of the Yagus. And the Great one (mahân) is this (Agni), and this rite (vrata) is his food : that makes the Mahāvratā in respect of the Sâman. And 'uk' is this (Agni), and 'tha' his food : that makes the (Mahad) Uktha in respect of the Rîk. Thus, whilst being only one, this is accounted threefold. Thus much as to the deity.

23. Now as to the body. The Arka (flame), doubtless, is the breath (vital air), and the Kya is its food : that makes the Arkyā in respect of the Yagus. And the Great one (mahân) is this (Agni), and this rite (vrata) is his food : that makes the Mahāvratā in respect of the Sâman. And 'uk' is this (Agni), and 'tha' his food : that makes the (Mahad) Uktha in respect of the Rîk. Thus, whilst being only one, this is accounted threefold. And, indeed, that (Agni) is that (sun) as to the deity, and this (breath) as to the body.

## SECOND BRĀHMANA.

1. Verily, Pragâpati, the year, is Agni, and King Soma, the moon. He himself, indeed, proclaimed (taught) his own self to Yagñavalkas Râgastambâyana, saying, 'As many lights as there are of mine, so many are my bricks.'

2. Now in this Pragâpati, the year, there are seven hundred and twenty days and nights, his lights, (being) those bricks ; three hundred and sixty

enclosing-stones<sup>1</sup>, and three hundred and sixty bricks with (special) formulas. This Pragâpati, the year, has created all existing things, both what breathes and the breathless, both gods and men. Having created all existing things, he felt like one emptied out, and was afraid of death.

3. He bethought himself, 'How can I get these beings back into my body? how can I put them back into my body? how can I be again the body of all these beings?'

4. He divided his body into two; there were three hundred and sixty bricks in the one, and as many in the other: he did not succeed<sup>2</sup>.

5. He made himself three bodies,—in each of them there were three eighties of bricks: he did not succeed.

6. He made himself four bodies of a hundred and eighty bricks each: he did not succeed.

7. He made himself five bodies,—in each of them there were a hundred and forty-four bricks: he did not succeed.

8. He made himself six bodies of a hundred and twenty bricks each: he did not succeed. He did not develop himself sevenfold<sup>3</sup>.

9. He made himself eight bodies of ninety bricks each: he did not succeed.

10. He made himself nine bodies of eighty bricks each: he did not succeed.

<sup>1</sup> See X, 4, 2, 27 with note.

<sup>2</sup> Na vyâpnot, intrans., 'he did not attain (his object),' cf. vyâpti, in the sense of 'success';—(svayam teshâm âtmâ bhavitum) asamartho-bhavat. Sâyana.

<sup>3</sup> Or, did not divide sevenfold, na saptadhâ vyabhavat,—saptadhâ-vibhâgam na kṛitavân. Sâyana.

11. He made himself ten bodies of seventy-two bricks each : he did not succeed. He did not develop elevenfold.

12. He made himself twelve bodies of sixty bricks each : he did not succeed. He did not develop either thirteenfold or fourteenfold.

13. He made himself fifteen bodies of forty-eight bricks each : he did not succeed.

14. He made himself sixteen bodies of forty-five bricks each : he did not succeed. He did not develop seventeenfold.

15. He made himself eighteen bodies of forty bricks each : he did not succeed. He did not develop nineteenfold.

16. He made himself twenty bodies of thirty-six bricks each : he did not succeed. He did not develop either twenty-one-fold, or twenty-two-fold, or twenty-three-fold.

17. He made himself twenty-four bodies of thirty bricks each. There he stopped, at the fifteenth ; and because he stopped at the fifteenth arrangement <sup>1</sup> there are fifteen forms of the waxing, and fifteen of the waning (moon).

18. And because he made himself twenty-four bodies, therefore the year consists of twenty-four half-months. With these twenty-four bodies of thirty bricks each he had not developed (sufficiently). He saw the fifteen parts of the day, the muhūrtas <sup>2</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Literally, shifting (about of the bricks of the altar), development.

<sup>2</sup> The day and night consists of thirty muhūrtas, a muhūrta being thus equal to about forty-eight minutes or four-fifths of an hour.

as forms for his body, as space-fillers (*Lokamprînâs*<sup>1</sup>), as well as fifteen of the night; and inasmuch as they straightway (*muḥu*) save (*traī*), they are (called) 'muḥûrtâḥ'; and inasmuch as, whilst being small, they fill (*pûr*) these worlds (or spaces, 'loka') they are (called) '*lokamprînâḥ*.'

19. That one (the sun) bakes everything here, by means of the days and nights, the half-moons, the months, the seasons, and the year; and this (*Agni*, the fire) bakes what is baked by that one: 'A baker of the baked (he is),' said *Bhâradvâga* of *Agni*; 'for he bakes what has been baked by that (sun).'

20. In the year these (*muḥûrtas*) amounted to ten thousand and eight hundred: he stopped at the ten thousand and eight hundred.

21. He then looked round over all existing things, and beheld all existing things in the threefold lore (the *Veda*), for therein is the body of all metres, of all stomas, of all vital airs, and of all the gods: this, indeed, exists, for it is immortal, and what is immortal exists; and this (contains also) that which is mortal.

22. *Pragâpati* bethought himself, 'Truly, all existing things are in the threefold lore: well, then, I will construct for myself a body so as to contain the whole threefold lore.'

23. He arranged the *Rîk*-verses into twelve thousand of *Bṛîhatîs*<sup>2</sup>, for of that extent are the

<sup>1</sup> The *Lokamprînâ* bricks contained in the whole fire-altar amount to as many as there are *muḥûrtas* in the year, viz. 10,800; see X, 4, 3, 20.

<sup>2</sup> The *Bṛîhatî* verse, consisting of 36 syllables, this calculation makes the hymns of the *Rîg-veda* to consist of  $36 \times 12,000 = 432,000$  syllables.



verses created by Pragâpati. At the thirtieth arrangement they came to an end in the Pañktis; and because it was at the thirtieth arrangement that they came to an end, there are thirty nights in the month; and because it was in the Pañktis, therefore Pragâpati is 'pañkta' (fivefold) <sup>1</sup>. There are one hundred-and-eight hundred <sup>2</sup> Pañktis.

24. He then arranged the two other Vedas into twelve thousand *Bṛīhatis*,—eight (thousand) of the *Yagus* (formulas), and four of the *Sāman* (hymns)—for of that extent is what was created by Pragâpati in these two Vedas. At the thirtieth arrangement these two came to an end in the Pañktis; and because it was at the thirtieth arrangement that they came to an end, there are thirty nights in the month; and because it was in the Pañktis, therefore Pragâpati is 'pañkta.' There were one hundred-and-eight hundred <sup>2</sup> Pañktis.

25. All the three Vedas amounted to ten thousand eight hundred eighties (of syllables) <sup>3</sup>; *muhūrta* by *muhūrta* he gained a fourscore (of syllables), and *muhūrta* by *muhūrta* a fourscore was completed <sup>4</sup>.

26. Into these three worlds, (in the form of) the

<sup>1</sup> The Pañkti consists of five pādas (feet) of eight syllables each.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, 10,800 Pañktis, which, as the Pañkti verse has 40 syllables, again amount to 432,000 syllables.

<sup>3</sup> The three Vedas, according to the calculations in paragraphs 23 and 24, contain  $2 \times 432,000 = 864,000$  syllables, which is equal to  $80 \times 10,800$ . On the predilection to calculate by fourscores, see p. 112, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> That is, within the year, for the year has  $360 \times 30 = 10,800$  *muhūrtas*, which is just the amount of eighties of which the three Vedas were said to consist. I do not see how any division of the 'muhūrta' itself into eighty parts (as supposed by Professor Weber, *Ind. Streifen*, I, p. 92, note 1) can be implied here.

fire-pan<sup>1</sup>, he (Pragâpati) poured, as seed into the womb, his own self made up of the metres, stomas, vital airs, and deities. In the course of a half-moon the first body was made up, in a further (half-moon) the next (body), in a further one the next,—in a year he is made up whole and complete.

27. Whenever he laid down an enclosing-stone<sup>2</sup>, he laid down a night, and along with that fifteen muhûrtas, and along with the muhûrtas fifteen eighties (of syllables of the sacred texts)<sup>3</sup>. And whenever he laid down a brick with a formula (yagushmatî), he laid down a day<sup>4</sup>, and along with that fifteen muhûrtas, and along with the muhûrtas fifteen eighties (of syllables). In this manner he put this threefold lore into his own self, and made it his own; and in this very (performance) he became the body of all existing things, (a body) composed of the metres, stomas, vital airs, and deities; and having become composed of all that, he ascended upwards; and he who thus ascended is that moon yonder.

28. He who shines yonder (the sun) is his founda-

<sup>1</sup> On the construction of the Ukhâ, as representing the universe, see VI, 5, 2 seq.

<sup>2</sup> The number of 'parisrits' by which the great altar is enclosed is only 261; but to these are usually added those of the other brick-built hearths, viz. the Gârhapatya (21) and the eight Dhishnyas (78),—the whole amounting to 360 enclosing-stones, or one for each day (or night) in the year.

<sup>3</sup> According to paragraph 25, a fourscore of syllables was completed in each muhûrta; and day and night consist of fifteen muhûrtas each.

<sup>4</sup> See IX, 4, 3, 6, where the number of Yagushmatî bricks is said to be equal to that of the parisrits, or enclosing-stones—with, however, 35 (36) added for the intercalary month, hence altogether 395 (396); cf. X, 4, 3, 14-19.

tion, (for) over him he was built up <sup>1</sup>, on him he was built up : from out of his own self he thus fashioned him, from out of his own self he generated him.

29. Now when he (the Sacrificer), being about to build an altar, undergoes the initiation-rite,—even as Pragâpati poured his own self, as seed, into the fire-pan as the womb,—so does he pour into the fire-pan, as seed into the womb, his own self composed of the metres, stomas, vital airs, and deities. In the course of a half-moon, his first body is made up, in a further (half-moon) the next (body), in a further one the next,—in a year he is made up whole and complete.

30. And whenever he lays down an enclosing-stone, he lays down a night, and along with that fifteen muhûrtas, and along with the muhûrtas fifteen eighties (of syllables). And whenever he lays down a Yagushmatî (brick), he lays down a day, and along with that fifteen muhûrtas, and along with the muhûrtas fifteen eighties (of syllables of the sacred texts). In this manner he puts this threefold lore into his own self, and makes it his own ; and in this very (performance) he becomes the body of all existing things, (a body) composed of the metres, stomas, vital airs, and deities ; and having become composed of all that, he ascends upwards.

31. And he who shines yonder is his foundation, for over him he is built up, on him he is built up : from out of his own self he thus fashions him, from out of his own self he generates him. And when

---

<sup>1</sup> Viz. inasmuch as the round gold plate, representing the sun, was laid down in the centre of the altar-site, before the first layer was built. Sâyana.

he who knows this departs from this world, then he passes into that body composed of the metres, stomas, vital airs, and deities ; and verily having become composed of all that, he who, knowing this, performs this sacrificial work, or he who even knows it, ascends upwards.

### THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. The Year, doubtless, is the same as Death, for he<sup>1</sup> it is who, by means of day and night, destroys the life of mortal beings, and then they die : therefore the Year is the same as Death ; and whosoever knows this Year (to be) Death, his life that (year) does not destroy, by day and night, before old age, and he attains his full (extent of) life.

2. And he, indeed, is the Ender, for it is he who, by day and night, reaches the end of the life of mortals, and then they die : therefore he is the Ender, and whosoever knows this Year, Death, the Ender, the end of his life that (Year) does not reach, by day and night, before old age, and he attains his full (extent of) life.

3. The gods were afraid of this Pragâpati, the Year, Death, the Ender, lest he, by day and night, should reach the end of their life.

4. They performed these sacrificial rites—the Agnihotra, the New and Full-moon sacrifices, the Seasonal offerings, the animal sacrifice, and the Soma-sacrifice : by offering these sacrifices they did not attain immortality.

5. They also built a fire-altar,—they laid down

---

<sup>1</sup> Father Time, Pragâpati.

unlimited enclosing-stones, unlimited Yagushmati (bricks), unlimited Lokamprīṇā (bricks), even as some lay them down to this day, saying, 'The gods did so.' They did not attain immortality.

6. They went on praising and toiling, striving to win immortality. Praṇapati then spake unto them, 'Ye do not lay down (put on me) all my forms; but ye either make (me) too large or leave (me) defective: therefore ye do not become immortal.'

7. They spake, 'Tell thou us thyself, then, in what manner we may lay down all thy forms!'

8. He spake, 'Lay ye down three hundred and sixty enclosing-stones, three hundred and sixty Yagushmati (bricks), and thirty-six thereunto; and of Lokamprīṇā (bricks) lay ye down ten thousand and eight hundred; and ye will be laying down all my forms, and will become immortal.' And the gods laid down accordingly, and thereafter became immortal.

9. Death spake unto the gods, 'Surely, on this wise all men will become immortal, and what share will then be mine?' They spake, 'Henceforward no one shall be immortal with the body: only when thou shalt have taken that (body) as thy share, he who is to become immortal either through knowledge, or through holy work, shall become immortal after separating from the body.' Now when they said, 'either through knowledge or through holy work,' it is this fire-altar that is the knowledge, and this fire-altar that is the holy work.

10. And they who so know this, or they who do this holy work, come to life again when they have died, and, coming to life, they come to immortal life. But they who do not know this, or do not do this

holy work, come to life again when they die, and they become the food of him (Death) time after time.

11. But when he builds the fire-altar, he thereby gains Agni, Pragâpati, the Year, Death, the Ender, whom the gods gained; it is him he lays down, even as the gods thus laid him down.

12. By the enclosing-stones he gains his nights; by the Yagushmatî (bricks) his days, half-moons, months, and seasons; and by the Lokamprînâs the muhûrtas (hours).

13. Thus the enclosing-stones, supplying the place of nights, are made the (means of) gaining the nights, they are the counterpart of the nights: there are three hundred and sixty of them, for there are three hundred and sixty nights in the year. Of these, he lays twenty-one round the Gârhapatya, seventy-eight round the Dhishnya hearths, and two hundred and sixty-one round the Âhavantya.

14. Then the Yagushmatî (bricks with special formulas):—the grass-bunch, the (four) clod-bricks, the lotus-leaf, the gold plate and man, the two spoons, the naturally-perforated (brick), the dûrvâ-brick, the (one) dviyagus, two retahsik, a visvagyotis, two seasonal ones, an ashâdhâ, the tortoise, the mortar and pestle, the fire-pan, the five victims' heads, fifteen apasyâs, five khandasyâs, fifty prâ nabhrîts—these ninety-eight are (in) the first layer.

15. Then the second (layer):—five asvintîs, two seasonal ones, five vaisvadevîs, five prâ nabhrîts, five apasyâs, nineteen vayasyâs—these forty-one are (in) the second layer.

16. Then the third (layer):—the naturally-perforated one, five regional ones, a visvagyotis, four seasonal ones, ten prâ nabhrîts, thirty-six khandasyâs,

fourteen vāḷakhilyas—these seventy-one are (in) the third layer.

17. Then the fourth (layer):—first eighteen, then twelve, then seventeen—these forty-seven are (in) the fourth layer.

18. Then the fifth (layer):—five *asapatnās*, forty *virāgs*, twenty-nine *stomabhāgās*, five *nākasads*, five *pañcakūḍās*, thirty-one *khandasyās*, eight (of) the *Gārhapatya* hearth, eight (of) the *Punaskṛiti*, two seasonal ones, a *visvagyotis*, a *vikarṇi*, a naturally-perforated one, the variegated stone, the fire which is placed on the altar—these one hundred and thirty-eight are (in) the fifth layer.

19. All these make three hundred and ninety-five. Of these, three hundred and sixty, supplying the place of days, are made the (means of) gaining the days, they are the counterpart of the days: There are three hundred and sixty of them, for there are three hundred and sixty days in the year. And for the thirty-six (additional days) which there are<sup>1</sup> the filling of earth (counts as) the thirty-sixth; and twenty-four thereof, supplying the place of half-moons, are made the (means of) gaining the half-moons, they are the counterpart of the half-moons. And the (remaining) twelve, supplying the place of months, are made the (means of) gaining the months, they are the counterpart of the months. And, lest the seasons should be wanting, these (twelve bricks), by two and two (taken) together, supply the place of seasons.

<sup>1</sup> Namely, in an intercalary month. The layers of loose soil have to be counted in for the reason that only 35 *yagushmatīs* remain after taking away the 360.

20. And as to the Lokamprînâ (space-filling bricks), supplying the place of muhûrtas (hours), they are made the (means) of gaining the muhûrtas, they are the counterpart of the muhûrtas: there are ten thousand and eight hundred of them, for so many muhûrtas there are in the year. Of these, he lays down twenty-one in the Gârhapatya (altar), seventy-eight in the Dhishnya-hearths, and the others in the Âhavanîya. So many, indeed, are the (different) forms of the year: it is these that are here secured for him (Pragâpati, the Year), and are put on him.

21. Now, some wish to get this total amount<sup>1</sup> in the Âhavanîya itself, arguing, 'Those are different brick-built fire-altars: why should we here (in the Âhavanîya altar) take into account those laid down there (in the Gârhapatya and Dhishnyas)?' But let him not do so. There are, indeed, ten of these fire-altars he builds—eight Dhishnyas, the Âhavanîya and the Gârhapatya—whence they say, 'Agni is Virâg (wide shining or ruling),' for the Virâg (metre) consists of ten syllables: but, surely, all these (altars and hearths) are looked upon as only one, as Agni; for it is merely forms of him that they all are,—even as the days and nights, the half-moons, the months, and the seasons (are forms) of the year, so are they all forms of him (Agni).

22. And, assuredly, they who do this put those forms of his<sup>2</sup> outside of him, and produce confusion between the better and the worse; they make the peasantry equal and refractory to the nobility. Surely, on the Âgnîdhrîya he places the variegated

<sup>1</sup> Viz. of 10,800 Lokamprînâs.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. the Gârhapatya and Dhishnya hearths.



stone<sup>1</sup>, and that he takes into account: why, then, taking that into account, should he not take others into account? That (altar) by which they ward off Nirṛiti<sup>2</sup>, evil, is the eleventh.

23. As to this they say, 'Why, then, do they not take into account here those (of Nirṛiti's altar)?' Because he makes no offering on them, for it is by offering that a brick becomes whole and complete.

24. As to this they say, 'How are these (bricks) of his laid down so as not to be excessive?' Well, these (bricks) are his (Agni's) vital power, and man's vital power is not excessive. Thus whosoever, knowing this, performs this holy work, or he who but knows this, makes up this Pragâpati whole and complete.

#### FOURTH BRĀHMANA.

1. When Pragâpati was creating living beings, Death, that evil, overpowered him. He practised austerities for a thousand years, striving to leave evil behind him.

2. Whilst he was practising austerities, lights went upwards from those hair-pits<sup>3</sup> of his; and those lights are those stars: as many stars as there are, so many hair-pits there are; and as many hair-pits as there are, so many muhūrtas there are in a (sacificial performance) of a thousand years.

3. In the one-thousandth year, he cleansed himself all through; and he that cleansed all through is this wind which here cleanses by blowing; and that evil which he cleansed all through is this body.

<sup>1</sup> See IX, 2, 3, 14-17; 4, 3, 6.

<sup>2</sup> See VII, 2, 1, 1 seq.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the pores from which the hairs spring.

But what is man that he could secure for himself a (life) of a thousand years<sup>1</sup>? By knowledge, assuredly, he who knows secures for himself (the benefits of a performance) of a thousand years.

4. Let him look upon all these bricks as a thousandfold: let him look upon each enclosing-stone as charged with a thousand nights, each day-holder<sup>2</sup> with a thousand days, each half-moon-holder with a thousand half-moons, each month-holder with a thousand months, each season-holder with a thousand seasons, each muhūrta-holder<sup>3</sup> with a thousand muhūrtas, and the year with a thousand years. They who thus know this Agni as being endowed with a thousand, know his one-thousandth digit; but they who do not thus know him, do not even know a one-thousandth digit of him. And he alone who so knows this, or who performs this sacred work, obtains this whole and complete Pragâpatean Agni whom Pragâpati obtained. Wherefore let him who knows this by all means practise austerities<sup>4</sup>; for, indeed, when he who knows this practises austerities, even to (abstention from) sexual intercourse, every (part) of him will share in the world of heaven<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Tasmai sahasrasamvatsaragñanâya ko vâ manushyaḥ saknuyât; manushyâvadhiḥ satam ato gñivato manushyena sahasrasamvatsarâḥ prâptum asakyât. Sây.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the majority of Yagushmatî bricks, viz. 360 of them, whilst the remaining ones are supposed to stand in lieu of half-moons, months, and seasons; see X, 4, 3, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Viz. the Lokamprînâ bricks; see X, 4, 3, 20.

<sup>4</sup> Or, religious fervour (meditation).

<sup>5</sup> Or, as Sâyana seems to interpret it, 'that austerity will gain for him all his (Agni's thousandfold perfection) and the heavenly world (?),'—etat tapaḥ agnes tadavayavânâm ka sahasrâtmakatva-rûpam karoti tasmâk ka svargalokaprâptir bhavatyty arthaḥ.

5. It is regarding this that it is said in the *R̥k* (I, 179, 3), 'Not in vain is the labour which the gods favour;' for, in truth, for him who knows there is no labouring in vain, and so, indeed, the gods favour this every (action) of his<sup>1</sup>.

### FIFTH BRĀHMANA.

1. Now the doctrines of mystic imports<sup>2</sup>. The Sākāyanins hold that 'Agni is Vāyu (the wind);' but some say that 'Agni is Āditya (the sun).' And either Sraumatya, or Hāliṅgava, said, 'Agni is no other than Vāyu: wherefore the Adhvaryu, when he performs the last work<sup>3</sup>, passes into that (wind).'

2. And Sātyāyani said, 'Agni is no other than the Year; his head is the spring, his right wing the summer, his left wing the rainy season, his middle body (trunk) the autumn season, and his tail and feet the winter and dewy seasons—Agni is speech, Vāyu breath, the sun the eye, the moon the mind, the quarters the ear, the generative power water<sup>4</sup>, the feet (and tail) fervour, the joints the months, the veins the half-moons, the silver and gold feathers

<sup>1</sup> *Evam vidvān yat kurute tat sarvaṃ yad yasmād devā avanti. Sāy.*

<sup>2</sup> *Athānantaram upanishadām rahasyārthānām ādeśā upadeśā vakshyante. Sāy.*—Prof. Oldenberg (*Zeitsch. of G. Or. S.*, 50, p. 457 seq.) takes 'upanishad' in the sense of 'worship.'

<sup>3</sup> That is, the concluding rites of the sacrifice,—*tasmād adhvaryuḥ yadā uttamam yagñasamāptilakṣaṇam karma karoti, tadaitam eva vāyum apyeti, tathā hi, samishṭayagurhome devā gātuvido gātum vītvā gātum ita manasaspata iti mantre-vāñi, svāhā vāte dhāñi svāhā, iti vāyau dhāraṇam uktam. Sāy.* See IV, 4, 4, 13, where the sacrifice (though not the Adhvaryu priest) is consigned to the wind by means of the Samishṭayagus formulas.

<sup>4</sup> Note the change in the relative position of subject and predicate from here.

the days and nights: thus he passes over to the gods.' Let him know, then, that Agni is the Year; and let him know that it is thereof<sup>1</sup> he consists.

3. And *Kelaka Sâṇḍilyâyana* said, 'Let him know that the three layers containing the naturally-perforated (bricks)<sup>2</sup> are these worlds, that the fourth (layer) is the Sacrificer, and the fifth all objects of desire; and that it is these worlds, and his own self and all his objects of desire he compasses.'

#### FIFTH ADHYÂYA. FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. The mystic import of this Fire-altar, doubtless, is Speech; for it is with speech that it is built: with the *Ārik*, the *Yagus* and the *Sâman* as the divine (speech); and when he (the *Adhvaryu*) speaks with human speech, 'Do ye this! do ye that!' then also it (the altar) is built therewith.

2. Now, this speech is threefold—the *Ārik*-verses, the *Yagus*-formulas, and the *Sâman*-tunes;—thereby the Fire-altar is threefold, inasmuch as it is built with that triad. Even thus, then, it is threefold; but in this respect also it is threefold, inasmuch as three kinds of bricks are put into it—those with masculine names, those with feminine names, and those with neuter names; and these limbs of men also are of three kinds—those with masculine names, those with feminine names, and those with neuter names.

<sup>1</sup> That is, of the objects enumerated before.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the first, third, and fifth layers. By the fourth and fifth layers mentioned immediately after, we have not of course to understand the real fourth and fifth layers, but the two making up the five layers (viz. the second and fourth).

3. This body (of the altar), indeed, is threefold; and with this threefold body he obtains the threefold divine *Amṛita* (nectar, immortality). Now all these (bricks) are called 'ishṭakā (f.),' not 'ishṭakaḥ (m.),' nor 'ishṭakam (n.):' thus (they are called) after the form of speech (*vāk*, f.), for everything here is speech—whether feminine (female), masculine (male), or neuter—for by speech everything here is obtained. Therefore he 'settles' all (the bricks)<sup>1</sup> with, 'Āṅgiras-like lie thou steady (*dhruvā*, f.)!' not with, 'Āṅgiras-like lie thou steady (*dhruvaḥ*, m.)!' or with, 'Āṅgiras-like lie thou steady (*dhruvam*, n.)!' for it is that Speech he is constructing.

4. Now, this speech is yonder sun, and this (*Agni*, the Fire-altar) is Death: hence whatsoever is on this side of the sun all that is held by Death; and he who builds it (the Fire-altar) on this side thereof, builds it as one held by Death, and he surrenders his own self unto Death; but he who builds it thereabove, conquers recurring Death, for by his knowledge that (altar) of his is built thereabove.

5. This speech, indeed, is threefold—the *Rik*-verses, the *Yagus*-formulas, and the *Sāman*-tunes: the *Rik*-verses are the orb, the *Sāman*-tunes the light, and the *Yagus*-formulas the man (in the sun); and that immortal element, the shining light, is this lotus-leaf<sup>2</sup>: thus, when he builds up the Fire-altar

<sup>1</sup> See VI, 1, 2, 28; VII, 1, 1, 30.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. the lotus-leaf deposited in the centre of the altar-site, before the first layer is laid down, see VII, 4, 1, 7 seqq., where, however, it is represented as symbolising the womb whence *Agni* (the fire-altar) is to be born.

after laying down the lotus-leaf, it is on that immortal element that he builds for himself a body consisting of the *Rîk*, the *Yagus*, and the *Sâman*; and he becomes immortal.

## SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. Now, that shining orb is the Great Litany, the *Rîk*-verses: this is the world of the *Rîk*. And that glowing light is (the hymn of) the Great Rite, the *Sâman*-tunes: this is the world of the *Sâman*. And the man in yonder orb is the Fire-altar, the *Yagus*-formulas: this is the world of the *Yagus*.

2. It is this threefold lore that shines, and even they who do not know this say, 'This threefold lore does indeed shine;' for it is Speech that, seeing it, speaks thus.

3. And that man in yonder (sun's) orb is no other than Death; and that glowing light is that immortal element: therefore Death does not die, for he is within the immortal; and therefore he is not seen, for he is within the immortal<sup>1</sup>.

4. There is this verse:—'Within Death is immortality,'—for below death is immortality;—'founded on Death is immortality,'—for established on that man (in the sun) the immortal shines<sup>2</sup>;—'Death putteth on the radiant,'—the

<sup>1</sup> *Mrityurûpaḥ puruṣho-mṛitarûpe-rîkīṣhy antar vartate, . . . mṛityoḥ puruṣhasya amṛitam amṛitarûpârktir adhikaranam mandalam âhitam pratishṭhitam. Sâyana.*

<sup>2</sup> 'Antaram mṛityor amṛitam ity avaram hy etan mṛityor amṛitam' ity âdinâ, avaram adhastâdbhâvam amṛitam puruṣaḥ

radiant one (*vivasvant*), doubtless, is yonder sun, for he irradiates (*vi-vas*) day and night; and it is him that (Death) puts on, for on every side he is surrounded by him;—‘Death’s self is in the radiant,’—for the self (body) of that man indeed is in that orb: such, then, is that verse.

5. Now, that orb is the foundation (foothold) of both that light and that man; whence one must not recite the Great Litany for another<sup>1</sup>, lest he should cut away that foothold from beneath his own self; for he who recites the Mahad Uktam for another, indeed cuts away that foothold from beneath his own self: wherefore the (professional) singer of praises (*sastra*) is greatly despised, for he is cut off from his foothold. Thus in regard to the deity.

6. Now as to the sacrifice. That shining orb is the same as this gold plate (under the altar)<sup>2</sup>, and that glowing light is the same as this lotus-leaf (under the altar); for there are those (divine)

---

*parastād ity arthasiddhaḥ; anena amṛitamadhyavartitvam uktam ity arthaḥ; dvitīyapādagaṭāmṛitapadenârṅgīr adhikaranam mandalam ukṣyate, tat puruṣe pratishṭhitam tapati, tena hi tasya mandalasya gaṭapṛakāśakatvam asti. Sây. But for this interpretation, one might have rendered the first pāda by, ‘Close unto death is immortality,’ for after death comes immortality.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Aitareyâr. V, 3, 3, 1*, ‘No one but a *ḍṛkshita* (initiated) should recite the Mahāvṛata (*sastra*); and he should not recite it at a (Mahāvṛata) unless it be combined with (the building of) a fire-altar; neither should he do so for another person, nor at a (sacrificial session lasting) less than a year,’ so say some; but he may recite it for his father or for his teacher, for in that case it is recited on his own behalf.

<sup>2</sup> In these symbolical identifications, one might also take the relative clause to be the predicate, not the subject, of the sentence; the former usually preceding the latter.

waters<sup>1</sup>, and the lotus-leaf is water<sup>2</sup>; and that man in yonder orb is no other than this gold man (in the altar): thus, by laying down these (in the fire-altar), it is that (divine) triad he constructs. And after the consummation of the sacrifice it rises upwards and enters that shining (sun): one need not therefore mind destroying Agni, for he is then in yonder (world)<sup>3</sup>. Thus, then, in regard to the sacrifice.

7. Now as to the self (body). That shining orb and that gold plate are the same as the white here in the eye; and that glowing light and that lotus-leaf are the same as the black here in the eye; and that man in yonder orb and that gold man are the same as this man in the right eye.

<sup>1</sup> Though the sun itself does not consist of water, he at any rate floats along a sea of water; cf. VII, 5, 1, 8, 'For that indeed is the deepest of waters where yonder sun shines;' and there are waters above and below the sun, VII, 1, 1, 24; and the sun is encircled by 360 navigable streams, and as many flow towards it, X, 5, 4, 14.—Sâyana, on the other hand, takes it to mean, 'for that (light) is water,' inasmuch as the sun's rays produce the rain,—*arkisho hy âpaḥ sūryakirāṇām eva vṛishṭikarṭṛikatvât kâryakâranayor abhedena arkir vâ âpa ity uktam*. Possibly this may be the right interpretation.

<sup>2</sup> See VII, 4, 1, 8, where the lotus-plant is said to represent the (cosmic) waters, whilst the earth is a lotus-leaf floating on the waters.

<sup>3</sup> According to Sâyana, he is so in the shape of both the sun and the Sacrificer's body or self,—*yato-sminn agnim kitavān para-trādītyo bhavati, ato-gnim parihantum nādrīyeta, kiṁ agnim ishākāvīreshena nāsayitam ādaram na kuryât, kutaḥ, esho-gnir amutra bhavati, paraloke yagamānasarīrātmanotpadyate; yad vâ parihantum prāptum sprashum ity arthaḥ, kityāgnisparsane dosha-sravanāt*. Sâyana, thus, is doubtful as to how 'Agnim parihantum' is to be taken, whether it means 'to injure the altar (? or extinguish the fire) by some brick,' or to 'knock against (touch) the altar.' The St. Petersburg Dict. takes it in the sense of 'to extinguish the fire,'



8. The Lokamprīṇā (space-filling brick) is the same as that (gold man in the sun)<sup>1</sup>: it is that (brick) which this entire Agni finally results in<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, this man (or person) in the left eye is the mate of that one (in the right eye and in the sun); and a mate is one half of one's own self<sup>3</sup>, for when one is with a mate he is whole and complete: thus it (the second man) is for the sake of completeness. And as to there being two of these (persons in the eyes), a pair means a productive couple: hence two Lokamprīṇās are laid down each time<sup>4</sup>, and hence they set up the layer by two (kinds of bricks).

9. Now, that person in the right eye is the same as Indra, and (that other person is) the same as Indrānti: it is for the sake of these two that the gods made that partition (between the eyes), the nose; whence he (the husband) should not eat food in the presence of his wife<sup>5</sup>; for from him (who

---

but it might also, perhaps, mean 'to destroy the fire-altar' by taking it to pieces.

<sup>1</sup> On the identification of the sun with the Lokamprīṇā on the ground that the former fills these worlds (lokān pūrayati), see VIII, 7, 2, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Or, finally comes to; viz. inasmuch as it is by the placing of the Lokamprīṇā bricks that the altar is completed (Sây.); and inasmuch as Agni passes into the sun.

<sup>3</sup> Purusho mithunam yoshid ity etasmin mithunam hy âtmano ardham ardhabhāgah, ardho vâ esha âtmano yat patnīti taittirīya-sruteh. Sây.

<sup>4</sup> When the layers are filled up with 'space-fillers,' two Lokamprīṇās are first laid down in one of the four corners, and from them the available spaces are then filled up, in two turns, in the sunwise direction; cf. p. 22, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. I, 9, 2, 12, 'whenever women here eat, they do so apart from men;' where the use of the 'gighatsanti' (swallow their

does not do so) a vigorous son is born, and she in whose presence (the husband) does not eat food bears a vigorous (son) :—

10. Such, indeed, is the divine ordinance;—amongst men princes keep most aloof<sup>1</sup>, and for that reason a vigorous (son) is born to them; and of birds the *Amṛitavākā* (does so, and she) produces the *Kshiprasena*<sup>2</sup>.

11. Those two (persons in the eyes) descend to the cavity of the heart<sup>3</sup>, and enter into union with each other; and when they reach the end of their union, then the man sleeps,—even as here on reaching the end of a human union he becomes, as it were, insensible<sup>4</sup>, so does he then become, as it were,

food)—as against *asniyât* in our passage—is not meant disrespectfully, but as the regular desiderative of 'ad' (*Pân.* II, 4, 37), for which no doubt '*asishanti*' (*Sat. Br.* III, 1, 2, 1) might have been used.

<sup>1</sup> Or, 'act most in secrecy.' *Sâyana* explains it: *manushyânâm madhye râganyabandhavo • nutamâm gopâyanti atyartham rahasyatvena kurvanti tasmât teshu vîryavân putro gâyate*. The St. Petersburg. Dict., on the other hand, takes it in the sense of 'they protect most of all;' though it is difficult to see how the 'protection' afforded by princes or rulers could have any bearing on men taking their food apart from their wives. If the above interpretation is right we may compare '*anu-gup*' in the sense of 'to conceal.' See, however, the next note, where *Sâyana* takes '*gopâyati*' in the sense of 'observes (that law),' which might also have suited here. Princes, having their seraglio, would naturally have less occasion for coming into contact with their wives at mealtime than men of lower stations of life. On the superlative of the preposition, see p. 287, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> ? The swift eagle,—*vayasâm pakshinâm madhye amṛitavākâ nâma pakshigâtir etad vratam gopâyati, atah sâ kshipram sîghra-gâminam syenam nâma pakshinam ganayati*. *Sây.*

<sup>3</sup> *Hridayasyâkâsam daharam prâpya*. *Sây.*

<sup>4</sup> That is, 'unconscious,' with something of 'indifferent, apathetic,' implied :—*Loke mânushasya maithunasyântam gatvâ • sam-*

insensible; for this is a divine union<sup>1</sup>, and that is the highest bliss.

12. Therefore let him, who knows this, sleep, for it makes for heaven<sup>2</sup>: he thereby, indeed, makes those two deities enjoy their dear wish, union. And one should not therefore forcibly<sup>3</sup> awaken him who sleeps, lest he should hurt those two deities whilst enjoying their union; and hence the mouth of him who has been asleep is, as it were, clammy, for those two deities are then shedding seed, and from that seed everything here originates, whatsoever exists.

13. Now, that man in yonder orb (of the sun), and that man in the right eye truly are no other than Death;—his feet have stuck fast in the heart, and having pulled them out he comes forth; and when he comes forth then that man dies: whence they say of him who has passed away, 'he has been cut off'<sup>4</sup>.

14. And, indeed, he is the breath (*prâna*), for it is he (the man in the eye) that leads forward (*pranayati*) all these creatures. These vital airs (*prâna*) are his own (*sva*); and when he sleeps (*svapiti*) then

---

*vidâ agânâneva nrâ strî bhavati* (marg. corr. *agânânâv eva strîpuruṣhau bhavataḥ*) *evam tadâ taylor mithunabhâve* (? *mithunâbhâve*) *purusho samvida iva bhavati. Sây.*

<sup>1</sup> Viz. because it is the union of Indra and *Indrânî*.

<sup>2</sup> Or, perhaps, it is the usual practice (*lokyam*), as the St. Petersburg Dict. takes it.

<sup>3</sup> *Dhureva pîḍayaiva na bodhayet, na prabuddham kuryât, dhûrvater himsârthat kvîpi âblope rūpam. Sây.*

<sup>4</sup> ? His (life) has been cut off; or, his (life-string) has been severed. *Sâyana* (unless there is an omission in the MS.) does not explain '*kâkḥedy asya*,' but seems to take 'pretam' (passed away) as the word on which the stress lies:—*tasmâd imam pretam ity âhuḥ, prapûrvâd eteḥ kṭapratyaye rūpam; katham, akshipurushanirgame purushasya maraṇam.*

these vital airs take possession of him<sup>1</sup> as his own (svâ api-yanti): hence (the term) 'svâpyaya (being taken possession of by one's own people),' 'svâpyaya' doubtless being what they mystically call 'svapna (sleep),' for the gods love the mystic.

15. And when he is asleep, he does not, by means of them, know of anything whatever, nor does he form any resolution with his mind, or distinguish the taste of food with (the channel of) his speech, or distinguish any smell with (the channel of) his breath; neither does he see with his eye, nor hear with his ear, for those (vital airs) have taken possession of him. Whilst being one only, he (the man in the eye) is numerously distributed among living beings: whence the Lokamprîṇâ (representing the man in the sun), whilst being one only (in kind), extends over the whole altar; and because he (the man in the eye) is one only, therefore (the Lokamprîṇâ) is one.

16. As to this they say, 'One death, or many?' Let him say, 'Both one and many;' for inasmuch as he is that (man in the sun) in yonder world he is one, and inasmuch as he is numerously distributed here on earth among living beings, there are also many of them.

17. As to this they say, 'Is Death near or far away?' Let him say, 'Both near and far away;' for inasmuch as he is here on earth in the body he is near, and inasmuch as he is that one in yonder world he also is far away.

18. Regarding this there is the verse,—'Con-

---

<sup>1</sup> Or, they keep within him, they nestle in him,—apiyanti prâpnuvanti, âliyanta ity arthaḥ. Sây.

cealed in food he, the immortal, shineth at the flowing together of vital saps;—yonder shining orb is food, and the man in that orb is the eater: being concealed in that food, he shines. Thus much as to the deity.

19. Now as to the body. This body indeed is food, and that man in the right eye is the eater: being concealed in that food he shines.

20. That same (divine person), the Adhvaryus (Yagur-veda priests) serve under the name of 'Agni' (fire-altar) and 'Yagus,' because he holds together (yug) all this (universe)<sup>1</sup>; the *Khandogas* (Sâma-veda priests, chanters) under that of 'Sâman,' because in him all this (universe) is one and the same (samâna)<sup>2</sup>; the *Bahvrikas* (*Rig*-veda priests, Hotars) under that of 'Uktham,' because he originates (utthâp) everything here; those skilled in sorcery, under that of 'sorcery (yâtu),' because everything here is held in check (yata) by him; the serpents under that of 'poison;' the snake-charmers under that of 'snake;' the gods under that of 'ûrg (strengthening food);' men under that of 'wealth;' demons under that of 'mâyâ (magic power);' the deceased Fathers under that of 'svadhâ (invigorating draught);' those knowing the divine host under that of 'divine host;' the Gandharvas under that of 'form (rûpa<sup>3</sup>);' the Apsaras under that of 'fragrance (gandha),'—thus, in whatsoever form they serve him that indeed he becomes, and, having become that,

<sup>1</sup> Esha purusha idam sarvam gagad yunakti sarvatra svayam samgata iti. Sây.

<sup>2</sup> Etasmin paramâtmani kârane sarvam kâryagâtam samânam iti. Sây.

<sup>3</sup> The characteristic attributes of the Gandharvas and Apsaras are evidently exchanged in the text as it stands; cf. IX, 4, 1, 4.

he is helpful to them ; whence he who knows should serve him in all these (forms), for he becomes all that, and, having become all that, he is helpful to him.

21. Now this Agni (fire-altar) consists of three bricks,—the *Rik* being one, the *Yagus* another, and the *Sâman* another : whatever (brick) he lays down here with a *rik* (verse) that has the gold plate for its foundation<sup>1</sup> ; whatever (brick he lays down) with a *yagus* (formula) that has the (gold) man for its foundation ; and whatever (brick he lays down) with a *sâman* (hymn-tune) that has the lotus-leaf for its foundation. Thus he consists of three bricks.

22. And, indeed, these two, to wit, that gold plate and that lotus-leaf join that (gold) man, for both the *Rik* and the *Sâman* join the *Yagus* ; and so he also consists of a single brick.

23. Now, that man in yonder orb (of the sun), and this man in the right eye, are no other than Death<sup>2</sup> ; and he becomes the body (self) of him who knows this : whenever he who knows departs this world he passes into that body, and becomes immortal, for Death is his own self.

### THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. Verily, in the beginning this (universe) was, as it were<sup>3</sup>, neither non-existent nor existent ; in

<sup>1</sup> Viz. inasmuch as the (round) gold plate (representing the sun) is deposited in the centre of the altar-site, before the first layer is constructed. In the same way the other two objects.

<sup>2</sup> *Sâyana* seems to construe this somewhat differently : *sa esho agnir yagurâtmako dhidaivam mandalamadhyavartî adhyâtmam dakshinâkshivartî purusho mrîyurûpaḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sâyana* seems to take 'iva' here in the sense of 'eva,' as indeed it often has to be taken, especially in negative sentences.

the beginning this (universe), indeed, as it were, existed and did not exist : there was then only that Mind.

2. Wherefore it has been said by the *Rîshi* (*Rig-veda* X, 129, 1), 'There was then neither the non-existent nor the existent;' for Mind was, as it were, neither existent nor non-existent.

3. This Mind, when created, wished to become manifest,—more defined<sup>1</sup>, more substantial : it sought after a self (body)<sup>2</sup>. It practised austerity<sup>3</sup>: it acquired consistency<sup>4</sup>. It then beheld thirty-six thousand Arka-fires<sup>5</sup> of its own self, composed of mind, built up of mind : mentally<sup>6</sup> alone they were established (on sacrificial hearths) and mentally

<sup>1</sup> Niruktataram niruktam sabdanirvâkyam. Sây.

<sup>2</sup> Sâyana also allows the interpretation, 'after (its source, or cause,) the (supreme) self,'—*âtmanam svakâranam paramâtmânam svasvarûpam vâ nvaikkhat*. What seems, indeed, implied in these esoteric lucubrations, is that meditation on the infinite is equivalent to all ceremonial rites which are supposed to be incessantly performed for one so engaged, even during his sleep (paragraph 12).

<sup>3</sup> I. e. intense meditation (*paryâlokanam*), Sây. ? 'it became heated.'

<sup>4</sup> Sâyana apparently takes '*prâmûrkkhat*' in the sense of 'became great, or important,'—*samuikkhatam babhûva*.

<sup>5</sup> Sâyana here takes 'arka' in the sense of 'arṇanīya (worthy of veneration), as, indeed, he did several times before; though once he seems to call them 'agnyarkâḥ,' as being the highest, merely speculative or immaterial form of sacrificial fires or fire-altars (*dhyeyâ agnayaḥ*); cf. X, 3, 4, 3 seq.—The 36,000 fires are calculated so as to be equal to the number of days in the life of the perfect man living a hundred years (X, 2, 6, 9); there being thus for each day of his life a (spiritual) sacrificial fire, a mental exercise or discipline, as Sâyana expresses it,—*tatraikasmin dine (âgneyâ?) manovritiḥ*.

<sup>6</sup> The text has everywhere the instrumental 'manasâ,' which would imply either the agent, the instrument, or the material, as the case might be.

built up<sup>1</sup>; mentally the cups (of Soma) were drawn thereat; mentally they chanted, and mentally they recited on (near) them,—whatever rite is performed at the sacrifice, whatever sacrificial rite there is, that was performed mentally only, as a mental performance, on those (fires or fire-altars) composed of mind, and built up of mind. And whatever it is that (living) beings here conceive in their mind that was done regarding those (mental Agnis<sup>2</sup>):—they establish them (on the hearths) and build them up (as fire-altars); they draw the cups for them; they chant on (near) them and recite hymns on them,—of that extent was the development of Mind, of that extent its creation,—so great is Mind: thirty-six thousand Arka-fires; and each of these as great as that former (fire-altar) was.

4. That Mind created Speech. This Speech, when created, wished to become manifest,—more defined, more substantial: it sought after a self. It practised austerity: it acquired consistency. It beheld thirty-six thousand Arka-fires of its own self, composed of speech, built up of speech: with speech they were established, and with speech built up; with speech the cups were drawn thereat; with speech they chanted, and with speech they recited on them—whatever rite is performed at the sacrifice, whatever sacrificial rite there is, that was

<sup>1</sup> That is, the ceremonies of Agnyâdhâna (establishment of the sacrificial fire) and Agnikayana (building of the fire-altar) were performed by means of these fires. Sâyana remarks that these rites were performed by the same 'beings (bhûtâni),' which are mentioned immediately after, as would, indeed, appear to be the case from paragraph 12.

<sup>2</sup> Yat kim ka bhûtâni manasâ dhyâyanti vâkâ vadanti taiḥ samkalpavadanâdibhir eva teshâm agnînam karanam. Sây.



performed by speech alone, as a vocal performance, on those (fires) composed of speech, and built up of speech. And whatever beings here speak by speech that was done regarding those (fires): they establish them and build them up; they draw the cups for them; they chant on them and recite hymns on them,—of that extent was the development of Speech, of that extent its creation,—so great is Speech: thirty-six thousand Arka-fires; and each of these as great as that former (fire-altar) was.

5. That Speech created the Breath. This Breath, when created, wished to become manifest,—more defined, more substantial: it sought after a self. It practised austerity: it acquired consistency. It beheld thirty-six thousand Arka-fires of its own self, composed of breath, built up of breath: with breath they were established, and with breath built up; with breath the cups were drawn thereat; with breath they chanted and with breath they recited on them,—whatever rite is performed at the sacrifice, whatever sacrificial rite there is, that was performed by breath alone, as a breathing-performance, on those (fires) composed of breath, and built up of breath. And whatever beings here breathe with breath that was done regarding those (fires):—they establish them, and build them up; they draw the cups for them; they chant on them and recite hymns on them,—of that extent was the development of Breath, of that extent was its creation,—so great is Breath: thirty-six thousand Arka-fires; and each of these as great as that former (fire-altar) was.

6. That Breath created the Eye. This Eye, when created, wished to become manifest,—more

defined, more substantial: it sought after a self. It practised austerity: it acquired consistency. It beheld thirty-six thousand Arka-fires of its own self, composed of the eye, built up of the eye: by means of the eye they were established, and by means of the eye built up; by the eye the cups were drawn thereat; by means of the eye they chanted and recited hymns on them,—whatever rite is performed as the sacrifice, whatever sacrificial rite there is, that was performed by the eye alone, as an eye-performance, on those (fires) composed of eye, and built up of the eye. And whatever beings here see with the eye that was done regarding those (fires):—they establish them and build them up; they draw the cups for them; they chant on them and recite hymns on them,—of that extent was the development of the Eye, of that extent its creation,—so great is the Eye: thirty-six thousand Arka-fires; and each of these as great as that former (fire-altar) was.

7. That Eye created the Ear. This Ear, when created, wished to become manifest,—more defined, more substantial: it sought after a self. It practised austerity: it acquired consistency. It beheld thirty-six thousand Arka-fires of its own self, composed of the ear, built up of the ear: by means of the ear they were established, and by means of the ear built up; by the ear the cups were drawn thereat; by means of the ear they chanted and recited hymns on them,—whatever rite is performed at the sacrifice, whatever sacrificial rite there is, that was performed by the ear alone, as an ear-performance, on those (fires) composed of ear, and built up of the ear. And whatever beings here hear with the ear

that was done regarding those (fires):—they establish them and build them up; they draw the cups for them; they chant on them and recite hymns on them,—of that extent was the development of the Ear, of that extent its creation,—so great is the Ear: thirty-six thousand Arka-fires; and each of these as great as that former (fire-altar) was.

8. That Ear created Work, and this condensed itself into the vital airs, into this compound, this composition of food<sup>1</sup>; for incomplete is work without the vital airs, and incomplete are the vital airs without work.

9. This Work, when created, wished to become manifest,—more defined, more substantial: it sought after a self. It practised austerity: it acquired consistency. It beheld thirty-six thousand Arka-fires of its own self, composed of work, built up of (or by) work: by work they were established, and by work built up; by work the cups were drawn thereat; by work they chanted and recited hymns on them,—whatever rite is performed at the sacrifice, whatever sacrificial rite there is, that was performed by work alone, as a work-performance, on those (fires) composed of work, and built up of work. And whatever beings here work by work that was done regarding those (fires);—they establish them and build them up; they draw the cups for them; they chant on them and recite hymns on them,—of that extent was the development of Work, of that

<sup>1</sup> Sâyana explains 'samdegham annasamdeham' by 'annaprânâsrayam sarîram,'—svayam asamdeham asarîram sat karma prânânayor anyonyasâhakaryâd abhivṛddhim vyatirekam makhyenâha, akrîtsnam &c. Sâyana would thus take 'samdegha' as equivalent to the later 'deha' (body), and in no depreciatory sense.

extent its creation,—so great is Work : thirty-six thousand Arka-fires ; and each of these as great as that former (fire-altar) was.

10. That Work created the Fire,—Fire, doubtless, is more manifest than Work, for by work (sacrificial performance) they produce it, and by work they kindle it.

11. This Fire, when created, wished to become manifest,—more defined, more substantial : it sought after a self. It practised austerity<sup>1</sup> : it acquired consistency. It beheld thirty-six thousand Arka-fires of its own self, composed of fire, built up of fire : with fire they were established, and with fire built up ; with fire the cups were drawn thereat ; with fire they chanted and recited hymns on them ;—whatever rite is performed at the sacrifice, whatever sacrificial rite there is, that was performed with fire alone, as a fire-performance, on those (fires) composed of fire, and built up of fire. And whatever fire beings here kindle that was done regarding those (fires) :—they establish them and build them up ; they draw the cups for them ; they chant on them and recite hymns on them,—of that extent was the development of Fire, of that extent its creation,—so great is Fire : thirty-six thousand Arka-fires ; and each of these as great as that former (fire-altar) was.

12. These fires (altars), in truth, are knowledge-built ; and all beings at all times build them for him who knows this, even whilst he is asleep : by knowledge alone these fires (altars) are indeed built for him who knows this.

---

<sup>1</sup> Or, fervid devotion ; though perhaps the physical sense of 'it became heated' would suit better here.

## FOURTH BRĀHMAṆA.

1. Verily, this (brick-)built Fire-altar (Agni) is this (terrestrial) world:—the waters (of the encircling ocean) are its (circle of) enclosing-stones; the men its Yagushmatis (bricks with special formulas); the cattle its Sûdadohas<sup>1</sup>; the plants and trees its earth-fillings (between the layers of bricks), its oblations and fire-logs<sup>2</sup>; Agni (the terrestrial fire) its Lokamprînâ (space-filling brick);—thus this comes to make up the whole Agni, and the whole Agni comes to be the space-filler<sup>3</sup>; and, verily, whosoever knows this, thus comes to be that whole (Agni) who is the space-filler<sup>4</sup>.

2. But, indeed, that Fire-altar also is the air:—the junction of heaven and earth (the horizon) is its (circle of) enclosing-stones, for it is beyond the air that heaven and earth meet, and that (junction) is the (circle of) enclosing-stones; the birds are its Yagushmati bricks, the rain its Sûdadohas, the rays

<sup>1</sup> That is, either the food obtained by the milking of the drink of immortality (*amṛtadohāṇnam*), or the verse *Rig-veda* VIII, 69, 3 (*tâ asya sûdadohasaḥ*, &c.) pronounced over the 'settled' brick, and supposed to supply vital air to the different parts of Agni-Pragâpati's body (whence it is also repeated in the *Bṛhad Uktam* between the different parts of the bird-like body; cf. p. 112, note 1). Sây.

<sup>2</sup> Sâyana seems to interpret this in two different ways,—*oshadhi-vanaspataya eva purîshâhutisamitrarârûpâ etasya purîshâhutisamitrarârûpatvam uttaratra spash/îkarishyate*; *atha (vâ) yad dikshu ka rasmishu kânnam tat purîsham tâ ahutayas tâḥ samidhaḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> See X, 5, 2, 8. Viz. 'inasmuch as all become fit for their work by being provided with fire.' Sây.

<sup>4</sup> Or, the word-filler, the ruler of the world (*lokâdhish/hâtri*). Sây.

of light its earth-fillings, oblations and fire-logs; Vâyu (the wind) is its space-filler; thus this comes to make up the whole Agni, and the whole Agni comes to be the space-filler; and, verily, whosoever knows this, thus comes to be that whole (Agni) who is the space-filler.

3. But, indeed, that Fire-altar also is the sky :—the (heavenly) waters are its enclosing-stones, for even as a case<sup>1</sup> here is closed up so are these worlds (enclosed) within the waters; and the waters beyond these worlds are the enclosing-stones;—the gods are the Yagushmatî bricks; what food there is in that world is its Sûdadohas; the Nakshatras (lunar mansions) are the earth-fillings, the oblations and the fire-logs; and Âditya (the sun) is the space-filler;—thus this comes to make up the whole Agni; and the whole Agni comes to be the space-filler; and, verily, whosoever knows this, thus comes to be that whole (Agni) who is the space-filler.

4. But, indeed, that Fire-altar also is the sun :—the regions are its enclosing-stones, and there are three hundred and sixty of these<sup>2</sup>, because three hundred and sixty regions encircle the sun on all sides;—the rays are its Yagushmatî bricks, for there are three hundred and sixty of these<sup>3</sup>, and three hundred and sixty rays of the sun; and in that he establishes the Yagushmatts within the enclosing-stones thereby he establishes the rays in the regions. And what is between the regions and the rays, is its Sûdadohas; and what food there is in the regions and rays that is the earth-fillings, the oblations and

<sup>1</sup> Or, as (the valves, or shells, of) a pod are closed up.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 354, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> See IX, 4, 3, 6.

the fire-logs; and that which is called both 'regions' and 'rays' is the space-filling (brick):—thus this comes to make up the whole Agni; and the whole Agni comes to be the space-filler; and, verily, whosoever knows this, thus comes to be that whole (Agni) who is the space-filler.

5. But, indeed, that Fire-altar also is the Nakshatras:—for there are twenty-seven of these Nakshatras, and twenty-seven secondary stars accompany each Nakshatra,—this makes seven hundred and twenty<sup>1</sup>, and thirty-six in addition thereto. Now what seven hundred and twenty bricks<sup>2</sup> there are of these, they are the three hundred and sixty enclosing-stones and the three hundred and sixty Yagushmatī bricks; and what thirty-six there are in addition, they are the thirteenth (intercalary) month, the body (of the altar); the trunk<sup>3</sup> (consisting of) thirty, the feet of two, the (channels of the) vital airs of two<sup>4</sup>, and the head itself being the (thirty-fifth and) thirty-sixth,—and as to there being two of these, it is because 'siras' (head) consists of two syllables;—and what (space) there is between (each) two

---

<sup>1</sup> On this inaccurate calculation (the real product being 729), resorted to in order to get a total amount equal to the number of Yagushmatī bricks (756), see A. Weber, *Nakshatra*, II, p. 298.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Nakshatras considered as the bricks of which the fire-altar is constructed. The latter being identical with the year, the 720 bricks represent the days and nights of the year.

<sup>3</sup> Thus Sāyana (madhyadeha),—the ātman (in that case, however, the whole body) is usually represented as consisting of twenty-five parts. Here the thirty parts would probably be the trunk, the head, the upper and fore-arms, the thighs and shanks, and the fingers and toes.

<sup>4</sup> Viz. inasmuch as eyes, ears, and nostrils are in pairs. Sāy.

Nakshatras that is the Sûdadohas; and what food there is in the Nakshatras that is the earth-fillings (between the layers of bricks), the oblations and the fire-logs; and what is called 'nakshatras' that is the space-filling (brick):—thus this comes to make up the whole Agni, and the whole Agni comes to be the space-filler; and, verily, whosoever knows this, thus comes to be that whole (Agni) who is the space-filler.

6. Now, these (amount to) twenty-one *Bṛihat*s<sup>1</sup>; and—the heavenly world being the twenty-one-fold one<sup>2</sup> and the *Bṛhat* (the great one)—this (altar) thus comes to be equal to the heavenly world, and to the twenty-one-fold Stoma (hymn-form) and the *Bṛhat* metre.

7. But, indeed, that Fire-altar also is the Metres; for there are seven of these metres, increasing by four syllables<sup>3</sup>; and the triplets of these make seven hundred and twenty syllables, and thirty-six in addition thereto. Now what seven hundred and twenty bricks there are of these, they are the three hundred and sixty enclosing-stones and the three hundred and sixty Yagushmatīs; and what thirty-six there are in addition, they are the thirteenth month, and the body (of this altar),—the trunk (consisting of) thirty, the feet of two,

<sup>1</sup> The *Bṛhat* verse consisting of 36 syllables, this makes a total of 756 syllables, or the same amount as that of the days and nights of the year, plus the days (36) of the intercalary month.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. inasmuch as the sun is 'the twenty-first,' cf. I, 3, 5, 11; VI, 2, 2, 3: svargas tv âditya iti surake(tu)rûpo vâ lokaḥ svargaḥ ekavimsatisamkhyâpûrakaḥ. Sây.

<sup>3</sup> The seven metres, increasing by four syllables from 24 up to 48, consist together of 252 syllables, and hence the triplets of them amount to 756 = 720 + 36 syllables.



the vital airs of two, and the head itself being the (thirty-fifth and) thirty-sixth; and as to there being two of these, it is because 'siras' consists of two syllables.

8. Now the first ten syllables of this Br̥hāt, consisting of thirty-six syllables, make an Ekapadā<sup>1</sup> of ten syllables; and the (first) twenty make a Dvipadā of twenty syllables; and the (first) thirty a Virāḡ<sup>2</sup> of thirty syllables; and the (first) thirty-three a (Virāḡ) of thirty-three syllables; and the (first) thirty-four a Svarāḡ<sup>3</sup> of thirty-four syllables; and in that this fire-altar is built with all metres thereby it is an Atikḡandas<sup>4</sup>, and (so) indeed are all these bricks<sup>5</sup>. And the three syllables 'ishṭakā (brick)' are a Gāyatrī tripadā, whence this Agni is Gāyatra; and the three syllables 'mṛid' (clay) and 'āpaḥ' (water)<sup>6</sup> also are a Gāyatrī tripadā: thereby also he is Gāyatra. And what is between (each two) metres is the

<sup>1</sup> The Ekapadā is a verse consisting of a single pāda, and the Dvipadā one of two pādas, whilst verses in the ordinary metres consist of three or four pādas.

<sup>2</sup> The Virāḡ is a metre consisting of 1 to 4 (usually 3) decasyllabic pādas; the one consisting of four such pādas being, however, commonly called Paṅkti. Besides this, the principal, Virāḡ, there is, however, another consisting of 3 pādas of 11 syllables each.

<sup>3</sup> This name, which is here applied to a verse of 34 syllables, was in VII, 4, 1, 9 used of a verse of 10 + 10 + 11 + 11 = 42 syllables (Vāg. S. XI, 29); cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. VIII, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> That is, an over-metre, excessive metre, consisting of more than 48 syllables. The fire-altar, being built up with all the metres (viz. with the Kḡandasyā bricks, representing the metres, cf. VIII, 3, 3, 1 seqq.), would thus far exceed the latter number.

<sup>5</sup> ? Thus Sāyana: *kṛtyāgnir atikḡandā iti yat tena sarvā ishṭakā atikḡandomayya ity uktam.*

<sup>6</sup> That is, the materials used for making bricks.

Sûdadohas ; and the food which is in the metres is the earth-fillings, the oblations, and the fire-logs ; and what is called 'metres,' that is the space-filling (brick) :—thus this comes to make up the whole Agni ; and the whole Agni comes to be the space-filler ; and, verily, whosoever knows this, comes to be that whole (Agni) who is the space-filler.

9. Now, these (amount to) twenty-one *Bṛihatī*s ; and—the heavenly world being the twenty-one-fold and the *Bṛihatī*—this (altar) thus comes to be equal to the heavenly world, and to the twenty-one-fold Stoma and the *Bṛihatī* metre.

10. But, indeed, that Fire-altar also is the Year,—the nights are its enclosing-stones, and there are three hundred and sixty of these, because there are three hundred and sixty nights in the year ; and the days are its *Yagushmatī* bricks, for there are three hundred and sixty of these, and three hundred and sixty days in the year ; and those thirty-six bricks which are over<sup>1</sup> are the thirteenth month, the body (of the year and the altar), the half-months and months,—(there being) twenty-four half-months, and twelve months. And what there is between day and night that is the Sûdadohas ; and what food there is in the days and nights is the earth-fillings, the oblations, and the fire-logs ; and what is called 'days and nights' that constitutes the space-filling (brick) :—thus this comes to make up the whole Agni, and the whole Agni comes to be the space-filler ; and, verily, whosoever knows this, thus comes to be that whole (Agni) who is the space-filler.

<sup>1</sup> Viz. those required to make up the 756 *Yagushmatī*s.

11. Now, these (amount to) twenty-one *Brîhatîs*; and—the heavenly world being the twenty-one-fold and the *Brîhatî*—this (altar) thus comes to be equal to the heavenly world, and to the twenty-one-fold Stoma and the *Brîhatî* metre.

12. But, indeed, that Fire-altar also is the body,—the bones are its enclosing-stones, and there are three hundred and sixty of these, because there are three hundred and sixty bones in man; the marrow parts are the *Yagushmatî* bricks, for there are three hundred and sixty of these, and three hundred and sixty parts of marrow in man; and those thirty-six bricks which are over, are the thirteenth month, the trunk, the vital air (of the altar),—in his body there are thirty parts<sup>1</sup>, in his feet two, in his vital airs two, and in his head two,—as to there being two of these, it is because the head consists of two skull-bones. And that whereby these joints are held together is the *Sûdadohas*; and those three whereby this body is covered—to wit, hair, skin, and flesh—are the earth-fillings; what he drinks is the oblations, and what he eats the fire-logs; and what is called the ‘body,’ that is the space-filling (brick):—thus this comes to make up the whole Agni, and the whole Agni comes to be the space-filler; and, verily, whosoever knows this, thus comes to be that whole (Agni) who is the space-filler.

13. Now, these (amount to) twenty-one *Brîhatîs*; and—the heavenly world being the twenty-one-fold and the *Brîhatî*—this (altar) thus comes to be equal to the heavenly world, and to the twenty-one-fold Stoma and the *Brîhatî* metre.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 383, note 3.

14. But, indeed, that built Agni (the fire-altar) is all beings, all the gods; for all the gods, all beings are the waters<sup>1</sup>, and that built fire-altar is the same as those waters<sup>2</sup>;—the navigable streams (round the sun) are its enclosing-stones, and there are three hundred and sixty of these, because three hundred and sixty navigable streams encircle the sun on all sides; and the navigable streams, indeed, are also the Yagushmati bricks, and there are three hundred and sixty of these, because three hundred and sixty navigable streams flow towards<sup>3</sup> the sun. And what is between (each) two navigable rivers is the Sûdadohas; and those thirty-six bricks which remain over are the same as that thirteenth month, and the body (of this altar, the waters<sup>4</sup>), is the same as this gold man.

15. His feet are that gold plate and lotus-leaf—(that is) the waters and the sun's orb<sup>5</sup>—are his feet; his arms are the two spoons, and they are Indra and Agni; the two naturally-perforated (bricks) are this earth and the air; and the three Visvagyotis (all-light) bricks are these deities—Agni, Vâyu, and

<sup>1</sup> Viz. inasmuch as they are the foundation and ultimate source of the universe; cf. VI, 8, 2, 2. 3; and everything is contained therein, X, 5, 4, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. inasmuch as the built Agni is the same as the sun, and the sun is surrounded by water; cf. p. 368, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> It is not clear whether these rivers are meant to be different ones from those flowing round the sun, or whether they are the same as 'washing against' the sun.

<sup>4</sup> Athokteshu paryâyeshv agnyavayava - trayodaramâsâtmika âtmâ agnyâtmanâ dhyeyânâm apâm âtmety arthaḥ. Sây.

<sup>5</sup> That is, in regard to the sacrifice, the gold plate and lotus-leaf are his feet, and in regard to the deity, the waters and the sun's disk. Sây. They are, nevertheless, counted as four.

Āditya, for these deities, indeed, are all the light; and the twelve seasonal (bricks) are the year, the body (of the altar, and the gold man); and the five Nākasads and five Pañkatûdās are the sacrifice, the gods; and the Vikarṇ the (third) Svayamātrinnā and the variegated stone<sup>1</sup>; and the fire which is deposited (on the altar<sup>1</sup>) is the thirty-fifth; and the formula of the Lokamprīnā (brick)<sup>2</sup> is the thirty-sixth;—that (gold man), indeed, the body (of the altar) is the end of everything here<sup>3</sup>: he is in the midst of all the waters, endowed with all objects of desire—for all objects of desire are the waters<sup>4</sup>; whilst possessed of all (objects of) desires he is without desire, for no desire of anything (troubles) him<sup>5</sup>.

16. Regarding this there is this verse—‘By knowledge<sup>6</sup> they ascend that (state) where desires have vanished<sup>7</sup>: sacrificial gifts go not thither<sup>8</sup>, nor the fervid practisers of rites without knowledge;’—for, indeed, he who does not know this does not attain to that world either by sacrificial gifts or by devout

<sup>1</sup> For this stone, which was deposited near the Āgnīdhriya shed, and afterwards placed in the Āgnīdhra hearth, see p. 243, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> See VIII, 7, 2, 6.

<sup>3</sup> See X, 5, 2, 6–8.

<sup>4</sup> Sa eva . . . shaṭtrimśadish/akāmāyo hiraṇmayāḥ puruṣha ātmā sarvabhūtadevātmanām apām agnyātmanā dhyeyānām madhye var-tate. Sây.

<sup>5</sup> Sâyana does not explain this last sentence.

<sup>6</sup> ‘Only by knowledge is such a body (self) to be obtained by all, not by hundreds of religious performances.’ Sây.

<sup>7</sup> Yatra svarūpe kāmāḥ sarve parāgatā vivṛitāḥ (ṇivṛitāt) svayam akāmam ity arthaḥ, tad ātmasvarūpam vidyayā svarūpeṇa ārohani āpnuvanti. Sây.

<sup>8</sup> Sâyana takes ‘dakṣiṇā’ as instrumental, in accordance with the comment offered by the Brāhmaṇa, which, however, is probably not meant as a close grammatical explanation.

practices, but only to those who know does that world belong.

17. The welkin is the earth-fillings (between the layers of brick); the moon the oblations; the Nakshatras (lunar mansions) the fire-logs,—because the moon resides in (or with) the Nakshatra, therefore the oblation resides in the fire-wood: that<sup>1</sup>, indeed, is the food of the oblation, and its support; whence the oblation does not fail (na kshtyate), for that is its food and its support. And what are called 'the gods' they are the space-filling (brick); for by (naming) the gods everything here is named.

18. It is regarding this that it is said by the *Rik* (X, 12, 3), 'The All-gods have gone after this thy Yagus,'—for all beings, all the gods, indeed, become the Yagus here. Thus this whole Agni comes to be the space-filler; and, verily, whosoever knows this, thus comes to be that whole (Agni) who is the space-filler.

19. Now, these (amount to) twenty-one *Brīhatīs*; and—the heavenly world being the twenty-one-fold and the *Brīhatī*—this (altar) thus comes to be equal to the heavenly world, and to the twenty-one-fold Stoma and the *Brīhatī* metre.

#### FIFTH BRĀHMANA.

1. Kusri Vāgasravasa<sup>2</sup> once built a fire-altar. Susravas Kaushya then said to him, 'Gautama, when thou wert just now building up Agni, didst thou build him with his face forward, or backward, or downward, or upward?

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the staying (of the moon) in, or with, the Nakshatras, whose name is then made use of for a fanciful etymology.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Kusri Gautama, (son and) disciple of Vāgasravas.

2. 'If perchance thou hast built him looking forward, it would be just as if one were to offer food from behind to one sitting with averted face<sup>1</sup>: he thereby will not receive thy offering.

3. 'And if thou hast built him looking backward, wherefore, then, hast thou made him a tail behind?

4. 'And if thou hast built him with his face downward, it would be just as if one were to put food on the back of one lying with his face downward: he surely will not receive thy offering.

5. 'And if thou hast built him with his face upward—surely, a bird does not fly towards heaven with its face turned upward<sup>2</sup>: he will not carry thee to heaven, he will not become conducive to heaven for thee.'

6. He said, 'I have built him with his face forward; I have built him with his face backward; I have built him with his face downward; I have built him with his face upward: I have built him in all directions.'

7. When he lays down the (gold) man with his head forward (eastward), and the two spoons (with their bowls) forward<sup>3</sup>, thereby he (Agni) is built looking forward; and when he lays down the tor-

<sup>1</sup> The oblations are offered by the Adhvaryu whilst standing south, or south-west, of the fire, with his face turned towards north-east,—hence Agni, looking eastwards, would not see the food offered him.

<sup>2</sup> Yady agnir uttânaś kitas tarhi yathâ uttânâṃ vayaś pakṣhī svayam âkâśam utpatitum na saknoti kim utânâṃ puruṣhaṃ dvâbhyâm pakṣhâbhyâm gr̥hîtvotpatitum na sakta iti . . . tvâm kitavantam svargam lokam prâpayitum na saknoty uttâna kâyanâd ity arthaḥ; abhivakṣyatîti vahaḥ prâpane lriṣi syapratyaye rūpam. Sây.

<sup>3</sup> See VII, 4, 1, 15. 16.

toise<sup>1</sup> with its head backward (westward), and the victims' heads turned backward, thereby he is built looking backward; and when he lays down the tortoise with its face downward, and the victims' heads with their faces downward, and the bricks with their faces downward<sup>2</sup>, thereby he is built looking downward; and when he lays down the (gold) man with his face upward, and the two spoons (with their open bowls) turned upward, and the mortar turned upward, and the fire-pan turned upward, thereby he is built looking upward; and when he lays down the bricks whilst moving round (the altar) in every direction, thereby he is built (looking) in all directions.

8. Now, the Koshas, whilst driving about, once drove up<sup>3</sup> to an Agni with his head pulled out<sup>4</sup>. One of them said, 'The head (siras) means excellence (śrī): he has pulled out his excellence, he will be deprived of his all!' and so indeed it happened to him.

9. And another said, 'The head means the vital airs: he has pulled out his vital airs, he will quickly go to yonder world!' and so, indeed, it happened to him.

<sup>1</sup> See VII, 5, 1, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Iśhakānām nīlītenopadhānam nāma rīgulekhādakshināpasavyatryālikhitādilekhānām uparibhāge darśanam*. Sāy. The broad side of the bricks not marked with lines is thus looked upon as their face.

<sup>3</sup> That is to say, according to Sāyana, whilst going about officiating at sacrifices, they built the altar in that way at some one's house.

<sup>4</sup> That is, with a head built on to the altar on the front side of the body; see the diagram of the *śyenakṛiti* in Burnell's *Cat. of Vedic MSS.* (1870), p. 29.



10. Upwards, indeed, he (Agni) is built up, to wit, (in the shape of) the grass-bunch, the clod-bricks, the lotus-leaf, the gold plate and man, the two spoons, the naturally-perforated one, the grass-brick, the Dviyagus, the two Reta<sup>ksik</sup>, the Visvagyotis, the two seasonal bricks, the Ashād<sup>hā</sup>, and the tortoise; and that fire which is placed on the altar-pile, assuredly, is then most manifestly his (Agni's) head: let him therefore not pull out (the head).

#### SIXTH ADHYĀYA. FIRST BRĀHMAṆA.

1. Now at the house of Aruna Aupavesi<sup>1</sup> these came once together,—Satyayagñā Paulushi, Mahārāla Gābāla, Budīla Āsvatarāsvi, Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, and Ganasārkarākshya. They took counsel together regarding (Agni) Vaisvānara, but did not agree as to Vaisvānara<sup>2</sup>.

2. They said, 'There is that Asvapati Kaikeya who knows Vaisvānara thoroughly<sup>3</sup>: let us go to him!' They went to Asvapati Kaikeya. He ordered for them separate dwellings, separate honours, separate Soma-sacrifices each with a thousand gifts. In the morning, still at variance with one another, they

<sup>1</sup> *Khândogya* V, 11, where another version of this story occurs, has here the name of Aruna's son, Uddālaka Āruni; and, instead of Mahārāla Gābāla, it has Prāñinasāla Aupamanya.

<sup>2</sup> Sāyana takes this to mean, 'he (Aruna) was unable to instruct them in regard to Vaisvānara,'—so = runas teshām satyayagñādīnām pañtānām vaisvānaravidyām bodhayitum na samiyāya saṁgataḥ sakto nābhavat,—probably, however, 'samiyāya' is better taken impersonally ('there was no agreement between them'), as is done by the St. Petersburg Dict.; though *Khând.* XI, 3 favours Sāyana's view.

<sup>3</sup> Sāyana takes 'samprati' in its ordinary sense of 'now.' The knowledge of Vaisvānara implied here, according to Sāyana, means the knowledge of the supreme deity (paramervara).

came again to him, with fuel in their hands <sup>1</sup>, saying, 'We want to become thy pupils.'

3. He said, 'How is this, venerable sirs, when ye are learned in the scriptures, and sons of men learned in the scriptures?' They replied, 'Venerable sir, thou knowest Vaisvânara thoroughly: teach us him!' He said, 'I do indeed know Vaisvânara thoroughly: put your fuel on (the fire), ye are become my pupils <sup>2</sup>.'

4. He then said to Aruṇa Aupavesi, 'O Gautama, as whom knowest thou Vaisvânara <sup>3</sup>? '—'As Earth only, O king;' he replied.—'Yea,' he said, 'that indeed is Vaisvânara, the foundation; and because thou knowest the Vaisvânara Foundation (pratiśthā) therefore thou art firmly established (pratiśthita) with offspring and cattle; and, verily, he who knows that Vaisvânara Foundation, repels Death and attains all life. But, in truth, these are only the feet <sup>4</sup> of Vaisvânara, and thy feet would have withered away, hadst thou not come hither; or the feet would be unknown to thee, hadst thou not come hither <sup>5</sup>.'

5. He then said to Satyayagña Paulushi, 'O Prākīṇayogya, as whom knowest thou Vaisvânara?'

<sup>1</sup> That is, in the way in which pupils approach their teacher.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, 'Ye have entered (my tuition);' upetâ stha upâśnâ bhavatha. Sây.

<sup>3</sup> Or, perhaps, 'what Vaisvânara knowest thou?'

<sup>4</sup> 'Pratiśthā' (rest, foundation) also commonly means 'the feet.'

<sup>5</sup> It is not quite clear whether the words 'or the feet, &c.' really (as Sâyana takes them) form part of the king's speech, or whether they are merely meant as explanatory of the latter part of the king's remarks. If Sâyana be right, the words 'the feet would be unknown by thee,' seem to admit of a double meaning, viz. 'thou wouldst

—‘As Water only, O king;’ he replied.—‘Yea,’ he said, ‘that indeed is the Vaisvânara Wealth; and because thou knowest that Vaisvânara Wealth, therefore thou art wealthy and prosperous; and, verily, he who knows that Vaisvânara Wealth, repels death and attains all life. But, in truth, this is only the bladder of Vaisvânara, and thy bladder would have failed thee, hadst thou not come hither; or the bladder would be unknown to thee, hadst thou not come hither.’

6. He then said to Mahāsāla Gābāla, ‘O Aupamanyava, as whom knowest thou Vaisvânara?’—‘As Ether only, O king,’ he replied.—‘Yea,’ he said, ‘that, indeed, is the Vaisvânara Plenteous; and because thou knowest Vaisvânara Plenteous, therefore thou art plentiful in offspring and cattle; and, verily, he who knows that Vaisvânara Plenteous, repels death and attains all life. But, in truth, this is only the trunk of Vaisvânara, and thy trunk would have failed thee, hadst thou not come hither; or the body would be unknown to thee, hadst thou not come hither.’

7. He then said to Budila Āsvatarāsvi, ‘O Vaiyāghrapadya, as whom knowest thou Vaisvânara?’—‘As Air (wind) only, O king;’ he replied.—‘Yea,’ he

---

have become footless,’ or ‘not even Vaisvânara’s feet would have been known by thee;’ though in the latter sense some particle such as ‘eva’ might have been expected. *Sāyana*, however, seems to take these words in yet another sense (if, indeed, he had not another reading before him),—*vaisvânarasyāgñânât pādaḥ te tava viparītagrāhino amlāsyatām amlānau gamanāsamarthāḥ abhavishyatām yadi mām nāgamishyāt*; *itham doṣhaparyavasānayuktam ekadeśagñānam eva nāvaresha ity āha, pādaḥ te viditāḥ iti vaisvânarasya pādāmātram tvayā viditam na tu kṛtsno vaisvânaraḥ*; *ataḥ sādhy akārshīr yat tvam āgato -sity abhiprāyaḥ*.

said, 'that indeed is the Vaisvânara of divers courses; and because thou knowest that Vaisvânara of divers courses, therefore divers rows of cars follow thee; and, verily, he who knows that Vaisvânara of divers courses, repels death, and attains all life. But, in truth, this is only the breath of Vaisvânara, and thy breath would have failed thee, hadst thou not come hither; or the breath would be unknown to thee, hadst thou not come hither.'

8. He then said to Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, 'O Vaiyāghrapadya, as whom knowest thou Vaisvânara?'—'As Sun only, O king,' he replied.—'Yea,' he said, 'that indeed is the Vaisvânara of Soma's splendour<sup>1</sup>; and because thou knowest the Vaisvânara of Soma's splendour, therefore that Soma-juice never fails to be consumed and cooked<sup>2</sup> in thy house; and, verily, he who knows that Vaisvânara of Soma's splendour, repels death, and attains all life. But, indeed, this is only the eye of Vaisvânara, and thine eye would have failed thee, hadst thou not come hither; or the eye would be unknown to thee, hadst thou not come hither.'

9. He then said to Gana Sarkarākshya, 'O Sâyavasa, as whom knowest thou Vaisvânara?'—'As Heaven only, O king,' he replied.—'Yea,' he said, 'that indeed is Vaisvânara Pre-eminence; and because thou knowest the Vaisvânara Pre-eminence, therefore thou art pre-eminent among thine equals; and, verily, he who knows that Vaisvânara Pre-

<sup>1</sup> Or, perhaps better, 'of Soma's fire.' The *Kāndogya-upanishad* has 'Sutegas (of beautiful splendour, or light),' instead of 'suta-tegas.'

<sup>2</sup> According to *Sâyana*, this refers to the cooking, or baking, of the cakes (*puroḍāsa*) connected with the Soma-sacrifice.

eminence repels death, and attains all life. But, indeed, this is only the head of Vaisvānara, and thy head would have failed thee, hadst thou not come hither ; or the head would have been unknown to thee, hadst thou not come hither.'

10. He said to them, 'Ye then, knowing different Vaisvānaras, have been feeding on different kinds of food ; but verily, the well-beknown gods have attained, as it were, the measure of a span<sup>1</sup> ; but I will so tell them unto you that I shall make them attain no more nor less than the measure of a span.'

11. Pointing at the head he said, 'This, indeed, is the Vaisvānara Pre-eminence ;'—pointing at the eyes he said, 'This, indeed, is the Vaisvānara of Soma's splendour ;'—pointing at the nostrils he said, 'This, indeed, is the Vaisvānara of divers courses ;'—pointing at the space in the mouth he said, 'This, indeed, is the Vaisvānara Plenteous ;'—pointing at the water in the mouth he said, 'This, indeed, is the Vaisvānara Wealth ;'—pointing at the chin he said, 'This, indeed, is the Vaisvānara Foundation.'

<sup>1</sup> Sāyana apparently takes this thus : but the gods, knowing well that (essential element) which is merely of the space of a span, have become successful ;—*yat tv evaṃ yathoktāvayavaiḥ prīhivīpādādibhir dyumūrdhāntair avayavair viśiṣṭam ekam vastu tat prādesamātram prādesapramānam iva devāḥ suviditāḥ samyag gñātavanto = bhisampannāḥ prāptaphalā babhūvur ity arthaḥ*. Though this interpretation looks very plausible, the accent of 'súvidita' would scarcely admit of the word being taken as a bahuvrīhi compound. In the words which follow, Sāyana takes 'them (enân)' to refer to the bodily parts of Vaisvānara, identified with the imperfect doctrines of the king's disciples. It is, indeed, quite possible that 'the gods' are here identified with the special Vaisvānaras, the unity of whom, in the one Purusha, or Âtman (self), the Brāhmaṇa endeavours to inculcate.

This Agni Vaisvânara is no other than the Purusha ; and, verily, whosoever thus knows that Agni Vaisvânara as Purusha-like, as established within the Purusha, repels death, and attains all life ; and, verily, Vaisvânara does no harm to him that speaks of him.

## SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. Now, indeed, there is this twofold thing, to wit, the eater and that which is eaten <sup>1</sup> ; and when this pair meets it is called the eater, and not the eaten.

2. Now that eater is the same as this Agni (the fire and fire-altar) ; and whatever they assign to him is his assignments ; and these assignments (âhiti) are mystically called oblations (âhuti), for the gods love the mystic.

3. And the eater, doubtless, is the sun, and his assignments (offerings) are the moon, for the moon is assigned to the sun <sup>2</sup>. Thus much as to the deity.

4. Now as to the body. The eater, doubtless, is the breath, and its assignments are food, for the food is consigned to (the channel of) the breath. Thus much as to Agni.

5. Now as to the Arka (flame). The Arka, doubtless, is Agni ; and his joy are the oblations, for the oblations are a joy <sup>3</sup> to Agni.

<sup>1</sup> Or, as Sâyana takes it,—this (world) is twofold, the eater and the eaten.

<sup>2</sup> The moon here would seem to be considered as serving for food to the sun, as it does to the gods. The commentary is not very explicit on this point,—*taskyâhutayas* (!) *kandramâh kandra-masam* hy âditya âdadhātīy anena *kandramasa* âditye âdhânâd âdhititvam pratipâditam.

<sup>3</sup> 'Kam' is used adverbially 'well,'—they do him good, they please him.

6. And the Arka, doubtless, is the sun ; and his joy is the moon, for the moon is a joy to the sun. Thus much as to the deity.

7. Now as to the body. The Arka, doubtless, is the breath, and his joy is food, for food is a joy to (the channel of) the breath. Thus much as to the Arka.

8. Now as to the Uktha (song of praise). The 'uk,' doubtless, is Agni, and his 'tham' is oblations, for by oblations Agni rises (ut-thâ, i. e. blazes up).

9. And the 'uk,' doubtless, is the sun, and his 'tham' is the moon, for by the moon the sun rises. Thus much as to the deity.

10. Now as to the body. The 'uk,' doubtless, is the breath, and the 'tham' is food, for by food the breath rises (increases). Thus much as to the Uktha. That Agni-like, Arka-like, Uktha-like one is the same as the Purusha ; and, verily, the enemy withers away of whosoever, knowing this, thus serves that Agni-like, Arka-like, Uktha-like Purusha.

11. The fire, indeed, is kindled by the breath, the wind by the fire, the sun by the wind, the moon by the sun, the stars by the moon, and the lightning by the stars<sup>1</sup> :—so great, indeed, is the kindling both in this and in yonder world ; and, verily, whosoever knows this is enkindled to that full extent both in this and in yonder world.

---

<sup>1</sup> Agnir prâṇena dīpyate, prâṇavāyor abhāve alpatve agner dīpanam nāsti ; agninā vāyur dīpyate vāyunādityo vash/ambhamâtrena tad dīpanam ; âdityena khandramâḥ prabhâṃso gyoṭiḥsâstrasiddhaḥ ; râtrau nakshatrâṇi khandramasâ prakâsante divâ hi mahattarena sūryaprakâśena tirobhûtatvân na tadâ prakâśaḥ ; nakshatrair vidyut prakâśyate. Sây.

## THIRD BRĀHMANA.

1. Let him meditate upon the 'true Brahman.' Now, man here, indeed, is possessed of understanding<sup>1</sup>, and according to how great his understanding is when he departs this world, so does he, on passing away, enter yonder world.

2. Let him meditate on the Self, which is made up of intelligence, and endowed with a body of spirit, with a form of light, and with an ethereal nature, which changes its shape at will, is swift as thought, of true resolve, and true purpose, which consists of all sweet odours and tastes, which holds sway over all the regions and pervades this whole universe, which is speechless and indifferent<sup>2</sup>;—even as a grain of rice, or a grain of barley, or a grain of millet, or the smallest granule of millet, so is this golden<sup>3</sup> Purusha in the heart; even as a smokeless light, it is greater than the sky, greater than the ether, greater than the earth, greater than all existing things;—that self of the spirit (breath) is my self: on passing away from hence I shall obtain that self. Verily, whosoever has this trust<sup>4</sup>, for him there is no uncertainty. Thus spake *Sāṇḍilya*, and so it is<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Or, will, purpose,—*kratumayaḥ*, *kratur nistayo* + *dhyavasāya* evam eva nānyathety avivakshitapratyayaḥ, *tadātmako* + *yaṁ puruṣho gīvaḥ*. For this chapter (the *Sāṇḍilyavidyā*) see *Khândogya* III, 14 ('man is a creature of will,' Prof. Max Müller).

<sup>2</sup> *Anādaram asambhramam* (without mental affects). *Sây*.

<sup>3</sup> That is, of the brilliance of gold (*suvarṇasamānategâḥ*). *Sây*.

<sup>4</sup> Or, thought, knowledge (*buddhiḥ*), as *Sâyana* supplies.

<sup>5</sup> *Sâyana* takes this along with 'so spake *Sāṇḍilya*,'—*ity evam etad āha sma uktavān sāṇḍilyo nāmarshir iti*. The final 'iti' seems to be intended to indicate that *Sāṇḍilya*'s opinion is adopted by the *Brāhmana*.



## FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Verily, the dawn is the head of the sacrificial horse<sup>1</sup>, the sun its eye, the wind its breath, Agni Vaisvânara (the fire belonging to all men) its open mouth. The year is the body of the sacrificial horse, the sky its back, the air its belly, the earth the under part of its belly, the quarters its flanks, the intermediate quarters its ribs, the seasons its limbs, the months and half-months its joints, the days and nights its feet, the stars its bones, the welkin its flesh, the sand its intestinal food, the rivers its bowels, the mountains its liver and lungs, the herbs and trees its hair, the rising sun the forepart, and the setting sun the hindpart of its body, the lightning its yawning, the thundering its whinnying, the raining its voiding urine, and speech its voice. The day, indeed, was produced as the Mahiman<sup>2</sup> (cup) before the horse, and its birth-place is in the eastern sea. The night was produced as the Mahiman (cup) behind (or after) it, and its birth-place was in the western sea: these two Mahiman (cups), indeed, came to be on both sides of the horse. As Haya (steed) it carried the gods, as Vâgin (racer) the Gandharvas, as Arvan (courser) the Asuras, as Asva (horse) men. The sea, indeed, is its kindred, the sea its birth-place.

<sup>1</sup> That is, of Pragâpati, in the form of a horse. For this and the next chapters see the beginning of the Kâṇva recension of the *Bṛihad-âraṇyakopaniṣad*.

<sup>2</sup> This is the name of two gold cups used at the Asvamedha; cf. XIII, 2, 11, 1 seq.; 5, 2, 23.

## FIFTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Verily, there was nothing here in the beginning: by Death this (universe) was covered, by hunger, for Death is hunger. He created for himself this mind, thinking, 'May I have a soul.' He went on worshipping. Whilst he was worshipping the waters were produced. 'Verily, to me worshipping (ark) water (kam) has been produced,' thus (he thought): this, indeed, is the Arka-nature of the Arkya<sup>1</sup>; and, verily, there is joy (kam) for him who thus knows the Arka-nature of the Arkya.

2. The Arka, doubtless, is the waters; and the cream (froth) which was on the waters was compacted, and became this earth. Thereon he wearied himself, and the glow and essence (sweat) of him thus wearied and heated developed into Fire.

3. He made himself threefold—(Agni being one-third), Âditya one-third, and Vâyu one-third: that is this threefold breath. The eastern quarter was his head, this and that (intermediate quarters) are his fore-feet, the western quarter his tail, this and that (intermediate quarters) his thighs, the southern and northern quarters his flanks; the sky his back, the air his belly, and this (earth) his chest:—on the waters he was established any and everywhere, and so indeed is he established who knows this.

4. He desired, 'May a second self be produced for me.' By his mind he entered into union with speech,—(to wit) Death with hunger: the seed which was produced became the year, for theretofore there was no year. For as long as the year he (Death) carried him (within him), and at the end of

<sup>1</sup> See X, 3, 4, 3 seq.; 4, 1, 4. 15. 21 seq.

that time he produced him <sup>1</sup>. He opened his mouth (to devour) the new-born one, and he (the child) cried 'bhân'; thus speech was produced.

5. He bethought him, 'Surely, if I kill him, I shall gain but little food <sup>2</sup>.' By that speech and that soul of his he created all this (universe) whatsoever there is,—*Rik* (hymn-verses), *Yagus* (formulas), *Sâman* (hymn-tunes), metres, sacrifices, men, and beasts. And whatsoever he created he set about devouring; and because he eats (ad) everything, hence the name 'Aditi'; and, verily, he who thus knows the nature of Aditi becomes an eater of everything, and all food becomes his.

6. He desired, 'May I again sacrifice by yet another sacrifice.' He wearied himself and practised austerity. From him, thus wearied and heated, glory and vigour departed; and glory and vigour, indeed, are the vital airs. The vital airs having departed, that body of his began to swell. The mind was yet in the body;—

7. He desired, 'May this (body) of mine be sacrificially pure: may I thereby be possessed of a self!' Thereupon the horse (*asva*) was produced; and because that which was swelling <sup>3</sup> (*asvat*) became pure (*medhya*) therefore the name *Asvamedha* (belongs to that sacrifice). He, indeed, knows the *Asvamedha* who thus knows him <sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Viz. *Pragâpati*, the year; *Agni*, the *Purusha*, the Self.

<sup>2</sup> Or, I shall lessen my food (which would have become more abundant if the child had been allowed to live and grow).

<sup>3</sup> The commentaries on the *Bṛhad-âraṇyakop.* take this together with the preceding clause,—and because that (body) was swelling (*asvat*), therefore the horse (*asva*) was produced.

<sup>4</sup> Viz. *Agni-Pragâpati*, or Death, in the form of the horse.

8. He bethought him of leaving it unrestrained<sup>1</sup>. At the end of a year he slaughtered it for his own self, and made over the (sacrificial) animals to the deities : therefore they slaughter the consecrated (victim) as one that, in its nature as *Pragâpati*, represents all the deities. But the *Asvamedha*, in truth, is he that shines yonder (the sun), and the year is his body. The *Arka* is this Fire, and these worlds are his bodies. These two are the *Arka* and *Asvamedha* ; but these, indeed, become again one deity, to wit, Death. And, verily, whosoever knows this, conquers recurrent Death, and Death has no hold on him : Death is his own self ; he attains all life, and becomes one of those deities.

9. Now the line of succession (of teachers). The same as far as *Sâṃgtvīputra*. *Sâṃgtvīputra* (received it) from *Mândûkâyani*, *Mândûkâyani* from *Mândavya*, *Mândavya* from *Kautsa*, *Kautsa* from *Mâhitthi*, *Mâhitthi* from *Vâmakakshâyana*, *Vâmakakshâyana* from *Vâtsya*, *Vâtsya* from *Sândilya*, *Sândilya* from *Kusri*, *Kusri* from *Yagñavakas Râgastambâyana*, *Yagñavakas Râgastambâyana* from *Tura Kâvasheya*, *Tura Kâvasheya* from *Pragâpati*, *Pragâpati* from *Brahman* (n.). *Brahman* is the self-existent : reverence be to *Brahman* !

<sup>1</sup> For the construction, see IX, 5, 1, 35 ; on the negative form of the gerund (*tam anavarudhyaivâmanyata*) with a direct object, see Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, § 264.

## CORRECTIONS.

- Page 66, l. 11, and note 1. The *Katushṭoma* is such an arrangement of the Stotras of a Soma-sacrifice in which the Stomas (or hymn-forms) employed increase successively by four syllables. See notes on XI, 5, 2, 9; XIII, 3, 1, 4 (sic!).
- P. 279, line 7. Perhaps this passage had better be translated thus,—And he who, without having performed these (rites), should officiate even for another person in the performance of any other sacrifices . . .
- P. 296, l. 3 from bottom. Read,—Upavasatha.
- P. 394-98, paragraphs 4-9; 11. Read,—repels recurrent death.  
 „ l. 5 from bottom. Read,—*tasyāhutayas* (!).

## PART III.

- Introduction, page xii, line 27. Read,—*parubandha*.
- P. xvi, l. 11 of notes. After—*Syaita-sāman*, add (II, 161-2).
- P. xviii, l. 23. In Sat. Br. V, 5, 3, 4, the *Shodasin* is distinctly mentioned as forming part of the *Kesavapanīya Atirātra*.
- P. xviii, l. 4 of notes. Read,—‘form’ instead of ‘from.’
- P. xxv, note. Add,—So also Sat. Br. V, 3, 4, 12; 4, 3, 2.
- P. 38, l. 1. Read,—*Vāgaprasaviya*.
- P. 62, l. 22. Read,—(as it undoubtedly does in V, 4, 3, 18; as well as *savyashīḥā*, in *Atharva-v.* VIII, 8, 23).  
 „ end of note. Add,—In Sat. Br. V, 4, 3, 23, *sanigrahitṛi* certainly means ‘charioteer.’
- P. 113, l. 8. The chant here alluded to is the first (or *Hotṛi*’s) *Prishṭa*-stotra, for which see part ii, p. 339. The *Abhishekanīya* being, however, performed on the *Ukthya*, not on the *Agnishṭoma*, model, this stotra, on the present occasion, consists of the *Br̥hat-sāman* (see Introduction, pp. xvi, note 2; xxvi).
- P. 136, l. 4. Read,—*Barhishadaḥ*.
- P. 140, last line of text. For ‘*Āraṇi*’ read ‘*Āruṇi*.’
- P. 169, l. 18. Read,—‘Those kindling-sticks . . .’
- P. 171, l. 2. Read,—*Āshādhi*.
- P. 203, l. 10. Read,—‘*vāk*’ (voice).
- P. 265, note 2. In the passage of the Ait. Br. referred to, the *Vishuvat* day is the central day of an *Ekavimsarātra*, or twenty-one days’ performance.
- P. 352, l. 10. Read,—‘sand’ for ‘seed.’
- P. 360, note 1. Add,—See also VIII, 7, 3, 19, where that thread is identified with the wind.
- P. 363, note 1. The reference is wrong; for the real *Satya-sāman*. see part iv, p. 145, note 1.
- 67, l. 24. In the opposite direction, i.e. in the direction away from us.

- P. 369, note 1. The reference is wrong; for the real *Āitra-sāman*, see part iv, p. 145, note 1.
- P. 379, l. 10. Read,—the breath serves everything here.
- „ l. 20. For this *Sāman*, based on the word ‘*bhūs*,’ see part iv, p. 145, note 1.
- P. 404, l. 15. Read,—having pre-eminently endowed the man with power, he sets him up. Cf. VIII, 7, 2, 3.
- P. 415, l. 4. Read,—XIII, 53.
-

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS  
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zed.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.		III Class.							
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis . . . . .	k	.	.	क	𐎧	𐎧	𐎧	𐎧	𐎧	k
2 " aspirata . . . . .	kh	.	.	ख	𐎧𐎫	𐎧𐎫	𐎧𐎫	𐎧𐎫	𐎧𐎫	kh
3 Media . . . . .	g	.	.	ग	𐎧	𐎧	𐎧	𐎧	𐎧	.
4 " aspirata . . . . .	gh	.	.	घ	𐎧𐎫	𐎧𐎫	𐎧𐎫	𐎧𐎫	𐎧𐎫	.
5 Gutturo-labialis . . . . .	q	.	.	.	𐎧𐎫𐎠	𐎧𐎫𐎠	𐎧𐎫𐎠	𐎧𐎫𐎠	𐎧𐎫𐎠	.
6 Nasalis . . . . .	h (ng)	.	.	ङ	{ 3 (ng) 𐎧𐎫𐎠 (N) 𐎧𐎫𐎠 (hv)	.	.	.	.	.
7 Spiritus asper . . . . .	h	.	.	ह	𐎧	𐎧	𐎧	𐎧	𐎧	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	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	k
14 " aspirata . . . . .	.	kh	.	छ	.	.	.	.	.	kh
15 Media . . . . .	.	g	.	ज	.	.	.	.	.	.
16 " aspirata . . . . .	.	gh	.	झ	.	.	.	.	.	.
17 " Nasalis . . . . .	.	ṅ	.	ञ	.	.	.	.	.	.

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	...	...	...
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis . . . . .	t	...	...	त	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	t
24 " aspirata . . . . .	th	...	...	थ	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	th
25 " assibilata . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Media . . . . .	d	...	...	द	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...
27 " aspirata . . . . .	dh	...	...	थ	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...
28 " assibilata . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
29 Nasalis . . . . .	n	...	...	न	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	n
30 Semivocalis . . . . .	l	...	...	ल	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	l
31 " mollis 1 . . . . .	...	l	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
32 " mollis 2 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
33 Spiritus asper 1 . . . . .	s	...	...	स	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	s
34 " asper 2 . . . . .	...	s	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
35 " lenis . . . . .	z	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
36 " asperimus 1 . . . . .	...	z	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
37 " asperimus 2 . . . . .	...	z	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...



Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)		Labiales.	
38 Tenuis . . . . .	t	38 Tenuis . . . . .	p
39 " aspirata . . . . .	th	39 " aspirata . . . . .	ph
40 Media . . . . .	d	40 Media . . . . .	b
41 " aspirata . . . . .	dh	41 " aspirata . . . . .	bh
42 Nasalis . . . . .	n	42 Tenuissima . . . . .	..
43 Semivocalis . . . . .	r	43 Nasalis . . . . .	m
44 " fricata . . . . .	r	44 Semivocalis . . . . .	w
45 " diacritica . . . . .	r	45 " aspirata . . . . .	hw
46 Spiritus asper . . . . .	sh	46 Spiritus asper . . . . .	f
47 " lenis . . . . .	zh	47 " lenis . . . . .	v
		48 Anusvāra . . . . .	..
		49 Visarga . . . . .	..

# 410 TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS.

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis . . . . .	0									ā
2 Laryngo-palatalis . . . . .	ē									...
3 " labialis . . . . .	ō									...
4 Gutturalis brevis . . . . .	a			अ	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	ا	א	ā
5 " longa . . . . .	ā	(a)		आ	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	آ	א	ā
6 Palatalis brevis . . . . .	i			इ	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	ي	י	i
7 " longa . . . . .	ī	(i)		ई	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	י	י	ī
8 Dentalis brevis . . . . .	u			उ						...
9 " longa . . . . .	ū			ऊ						...
10 Lingualis brevis . . . . .	ri			र						...
11 " longa . . . . .	rī			ऋ						...
12 Labialis brevis . . . . .	u			उ						...
13 " longa . . . . .	ū	(u)		ऊ						...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis . . . . .	e			ए	𐬄	𐬄	𐬄	ه	ה	e
15 " longa . . . . .	ē (ai)	(e)		ऐ	𐬅	𐬅	𐬅	ه	ה	ē
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis . . . . .	āi	(ai)		आइ	𐬆	𐬆	𐬆	ه	ה	āi
17 " " . . . . .	ei (ēi)			ई	𐬇	𐬇	𐬇	ه	ה	ei, ēi
18 " " . . . . .	oi (ōu)			औ	𐬈	𐬈	𐬈	ه	ה	oi, ēi
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis . . . . .	o			ओ	𐬉	𐬉	𐬉	و	ו	o
20 " longa . . . . .	ō (an)	(o)		आ	𐬊	𐬊	𐬊	و	ו	ō
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis . . . . .	au	(au)		आउ	𐬋	𐬋	𐬋	و	ו	au
22 " " . . . . .	eu (ēu)			ऐ	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	و	ו	eu
23 " " . . . . .	ou (ōu)			औ	𐬍	𐬍	𐬍	و	ו	ou
24 Gutturalis fracta . . . . .	ä			अ	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎	و	ו	ä
25 Palatalis fracta . . . . .	ī			इ	𐬏	𐬏	𐬏	و	ו	ī
26 Labialis fracta . . . . .	ū			उ	𐬐	𐬐	𐬐	و	ו	ū
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta . . . . .	ō			औ	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	و	ו	ō



OXFORD  
PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS  
BY HORACE HART, M. A.  
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY



# SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

THE RIGHT HON. F. MAX MÜLLER.

\* \* *This Series is published with the sanction and co-operation of the Secretary of State for India in Council.*

---

**REPORT presented to the ACADEMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS, May 11, 1883, by M. HERVEST RENAN.**

‘M. Renan présente trois nouveaux volumes de la grande collection des “Livres sacrés de l’Orient” (Sacred Books of the East), que dirige à Oxford, avec une si vaste érudition et une critique si sûre, le savant associé de l’Académie des Inscriptions, M. Max Müller. . . La première série de ce beau recueil, composée de 24 volumes, est presque achevée. M. Max Müller se propose d’en publier

une seconde, dont l’intérêt historique et religieux ne sera pas moindre. M. Max Müller a su se procurer la collaboration des savans les plus éminens d’Europe et d’Asie. L’Université d’Oxford, que cette grande publication honore au plus haut degré, doit tenir à continuer dans les plus larges proportions une œuvre aussi philosophiquement conçue que savamment exécutée.’

## **EXTRACT from the QUARTERLY REVIEW.**

‘We rejoice to notice that a second series of these translations has been announced and has actually begun to appear. The stones, at least, out of which a stately edifice may hereafter arise, are here being brought together. Prof. Max Müller has deserved well of scientific history. Not a few minds owe to his enticing words their first attraction to this branch of study. But no work of his, not even the

great edition of the Rig-Veda, can compare in importance or in usefulness with this English translation of the Sacred Books of the East, which has been devised by his foresight, successfully brought so far by his persuasive and organising power, and will, we trust, by the assistance of the distinguished scholars he has gathered round him, be carried in due time to a happy completion.’

**Professor E. HARTDY, Inaugural Lecture in the University of Freiburg, 1887.**

‘Die allgemeine vergleichende Religionswissenschaft datirt von jenem grossartigen, in seiner Art einzig dastehenden Unternehmen, zu welchem auf Anregung Max Müllers im Jahre 1874 auf dem

internationalen Orientalistencongress in London der Grundstein gelegt worden war, die Übersetzung der heiligen Bücher des Ostens’ (*the Sacred Books of the East*).

**The Hon. ALBERT S. G. CANNING, ‘Words on Existing Religions.’**

‘The recent publication of the “Sacred Books of the East” in English is surely

a great event in the annals of theological literature.’

---

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS  
LONDON: HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AMEN CORNER, E.C.

## FIRST SERIES.

### VOL. I. The Upanishads.

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part I. The *Khândogya-upanishad*, The *Talavakâra-upanishad*, The *Aitareya-âranyaka*, The *Kaushîtaki-brâhmana-upanishad*, and The *Vâgasaneyi-samhitâ-upanishad*. *Second Edition*. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The Upanishads contain the philosophy of the Veda. They have become the foundation of the later Vedânta doctrines, and indirectly of Buddhism. Schopenhauer, speaking of the Upanishads, says: 'In the whole world there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanishads. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death.'*

[See also Vol. XV.]

### VOL. II. The Sacred Laws of the Âryas,

As taught in the Schools of Âpastamba, Gautama, Vâsishtha, and Baudhâya. Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. Part I. Âpastamba and Gautama. *Second Edition*. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The Sacred Laws of the Âryas contain the original treatises on which the Laws of Manu and other lawgivers were founded.*

[See also Vol. XIV.]

### VOL. III. The Sacred Books of China.

The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Part I. The *Shû King*, The Religious Portions of the *Shih King*, and The *Hsiâo King*. *Second Edition*. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

*Confucius was a collector of ancient traditions, not the founder of a new religion. As he lived in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. his works are of unique interest for the study of Ethology.*

[See also Vols. XVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXIX, and XL.]

### VOL. IV. The Zend-Avesta.

Translated by JAMES DARMESTETER. Part I. The *Vendidad*. *Second Edition*. 8vo, cloth, 14s.

*The Zend-Avesta contains the relics of what was the religion of Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes, and, but for the battle of Marathon,*

*might have become the religion of Europe. It forms to the present day the sacred book of the Parsis, the so-called fire-worshippers.*

[See also Vols. XXIII and XXXI.]

**VOL. V. Pahlavi Texts.**

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part I. The Bundahis, Bahman Yast, and Shâyast lâ-shâyast. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

*The Pahlavi Texts comprise the theological literature of the revival of Zoroaster's religion, beginning with the Sassanian dynasty. They are important for a study of Gnosticism.*

[See also Vols. XVIII, XXIV, XXXVII, and XLVII.]

**VOLS. VI AND IX. The Qur'ân.**

Parts I and II. Translated by E. H. PALMER. *Second Edition.* 8vo, cloth, 21s.

*This translation, carried out according to his own peculiar views of the origin of the Qur'ân, was the last great work of E. H. Palmer, before he was murdered in Egypt.*

**VOL. VII. The Institutes of Vishnu.**

Translated by JULIUS JOLLY. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*A collection of legal aphorisms, closely connected with one of the oldest Vedic schools, the Kathas, but considerably added to in later time. Of importance for a critical study of the Laws of Manu.*

**VOL. VIII. The Bhagavadgîtâ, with The Sanatsugâtîya, and The Anugâtâ.**

Translated by KÂSHINÂTH TRIMBAK TELANG. *Second Edition.* 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The earliest philosophical and religious poem of India. It has been paraphrased in Arnold's 'Song Celestial.'*

**VOL. X. The Dhammapada,**

Translated from Pâli by F. MAX MÜLLER; and

**The Sutta-Nipâta,**

Translated from Pâli by V. FAUSBÖLL; being Canonical Books of the Buddhists. *Second Edition.* 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The Dhammapada contains the quintessence of Buddhist morality. The Sutta-Nipâta gives the authentic teaching of Buddha on some of the fundamental principles of religion.*

**VOL. XI. Buddhist Suttas.**

Translated from Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. 1. The Mahā-parinibbāna Suttanta; 2. The Dhamma-kakka-ppavattana Sutta. 3. The Tevigga Suttanta; 4. The Ākaṅkheyya Sutta; 5. The Ketokhila Sutta; 6. The Mahā-sudassana Suttanta; 7. The Sabbāsava Sutta. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*A collection of the most important religious, moral, and philosophical discourses taken from the sacred canon of the Buddhists.*

**VOL. XII. The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa, according to the Text of the Mādhyandina School.**

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part I. Books I and II. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

*A minute account of the sacrificial ceremonies of the Vedic age. It contains the earliest account of the Deluge in India.*

[See also Vols. XXVI, XLI, XLIII, and XLIV.]

**VOL. XIII. Vinaya Texts.**

Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part I. The Pātimokkha. The Mahāvagga, I-IV. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The Vinaya Texts give for the first time a translation of the moral code of the Buddhist religion as settled in the third century B.C.*

[See also Vols. XVII and XX.]

**VOL. XIV. The Sacred Laws of the Āryas,**

As taught in the Schools of Āpastamba, Gautama, Vāsishṭha, and Baudhāyana. Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. Part II. Vāsishṭha and Baudhāyana. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

**VOL. XV. The Upanishads.**

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part II. The Kaṭha-upanishad, The Mundaka-upanishad, The Taittirīyaka-upanishad, The Brīhadāraṇyaka-upanishad, The Svetāsvatara-upanishad, The Prasṇa-upanishad, and The Maitrāyaṇa-brāhmaṇa-upanishad. Second Edition. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

**VOL. XVI. The Sacred Books of China.**

The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Part II. The Yî King. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

[See also Vols. XXVII, XXVIII.]

**VOL. XVII. Vinaya Texts.**

Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part II. The Mahāvagga, V-X. The Kullavagga, I-III. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.



**VOL. XVIII. Pahlavi Texts.**

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part II. The Dâdîstân-î Dînîk and The Epistles of Mânûskîhar. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

**VOL. XIX. The Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king.**

A Life of Buddha by Asvaghosha Bodhisattva, translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Dharmaraksha, A.D. 420, and from Chinese into English by SAMUEL BEAL. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*This life of Buddha was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese, A.D. 420. It contains many legends, some of which show a certain similarity to the Evangelium infantiae, &c.*

**VOL. XX. Vinaya Texts.**

Translated from the Pâli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and HERMANN OLDENBERG. Part III. The Kullavagga, IV-XII. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

**VOL. XXI. The Saddharma-pundarîka ; or, The Lotus of the True Law.**

Translated by H. KERN. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

*'The Lotus of the True Law,' a canonical book of the Northern Buddhists, translated from Sanskrit. There is a Chinese translation of this book which was finished as early as the year 286 A.D.*

**VOL. XXII. Gaina-Sûtras.**

Translated from Prâkrit by HERMANN JACOBI. Part I. The Âkârânga-Sûtra and The Kalpa-Sûtra. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

*The religion of the Gainas was founded by a contemporary of Buddha. It still counts numerous adherents in India, while there are no Buddhists left in India proper.*

[See Vol. XLV.]

**VOL. XXIII. The Zend-Avesta.**

Translated by JAMES DARMESTETER. Part II. The Sîrôzahs, Yasts, and Nyâyis. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

**VOL. XXIV. Pahlavi Texts.**

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part III. Dînâ-î Mainôg-Khirad, Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr, and Sad Dar. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

## SECOND SERIES.

**VOL. XXV. Manu.**

Translated by GEORG BÜHLER. 8vo, cloth, 21s.

*This translation is founded on that of Sir William Jones, which has been carefully revised and corrected with the help of seven native Commentaries. An Appendix contains all the quotations from Manu which are found in the Hindu Law-books, translated for the use of the Law Courts in India. Another Appendix gives a synopsis of parallel passages from the six Dharma-sûtras, the other Smritis, the Upanishads, the Mahābhārata, &c.*

**VOL. XXVI. The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa.**

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part II. Books III and IV. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

**VOLS. XXVII AND XXVIII. The Sacred Books of China.**

The Texts of Confucianism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. Parts III and IV. The *Lǐ Kǐ*, or Collection of Treatises on the Rules of Propriety, or Ceremonial Usages. 8vo, cloth, 25s.

**VOL. XXIX. The Gṛīhya-Sûtras, Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies.**

Part I. Sāṅkhāyana, Āśvalāyana, Pāraskara, Khādīra. Translated by HERMANN OLDENBERG. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

**VOL. XXX. The Gṛīhya-Sûtras, Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies.**

Part II. Gobhila, Hiranyakesin, Āpastamba. Translated by HERMANN OLDENBERG. Āpastamba, Yagña-paribhāṣhā-sûtras. Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

*These rules of Domestic Ceremonies describe the home life of the ancient Āryas with a completeness and accuracy unmatched in any other literature. Some of these rules have been incorporated in the ancient Law-books.*

**VOL. XXXI. The Zend-Avesta.**

Part III. The Yasna, Visparad, Āfrinagān, Gāhs, and Miscellaneous Fragments. Translated by L. H. MILLS. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

**VOL. XXXII. Vedic Hymns.**

Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part I. 8vo, cloth, 18s. 6d.

[See also Vol. XLVI.]

**VOL. XXXIII. The Minor Law-books.**

Translated by JULIUS JOLLY. Part I. Nārada, Brihaspati. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

**VOL. XXXIV.** The Vedānta-Sûtras, with the Commentary by Saṅkarācārya. Part I.

Translated by G. THIBAUT. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

[See also Vol. XXXVIII.]

**VOLS. XXXV AND XXXVI.** The Questions of King Milinda.

Translated from the Pāli by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

Part I. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d. Part II. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

**VOL. XXXVII.** Pahlavi Texts.

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part IV. The Contents of the Nasks, as stated in the Eighth and Ninth Books of the Dinkard. 15s.

**VOL. XXXVIII.** The Vedānta-Sûtras. Part II. 8vo, cloth, with full Index to both Parts, 12s. 6d.

**VOLS. XXXIX AND XL.** The Sacred Books of China. The Texts of Tāoism. Translated by JAMES LEGGE. 8vo, cloth, 21s.

**VOL. XLI.** The Satapatha - Brāhmaṇa. Part III.

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

**VOL. XLII.** Hymns of the Atharva-veda.

Translated by M. BLOOMFIELD. 8vo, cloth, 21s.

**VOL. XLIII.** The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa.

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part IV. Books VIII, IX, and X. 12s. 6d.

**VOL. XLIV.** The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa.

Translated by JULIUS EGGELING. Part V. Books XI, XII, XIII, and XIV. 18s. 6d.

**VOL. XLV.** The Gaiṇa-Sûtras.

Translated from Prakṛit, by HERMANN JACOBI. Part II. The Uttarādhyayana Sûtra, The Sûtrakṛitāṅga Sûtra. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

**VOL. XLVI.** Vedic Hymns. Part II. 8vo, cloth, 14s.

**VOL. XLVII.** Pahlavi Texts.

Translated by E. W. WEST. Part V. Marvels of Zoroastrianism. 8s. 6d.

**VOL. XLVIII.** The Vedānta-Sûtras, with Rāmānuḡa's Śribhāṣya.

Translated by G. THIBAUT.

[In the Press.]

**VOL. XLIX.** Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts. Buddha-

karita, translated by E. B. COWELL. Sukhāvatī-vyūha, Vagṛakkhedikā, &c., translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Amitāyur-Dhyāna-Sûtra, translated by J. TAKAKUSU. 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

## Anecdota Oxoniensia.

### ARYAN SERIES.

*Buddhist Texts from Japan. I. Vagrakkhedikā ; The Diamond-Cutter.*

Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A. Small 4to, 3s. 6d.

One of the most famous metaphysical treatises of the Mahāyāna Buddhists.

*Buddhist Texts from Japan. II. Sukhāvati-Vyūha : Description of Sukhāvati, the Land of Bliss.*

Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A., and BUNYIU NANJIO. With two Appendices: (1) Text and Translation of Saṅghavarman's Chinese Version of the Poetical Portions of the Sukhāvati-Vyūha ; (2) Sanskrit Text of the Smaller Sukhāvati-Vyūha. Small 4to, 7s. 6d.

The *editio princeps* of the Sacred Book of one of the largest and most influential sects of Buddhism, numbering more than ten millions of followers in Japan alone.

*Buddhist Texts from Japan. III. The Ancient Palm-Leaves containing the Prajñā-Pāramitā-Hridaya-Sūtra and the Uśnīṣa-Vigaya-Dhāraṇī.*

Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A., and BUNYIU NANJIO, M.A. With an Appendix by G. BÜHLER, C.I.E. With many Plates. Small 4to, 10s.

Contains facsimiles of the oldest Sanskrit MS. at present known.

*Dharma-Saṃgraha, an Ancient Collection of Buddhist Technical Terms.*

Prepared for publication by KENJIU KASAWARA, a Buddhist Priest from Japan, and, after his death, edited by F. MAX MÜLLER and H. WENZEL. Small 4to, 7s. 6d.

*Kātyāyana's Sarvānukramanī of the R̥gveda.*

With Extracts from Śaṅkara's Commentary entitled Vedārthadīpikā. Edited by A. A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D. 16s.

*The Buddha-Karita of Asvaghosha.*

Edited, from three MSS., by E. B. COWELL, M.A. 12s. 6d.

*The Mantrapāṭha, or the Prayer Book of the Āpa-stambins.*

Edited, together with the Commentary of Haradatta, and translated by M. WINTERNITZ, Ph.D. *First Part.* Introduction, Sanskrit Text, Varietas Lectionis, and Appendices. Small quarto, 10s. 6d.

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

LONDON: HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AMEN CORNER, E.C.

